

Voice of AFRICA



It is an open secret that explosive and armament factories are being set up in South Africa. The danger of collective imperialism placing huge stocks of war material in the hands of apartheid South Africa, is something that we cannot, and must not, separate from the introducing of the cold war into Africa.

The repressive measures enacted in the Central Africa Federation are similar in spirit and application to the anti-Sabotage Bill of Verwoerd's apartheid Government of South Africa. Both types of legislation seek to muzzle the political opinions of the oppressed Africans.

But the Africans of Southern Rhodesia will not be muzzled. As long as the Welensky Government maintains its minority domination against all recognised rules of democracy, so long will the Africans of Southern Rhodesia continue to raise voices against injustice, oppression and undemocratic minority rule.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

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and
the anti-neo-colonialist,*

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Revolutionary*

JOURNAL

*dedicated to the struggle for total liberation and
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“THE SPARK”

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KOFI BATSA

OUR OPINION

FILTHY DEAL

THE British "Daily Mail" has reported that the fascist government of South Africa has made secret deals with the merchants of death in Britain, United States and France to supply it with jet fighter bombers, transports, helicopters and missiles.

Nothing can justify this dirty deal between the Western powers and the racist government which will use this ultra-modern weapons to perpetuate the ultra-medieval ideas of African inferiority.

By indulging in this dirty secret deal with Verwoerd, the three Western powers have both told us that they are a party to the new move of the Southern African white-dominated governments to open total war on the African liberation movement.

Because of their enormous investments in Southern Africa (Britain alone has £1,000 million), these Western powers have a vital stake in the maintenance of apartheid, and of white domination.

Since these investors, who are the legitimate wards of the Western governments, thrive upon the dirty, cheap African labour inherent in the system of white domination, the only choice open to the Western governments is to support the racist South African government. The Western powers are therefore a party to the plot to

enslave the African forever and as such are irrevocably committed to supporting the perpetual African enslavement.

What these Western powers do not appreciate is the fact that the mass of the people of Africa are determined to fight to a dead end for their freedom. They know that the price is expensive but they are ready to pay. They know that the bell of destiny which down the ages has tolled for all oppressors, is about to toll for the protagonists of racial arrogance.

The Western powers have refused to see the morning horizon already red with the streaks of the glorious rising sun of liberation. Helicopters, jet fighter bombers and missiles cannot help the fast crumbling fascist regime of South Africa.

These God-forsaken little men of South Africa are busy getting ready to kill, but the African—the matured man—knows how to handle these degenerate specimens of European society.

The African has got to a stage where hysterical and empty military threats cannot frighten him.

The torch of African liberation is fast approaching Cape Town where the whole of free and united Africa will soon celebrate the total and permanent defeat of colonialism and racism.

We sum-up the new imperialist move in South Africa as the concrete scheme of turbulent imperialism faced by the tide of African nationalism, and promoting frantic policy to drench the whole of Southern Africa in welters of blood. But the blood of the unjustly slain, which has flowed like an ever-widening river through the sombre valleys of colonial history has already run too deep for the African to bear.

The goal of free and united Africa is set. The present gigantic imperviousness of the colonialists will be turned to dust by the great whirlwind which is shaking Africa. Southern Africa will be free.

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THE MAD AMERICAN

A DEPRAVED American Senator by name Allan Ellender, says Africans are not ready for self-government. He says the African is incapable of leadership without white assistance.

Ellender made this statement in Salisbury of all places.

What is significant is that Ellender hails from Louisiana, one of the under-developed states of the United States. Long before he entered politics for the sake of filthy lucre, he was known in the back streets as an active member of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana.

In his politics today, he reflects this rancid background of his early days.

Nobody doubts the fact that some of the African countries which have achieved their self-government are faced with teething difficulties. Expensive mistakes are being made. But are these mistakes not found in the United States where after years of independence no place has been found for the blackman? Is it not true that so far the black population has only excelled in baseball, boxing and Jazz? Is Harlem not part of the United States?

There are states in the Southern part of the United States where the governments are crude and the people are backward.

Is it not a pity that despite the fact that wheat is burnt in the United States to save price fluctuation, President Kennedy tells us that 17 million Americans go to bed without food?

The African does not need people who behave like morons to teach him how to rule himself.

"VOICE OF AFRICA" is happy that Uganda and Tanganyika have slapped the lean-witted Allan Ellender in the face.

Ghana's Cultural History

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

HIGHER institutions of learning in Africa were in the past designed to suit the colonial order and their products therefore reflected the values and ideals of the colonial powers. Consequently, colonial institutions of higher learning however well-intentioned, were unable to assess the needs and aspirations of the societies for which they were instituted. We have on numerous occasions denounced these institutions as ivory towers, lacking the necessary sympathy with the people, walking in the clouds with their feet dangling in the air. The University Commission interpreted the tasks of the University as follows:

They should be "responsive to the sense of urgency that exists in a developing nation; to use its resources imaginatively and effectively to contribute to the economy of the social organization; to interpret their studies for the benefit of the people and to learn from their problems."

I am not in any way belittling the academic foundations that have been laid here over the last thirteen years. We are grateful to the men and women whose work and sacrifices have made this University possible. We are grateful to them and shall ever remember their contributions to higher education in Ghana.

We have never had any doubt about the intellectual capacity of the African. History tells us of the great medieval civilizations of Africa and the part that higher institutions of learning played in the aca-

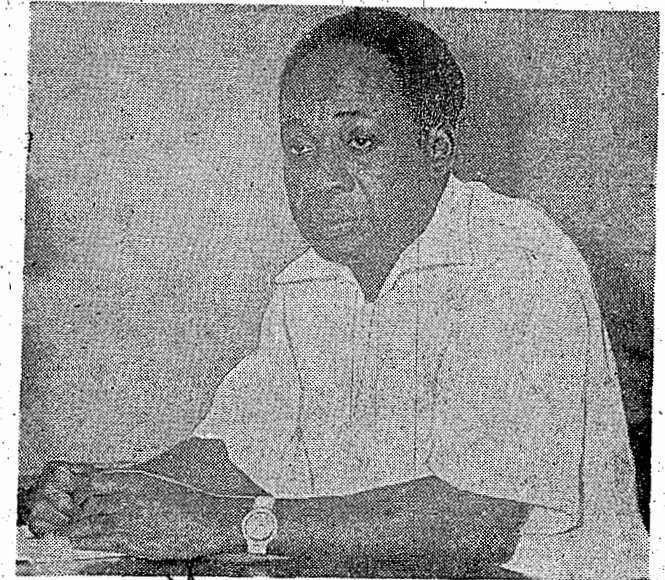
demic and cultural life of the African. Centres of learning such as Walata, Djenna and Timbuktu, had a singular impact on African education in medieval times. There is no doubt that in the University of Sankore, medieval Africa had already qualified to be numbered amongst the foremost intellectually-inspired of the world.

African Personality.

If the University of Sankore had not been destroyed; if Professor Amed Baba, author of forty histo-

rical works, had not had his works and his university destroyed; if the University of Sankore as it was in 1591 had survived the ravages of foreign invasion, the academic and cultural history of Africa might have been quite different from what it is today. Africa had wanted to revive and revitalize its traditions of scholarship and progressive endeavour but, instead, slavery and the slave-trade set in, plagued our continent, threatening the very existence of the race.

The story of the development of the African personality during this period is pathetic. Owing to the degradation of slavery, the African was not allowed to develop his peculiar qualities, nor was the African genius allowed full expression. It is estimated that during the period of the slave-trade fifty million Africans were taken away from this continent. But the story of slavery in Africa, stark and dark as it is, is partly relieved by the work of a few African intellectuals of the eighteenth century who, in the face of great odds, convinced Europe that if the normal process of diffusion had been allowed, the course of



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

events in Africa would have been different. It is interesting to refer at this point to a few of these African intellectuals, who despite slavery, scaled the intellectual heights and achieved eminence and renown.

Slave Deal

Attobah Kwodjo Enu of Adju-maku was bought by an English slave-trader and shipped to Grenada; he was later redeemed by Lord Hoth and educated in London. Enu wrote his reflections in English and Latin condemning the institution of slavery; "calculated to move the heart of monsters but not those of the slave-dealers."

William Anaa Sessraku of Anomabo, also sold in slavery, became an outstanding poet of his day. These lines which he composed in London in 1749, may be of interest to you:

*What'er is great and gay
around me shine
And all the splendour of a
court is mine,
And knowledge here by
piety refin'd,
Sheds a blest radiance o'er
my bright'ning mind,
From earth I travel upward
to the sky,
I learn to live, to reign,
yet more, to die,
I long to tell thee, what,
'amaz'd, I see
What habits, buildings, trades
and polity!
How art and nature ye to
entertain,
To write the wonder here,
I strive in vain,
Each word would ask a
thousand to explain.
The time shall come, O! speed
the ling'ring hour!*

Let me mention also the case of Anthony William Amoo, who in the first half of the eighteenth century, at the height of slave-trading activities, became a professor in philosophy at the University of Wittenberg and counsellor at the Court of Berlin. He wrote disser-

tations in Latin and Greek. After thirty years in Europe Amoo returned to Ghana and died at Shama.

Intellectuals

In our endeavour to organize and promote researches into African background and history and to assess the full structure of this period, I have asked Mr. William Abraham, a product of this University and a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, to work on the life, times and philosophy of Anthony William Amoo. I could mention also Mensah Sarbah, Attoh Ahuma, Casely Hayford, Philip Quarcoo and our own Aggrey. I could continue to speak of Africans capable of repeating the Koran from memory, Africans versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic, celebrated Africans who were corresponding members of the Academies of Science of Europe and America.

The desire for learning has always been a marked feature of our life; but it is the spread of education after the abolition of slavery in the last century that this desire became most evident. The diligent efforts made by the various missionary bodies during the last century in providing formal education, were greatly aided by the equally great desire of the chiefs and people to organize communal labour and other resources needs for this purpose.

Fanti Confederacy

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the intense for learning had passed the mark where the three Rs—reading, writing and arithmetic—could normally be accepted as the hall-mark of literacy. And here the educational and industrial programme of the Fanti Confederacy of 1871 is significant:

"Art. 8. That it be the object of the Confederation: To make good and substantial roads throughout all the interior districts included in the Confederation.

To erect school-houses and establish schools for education

of all the children within the Confederation, and to obtain the services of efficient school-masters.

To promote agricultural and industrial pursuits, and to endeavour to introduce such new plants as may hereafter become sources of profitable commerce to the country.

To develop and facilitate the working of the mineral and other resources of the country."

The University College of Ghana was established as a result of the recommendations of the Report of the Asquith Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies and those of the Report of the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Both reports were published in 1945. The report of the Elliot Commission put forward a minority recommendation that there should be one university to be sited in Ibadan for all the then British territories in West Africa and of Territorial Colleges in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Ghana, and this minority view was readily accepted by the Colonial Office.

University

The reaction of the people of Ghana, who since the days of Sir Gordon Guggisberg had been hoping to have a university institution of their own, was swift. After much discussion in the local papers and pressure from the African members of the then Legislative Council, there was a change of heart and the University College of the Gold Coast came to be established as a part of the general development of university education in West Africa.

It was the one great desire of the people of Ghana to have their own institution within which men and women are to be brought up in their maturing years in their own traditions and within their natural environment. This wish was consummated in 1948 when, by an Ordinance, the University College of the Gold Coast was established "for the purpose of providing and promoting university education, learning and research." The University College of the Gold Coast, which

after the 6th March, 1957, became the University College of Ghana, was thus established to become the foundation of the University of Ghana which we are inaugurating today.

Freedom

The year 1948 is a significant one for us in Ghana. It marks the national re-awakening on the path of our political, economic and social struggle to become an independent sovereign State. It was the beginning of the national awareness of the full meaning and content of true freedom and liberty which we enjoy today. It is therefore worthy of note that our struggle for the possession of our own university institution which would be the cornerstone of our educational progress, should have been such a happy prelude to the beginning of our final, purposeful and most determined struggle for political freedom.

The establishment of the University College of Ghana was, therefore, a source of much encouragement and pride to a nation that was determined to support higher education at all costs by the very generous endowment of the farmers of this country and grants from the general revenue of the Government to which the man-in-the street contributed in no small measure. The establishment of the University College of Ghana and its eventual growth have been the natural development flowing from a national desire and pride.

Developments

The growth of the University College into the University of Ghana has been slow and deliberate. There has been no attempt to rush developments merely for the sake of having a university of some sort. For nearly thirteen years the University College of Ghana was in some special relationship with the University of London in order to ensure high standards in the academic planning of examinations leading to degrees in the Arts and Sciences. In other words, adequate care was taken to ensure that the standard of learning and scholarship which the University of Ghana has inherited was acceptable

anywhere in the world.

In this respect, Ghana is grateful not only to the University of London which through these difficult, formative years, has readily given advice when approached with particular problems by the new institution of higher learning, but also to other British Universities which have in some way been associated with the University of London in this difficult task. By the attainment of university status I trust that both the lecturers and the students of the College have accepted the challenge to maintain the high academic standards already set. It is my fervent hope that the University will be able to maintain all that is good from its associations with other universities and improve upon them. May the University of Ghana develop and prosper in her own natural African environment.

International Commission

This brings me to the place of African Studies in this University. But before that, let me re-state the objectives which the international Commission, to which I have referred, consider appropriate to the Universities of Ghana. These are:

1. To provide opportunities for education in all those branches of human knowledge which are of value in modern Ghana for the maximum number of Ghanaians who are capable of benefiting therefrom.
2. To equip students with an understanding of the contemporary world and within this framework, of African civilisations, their histories, institutions and ideas.
3. To undertake research in all fields with which the teaching staff is concerned, but with emphasis where possible on problems—historical, social, economic, scientific, technical, linguistic—which arise out of the needs and experience of the peoples of Ghana and other African States.
4. To enable students to acquire methods of critical and independent thought,

while at the same time recognizing their responsibility to use their education for the benefit of the peoples of Ghana, of Africa and of the world.

5. To provide opportunities for higher education and research for students from other parts of the world, and particularly from other African States.

The development of African Studies in this University, therefore is of great importance, value and urgency; once more I quote the Government's White Paper on the recommendations of the Commission in this respect:

"The Government accepts, in principle, the Commission's proposal for the establishment of an Institute of African Studies, to be based upon the University of Ghana but to have some measures of autonomy. The Institute will have a most significant role to play both in the Universities and in the national life, and it should therefore be developed on an imaginative scale.

Research

It is a matter of necessity that the building-up of the Institute will have to depend to a great extent upon scholars from overseas; in this connection the Government will welcome the co-operation of overseas universities in releasing teachers and research personnel for temporary attachments to the Institute and will be ready to receive assistance from Foundations and other bodies; in various parts of the world, which promote social and cultural research. It is the Government's hope, however, that within a few years the Institute will have become an internationally recognized centre for the advanced study of African history, languages, sociology and culture and of contemporary African institutions."

I am happy to learn that the Institute of African Studies is already committed to these objectives and

Continued on page 11

Africa and Freedom

by Albert Lutuli

OUR continent has been carved up by the great powers; alien governments have been forced upon the African people by military conquest and by economic domination; strivings for nationhood and national dignity have been beaten down by force; traditional economics and ancient customs have been disrupted; and human skills and energy have been harnessed for the advantage of our conquerors. In these times there has been no peace; there could be no brotherhood between men.

But now, the revolutionary stirrings of our continent are setting the past aside. Our people everywhere from north to south of the continent are reclaiming their land, their right to participate in government, their dignity as men, their nationhood. Thus, in the turmoil of revolution, the basis for peace and brotherhood in Africa is being restored by the resurrection of national sovereignty and independence, of equality and the dignity of man.

Imperialist Backwardness

It should not be difficult for people in Europe to appreciate this. Their continent passed through a longer series of Revolutionary upheavals, in which their age of feudal backwardness gave way to the new age of industrialisation, true nationhood, democracy, and rising living standards—the golden age for which men have striven for generations. Their age of revolu-

tion, stretching across all the years from the 18th century to our own, encompassed some of the bloodiest civil wars in all history. By comparison, the African revolution has swept across three quarters of the continent in less than a decade; its final completion is within sight of our own generation. Again, by comparison, with Europe, our African revolution—to our credit, is proving to be orderly, quick and comparatively bloodless.

African Revolution

This fact of the relative peacefulness of our African revolution



Chief Albert Lutuli

is attested to by other observers of eminence. Professor C.W. de Kiewiet, President of the Rochester University, U.S.A., in a Hoernle Memorial lecture for 1960, has this to say: "There has, it is true, been almost no serious violence in the achievement of political self-rule. In that sense there is no revolution in Africa—only reform..."

Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, in a Hoernle Memorial lecture for 1961, throws light on the nature of our struggle in the following words: "They (the Whites in South Africa) are, again, fortunate in the very high moral calibre of the non-White inhabitants of South Africa, who compare favourably with any on the whole continent". Let this never be forgotten by those who so eagerly point a finger of scorn at Africa.

Single Goal

Perhaps by your standards, our surge to revolutionary reforms is late. If it is so—if we are late in joining the modern age of social enlightenment, late in gaining self-rule, independence and democracy, it is because in the past the pace has not been set by us. Europe set the pattern for the 19th and 20th century development of Africa. Only now is our continent coming into its own and recapturing its own fate from foreign rule.

Though I speak of Africa as a single entity, it is divided in many ways—by race, language, history and custom; by political, economic and ethnic frontiers. But in truth, despite these multiple divisions, Africa has a single goal—the achievement of its own independence. All Africa, both lands which have won their political victories, but have still to overcome the legacy of economic backwardness, and lands like my own whose political battles have still to be waged to their conclusion—all Africa has this single aim: our goal is a united Africa in which the standards of life and liberty are constantly expanding; in which the ancient legacy of illiteracy and disease is swept aside, in which the

dignity of man is rescued from beneath the heels of colonialism which have trampled it.

This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means of books, representations, demonstrations, and in some places armed force provoked by the adamancy of White rule, carries the only real promise of peace in Africa. Whatever means have been used, the efforts have gone to end alien rule and race oppression.

Brotherhood of man

There is a paradox in the fact that Africa qualifies for such an Award in its age of turmoil and revolution. How great is the paradox and how much greater the honour that an Award in support of peace and the brotherhood of man should come to one who is a citizen of a country where the brotherhood of man is an illegal doctrine, outlawed, banned, censored, proscribed and prohibited; where to work, talk or campaign for the realisation in fact and deed of the brotherhood of man is hazardous, punished with banishment or confinement without trial, or imprisonment; where effective democratic channels to peaceful settlement of the race problem have never existed these 300 years; and where white minority power rests on the most heavily armed and equipped military machine in Africa. This is South Africa.

Even here, where white rule seems determined not to change its mind for the better, the spirit of Africa's militant struggle for liberty, equality and independence asserts itself. I, together with thousands of my countrymen have in the course of the struggle for these ideals, been harassed, and imprisoned, but we are not deterred in our quest for a new age in which we shall live in peace and in brotherhood.

Museum Piece

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa; its social system, its politics, its economics and its laws have forced themselves on the attention of the world. It is a museum piece in our time, a hangover

from the dark past of mankind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying. Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is worshipped like a god.

Few white people escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men are unquestionably superior, efficient, clever, industrious and capable; that black men of the mythology that "the lowest amongst them is higher than the highest amongst us," it is claimed that white men build everything that is worthwhile in the country; its cities, its industries, its mines and its agriculture, and that they alone are thus fitted and entitled as of right to own and control these things, whilst black men are only temporary sojourners in these cities, fitted only for menial labour, and unfit to share political power. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Bantu Affairs, when explaining his government's policy on African education had this to say: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

Ghost of Slavery

There is little new in this mythology. Every part of Africa which has been subject to white conquest has, at one time or another, and in one guise or another, suffered from it, even in its virulent form of the slavery that obtained in Africa up to the 19th century. The mitigating feature in the gloom of those far-off days was the shaft of light sunk by Christian missions, a shaft of light to which we owe our initial enlightenment. With successive governments of the time doing little or nothing to ameliorate the harrowing suffering of the black man at the hands of slave-drivers, men like Dr. David Livingstone and Dr. John Philip and other illustrious men of God stood for social justice in the face of overwhelming odds. It is worth noting that the names I have referred to are still anathema to some South Africans. Hence the ghost of slavery lingers on to this

day in the form of forced labour that goes on in what are called farm prisons.

But the tradition of Livingstone and Philip lives on, perpetuated by a few of their line. It is fair to say that even in present-day conditions, Christian missions have been in the vanguard of initiating social services provided for us. Our progress in this field has been in spite of, and not mainly because of the government. In this the Church in South Africa—though belatedly, seems to be awakening to a broader mission of the Church, in its ministry among us. It is beginning to take seriously the words of its founder who said "I came that they might have life and have it more abundantly".

Church in Africa

This is a call to the Church in South Africa to help in the all-round development of MAN in the present, and not only in the hereafter. In this regard, the people of South Africa, especially those who claim to be Christians, would be well advised to take heed of the Conference decisions of the World Council of Churches held at Cottesloe, Johannesburg, in 1960, which gave a clear lead on the mission of the Church in our day. It left no room for doubt about the relevancy of the Christian message in the present issues that confront mankind. I note with gratitude this broader outlook of the World Council of Churches. It has a great meaning and significance for us in Africa.

There is nothing new in South Africa's apartheid ideas, but South Africa is unique in this: the ideas not only survive in our modern age, but are stubbornly defended, extended and bolstered up by legislation at the time when in the major part of the world they are now largely historical and are either being shamefacedly hidden behind concealing formulations, or are being steadily scrapped.

Education Inadequate

These ideas survive in South Africa because those who sponsor them profit from them. They provide moral whitewash for the conditions which exist in the country:

for the fact that the country is ruled exclusively by a white government elected by an exclusively white electorate which is a privileged minority; for the fact that 87% of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market and railways is reserved for white ownership and occupation and now through the recent Group Areas Legislation non-Whites are losing more land to white greed; for the fact that all skilled and highly-paid jobs are for whites only, for the fact that all universities of any academic merit are an exclusive preserve of whites; for the fact that the education of every white child costs about £64 p.a. whilst that of an African child cost about £9 p.a. and that of an Indian child or coloured child costs about £20 p.a., for the fact that white education is universal and compulsory up to the age of 16, whilst education for the non-white children is scarce and inadequate and for the fact that almost one million Africans a year are arrested and goaled or fined for breaches of innumerable pass and permit laws which do not apply to whites.

I could carry on in this strain, and talk on every facet of South African life from the cradle to the grave. But these facts today are becoming known to all the world. A fierce spotlight of world attention has been thrown on them. Try as our government and its apologists will, with honeyed words about "separate development" and eventual "independence" in so-called "Bantu homelands", nothing can conceal the reality of South African conditions. I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable.

White Ku-Klux-Klan

It seems utterly indifferent to the suffering of individual persons, who lose their land, their homes, their jobs, in the pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in the world. This terrible dream is not held on to by a crackpot group on the fringe of society, or by Ku-Klux Klansmen, of whom we have a sprinkling. It is the

deliberate policy of a government, supported actively by a large part of the white population, and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white majority, but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white minority who have thrown their lot with non-whites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development.

Thus it is that the golden age of Africa's independence is also the dark age of South Africa's decline and retrogression, brought about by men who, when revolutionary changes that entrenched fundamental human rights were taking place in Europe, were closed in on the tip of South Africa—and so missed the wind of progressive change.

In the wake of that decline and retrogression, bitterness between men grows to alarming heights; the economy declines as confidence ebbs away; unemployment rises; government becomes increasingly dictatorial and intolerant of constitutional and legal procedures, increasingly violent and suppressive; there is a constant drive for more policemen, more soldiers, more armaments, banishments without trial and penal whippings. All the trappings of medieval backwardness and cruelty come to the fore. Education is reduced to an instrument of subtle indoctrination, slanted and biased reporting in the organs of public information, a creeping censorship, book-banning and black-listing, all these spread their shadows over the lands. This is South Africa today, in the age of Africa's greatness...

Struggle Against Tyranny

But beneath the surface there is a spirit of defiance. The people of South Africa have never been a docile lot, least of all the African people. We have a long tradition of struggle for our national rights, reaching back to the very beginnings of white settlement and conquest 300 years ago. Our history is one of opposition to domination, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny.

Consider some of our great names; the great warrior and nation-builder Shaka, who welded tribes together into the Zulu

nation from which I spring; Moshoeshe, the statesman and nation-builder who fathered the Basuto nation and placed Basutoland beyond the reach of the claws of the South African whites; Hintsa of the Xhosas who chose death rather than surrender his territory to white invaders.

All these and other royal names, as well as other great chieftains, resisted manfully white intrusion. Consider also the sturdiness of the stock that nurtured the foregoing great names. I refer to our forbears, who in the trekking from the north to the southernmost tip of Africa centuries ago braved rivers that are perennially swollen; hacked their way through treacherous jungle and forest; survived the plagues of then untamed lethal diseases of a multifarious nature that abounded in Equatorial Africa and wrested themselves from the gaping mouths of the beasts of prey.

Path of Non-violence

They endured it all. They settled in these parts of Africa to build a future worth while for us their offspring. Whilst the social and political conditions have changed and the problems we face are different, we too, their progeny, find ourselves facing a situation where we have to struggle for our very survival as human beings. Although methods of struggle may differ from time to time, the universal human strivings for liberty remain unchanged. We, in our situation have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition. Along this path we have organised many heroic campaigns. All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength has been given to the pursuance of this method, in an attempt to avert disaster in the interests of South Africa, and have bravely paid the penalties for it.

It may well be that South Africa's social system is a monument to racialism and race oppression, but its people are the living testimony to the unconquerable spirit of mankind. Down the years, against seemingly overwhelming odds, they have sought

the goal of fuller life and liberty, striving with incredible determination and fortitude for the right to live as men—free men. In this, our country is unique. Your recent and inspiring history, when the Axis Powers over-ran most European States, is testimony of this unconquerable spirit of mankind. People of Europe formed Resistance Movements that finally helped to break the power of the combination of Nazism and Fascism with their creed of race, arrogance and herrenvolk mentality.

Freedom Fighters

Every people have, at one time or another in their history, been plunged into such struggle. But generally the passing of time has seen the barriers to freedom going down, one by one. Not so in South Africa. Here the barriers do not go down. Each step we take forward, every achievement we chalk up, is cancelled out by the raising of new and higher barriers to our advance. The colour bars do not get weaker; they get stronger. The bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighters grasp. All too often, the protests and demonstrations of our people have been beaten back by force; but they have never been silenced.

Through all this cruel treatment in the name of law and order, our people, with a few exceptions, have remained non-violent. If today this peace Award is given to South Africa through a black man it is not because we in South Africa have won our fight for peace and human brotherhood. Far from it. Perhaps we stand farther from victory than any other people in Africa. But nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance. It is for this, I believe, that this Award is given.

How easy it would have been in South Africa for the natural feelings of resentment at white domination to have been turned

into feelings of hatred and a desire for revenge against the white community. Here, where every day in every aspect of life, every non-white comes up against the ubiquitous sign, "Europeans Only," and the equally ubiquitous policeman to enforce it—here it could well be expected that a racialism equal to that of their oppressors would flourish to counter the white arrogance towards the blacks. That it has not done so is no accident. It is because, deliberately and advisedly, African leadership for the past 50 years, with the inspiration of the African National Congress, which I had the honour to lead for the last decade or so until it was banned, had set itself steadfastly against racial vain-gloriousness.

Equal Rights

We knew that in so doing we passed up opportunities for an easy demagogic appeal to the natural passions of a people denied freedom and liberty; we discarded the chance of an easy and expedient emotional appeal. Our vision has always been that of a non-racial democratic South Africa which upholds the rights of all who live in our country to remain there as full citizens with equal rights and responsibilities with all others. For the consummation of this ideal we have laboured unflinchingly. We shall continue to labour unflinchingly.

It is this vision which prompted the African National Congress to invite members of the other racial groups, who believe with us in the brotherhood of man and in the freedom of all people to join with us in establishing a non-racial democratic South Africa. Thus the African National Congress in its days brought about the Congress Alliance and welcomed the emergence of the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party, who to an encouraging measure support these ideals.

The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, will be satisfied with nothing less than

the fullest democratic rights. In government we will not be satisfied with anything less than direct individual adult suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to all organs of the government. In economic matters we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial "white only" basis. In culture we will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning to non-segregatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability.

Monster Apartheid

In the social sphere we will be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of all racial bars. We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black. On these principles we are uncompromising. To compromise would be an expediency that is most treacherous to democracy, for in the turn of events sweats of economic, political and social privileges that are monopoly of only one section of a community turn sour even in the mouths of those who eat them. Thus apartheid in practice is proving to be a monster created by Frankenstein. That is the tragedy of the South African scene.

Many spurious slogans have been invented in our country in an effort to redeem uneasy race relations—"trusteeship," "separate development," "race federation" and elsewhere "partnership." These are efforts to side-track us from the democratic road, mean delaying tactics that fool no one but the unwary. No euphemistic naming will ever hide their hideous nature. We reject these policies because they do not measure up to the best mankind has striven for throughout the ages; they do great offence to man's sublime aspirations that have remained true in a sea of flux and change down the ages aspirations of which the United Nations Declaration of

Human Rights is a culmination. This is what we stand for. This is what we fight for.

The World is our Ally

In their fight for lasting values, there are many things that have sustained the spirit of the freedom-loving people of South Africa and those in the yet unredeemed parts of Africa where the whiteman claims resolutely proprietary rights over democracy—a universal heritage. High amongst them—the things that have sustained us, stand the magnificent support of the progressive people and governments throughout the world, amongst whom number the people and government of the country of which I am today a guest; our brothers of Africa; especially in the Independent African States; organisations who share the outlook we embrace in countries scattered right across the face of the globe; the United Nations Organisation jointly and some of its member-nations singly.

In their defence of peace in the world through actively upholding the quality of man all these groups have reinforced our undying faith in the unassailable rightness and justness of our cause. To all of them I say: Alone we would have been weak. Our heartfelt appreciation of your acts of support of us, we cannot adequately express, nor can we ever forget; now or in the future when victory is behind us, and South Africa's freedom rests in the hands of all her people.

We, South Africans, however, equally understand that much as others might do for us, our freedom cannot come to us as a gift from abroad. Our freedom we must make ourselves. All honest freedom-loving people have dedicated themselves to that task. What we need is the courage that rises with danger.

Cause of Liberation

Whatever may be the future of our freedom efforts, our cause is

the cause of the liberation of people who are denied freedom. Only on this basis can the peace of Africa and the world be firmly founded. Our cause is the cause of equality between nations and peoples. Only thus can the brotherhood of man be firmly established. It is encouraging and elating to remind you that despite her humiliation and torment at the hands of white rule, the spirit of Africa in quest for freedom has been, generally, for peaceful means to the utmost.

If I have dwelt at length on my country's race problem, it is not as though other countries on our continent do not labour under these problems, but because it is here in the Republic of South Africa that the race problem is most acute. Perhaps in no other country on the continent is white supremacy asserted with greater vigour and determination and a sense of righteousness. This places the opponents of apartheid in the front rank of those who fight white domination.

In bringing my address to a close, let me invite Africa to cast her eyes beyond the past and to some extent the present with their woes and tribulations, trials and failures, and some successes, and see herself an emerging continent, bursting to freedom through the shell of centuries of serfdom. This is Africa's age—the dawn of her fulfilment, yes, the moment when she must grapple with destiny to reach the summits of sublimity saying—ours was a fight for noble values and worthy ends, and not for lands and enslavement of man.

Inescapable Challenges

Africa is a vital subject matter in the world of today, a focal point of world interest and concern. Could it not be that history has delayed her rebirth for a purpose? The situation confronts her with inescapable challenges, but more importantly with opportunities for service to herself and mankind. She evades the challenges; and neglects the opportunities

to her shame, if not her doom. How she sees her destiny is a more vital and rewarding quest than bemoaning her past with its humiliations and sufferings.

The address could do no more than pose some questions and leave it to the African leaders and the peoples to provide satisfying answers and responses by their concern for higher values and by their noble actions that could be

“... footprints on the sands of time;

“Footprints, that perhaps another,

Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,

Seeing, shall take heart again.”

Still licking the scars of past wrongs perpetrated on her, could she not be magnanimous and practise no revenge? Her hand of friendship scornfully rejected, her pleas for justice and fair-play spurned, should she not nonetheless seek to turn enmity into amity? Though robbed of her lands, her independence and opportunities—this, oddly enough, often in the name of civilisation and even Christianity should she not see her destiny as being that of making a distinctive contribution to human progress and human relationships with a peculiar new African flavour enriched by the diversity of cultures she enjoys, thus building on the summits of present human achievements an edifice that would be one of the finest tributes to the genius of man?

She should see this hour of her fulfilment as a challenge to her to labour on until she is purged of racial domination, and as an opportunity of reassuring the world that her national aspiration lies, not in overthrowing white domination to replace it by a black caste, but in building a non-racial democracy that shall be a monumental brotherhood, a “brotherly community” with none discrimina-

ted against on grounds of race or colour.

What of the many pressing and complex political, economic and cultural problems attendant upon the early years of a newly-independent State? These, and others which are the legacy of colonial days, will tax to the limit the statesmanship, ingenuity, altruism and steadfastness of African leadership and its unbending avowal to democratic tenets in statecraft. To us all, free or not free, the call of the hour is to redeem the name and honour of Mother Africa.

An Independent Africa

In a strife-torn world, tottering on the brink of complete destruction by man-made nuclear weapons, a free and independent Africa is in the making, in answer to the injunction and challenge of history:

“Arise and shine for thy light is come.” Acting in concert with other nations, she is man's last hope for a mediator between the East and West, and is qualified to demand of the great powers to “turn the swords into plough-shares” because two-thirds of mankind is hungry and illiterate; to engage human energy, human skill and human talent in the service of peace, for the alternative is unthinkable—war, destruction and desolation; and to build a world community which will stand as a lasting monument to the millions of men and women, to such devoted and distinguished world citizens and fighters for peace as the late Dag Hammarskjöld who have given their lives that we may live in happiness and peace.

Ghana's Cultural History

Continued from page 5

I appreciate the efforts being made by the Institute to give every student here some course in African Studies. This is vital, if we want to eradicate the colonial mentality which our contact with Europe has induced in us and rediscover ourselves with confidence and a distinct world outlook. It is important for every student to maintain his links with the African scene, and thus understand the great cause of African unity to which we are committed. All Africa is moving closer and closer together. Doubtless it will finally find its existence in a Union of African States.

Co-operation

In opening the first Conference of Independent African States at Accra in April 1958, I made the following statement:

“There is a searching after Africa's regeneration—politically, socially and economically—within the milieu of a social system suited to the traditions, history, environment and communal pattern of African society. Notwithstanding the inroads made by Western influences, this still remains to a large degree unchanged.

“In the vast rural areas of Africa, the people hold land in common and work it on the principle of self-help and co-operation. These are the main features still predominating in African society and we cannot do better than bend them to the requirements of a more modern socialistic pattern of society.”

This is the foundation of Pan-Africanism. We expect you who are studying here with all the facilities at your disposal to search into the communal basis of our society.

Let me in conclusion say how anxious I am that as many people as possible who deserve university education should obtain the opportunities for acquiring it. I am convinced that this is one of the surest means of securing individual developments and natural progress. No sacrifices should be too great for achieving this. Great changes are taking place in the world to-day, and the frontiers of knowledge are daily expanding. Ghana and Africa must look forward and ahead.

We have centuries of damage to repair, and upon us is placed squarely the responsibility for this great task of recovery. We must discharge this responsibility with speed and success.

Struggle Against Imperialism

In 1957, we told the world that Ghana's independence was meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of the African Continent. At that time only eight African States were independent. We called the very first Conference of Independent African States in Accra the following year and this made stronger and more intense the struggle against colonialism and imperialism; and after only four years today the number of independent states has increased to nearly 30.

But this achievement, however impressive, is only the first step towards the political, economic and cultural unity which must come if we are to survive balkanization and neo-colonialism and eventual political enslavement.

Unity of Africa

In all your work here one thing must be uppermost in your mind: the freedom and development and unity of Africa and the moral, cultural and scientific contribution of the Continent to the total world civilization and peace.

As you can see from my very brief sketch of the cultural history of this country, for over three centuries we have yearned for the opportunities which we can only now place at the disposal of our students and our generation. This has made possible because we are now free.

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A new Phase of Africa's Struggle

by Staff Writer

THIRTY-TWO of about sixty states in Africa have achieved self-government. These states have a total population of about 218,320,000. The total population of Africa is about 265 million. Thus only about 47 million people are yet to be free.

It gladdens one's heart to observe that more than four-fifths of the total population of Africa are now free. There is a fervent hope that, despite suppression, killing and the like meted to Africans by the satanic rule of the Salazars, Welenskys and Verwoerds, the unfortunate Africans who are still suffering under the alien rule shall be free in not a distant future. Whether the colonialists and the imperialists like it or not, this is the hard fact which we cannot gloss over.

But just taking a glance at the political situation in Africa today, one learns that our struggle to wipe off colonialism, imperialism and their accomplices, has reached yet a new phase.

This phase can be divided into two categories:

- (a) how to help the remaining states still under the yoke of imperialism to freedom and independence,
- (b) how to settle the ideological differences between our states so as to enable us to achieve our cherished aim of the United States of Africa in a record time, and pool our resources, which have almost been exhausted by the imperialists, together for the development of the whole continent of Africa.

But we should not forget that the imperialists, through the malicious

propaganda of their newspapers, have hatched a streak of root and branch of resistance to the whole idea of Africa's unity and development.

The imperialists, knowing well that Africa has awakened and leafing out new chapters of history for the generations yet unborn by freeing herself from alien rule and making her voice heard in the councils of the world, have also devised numerous means of maintaining their hold on Africa so as to enable them to perpetuate suppression, enslavement and exploitation of the indigenous people.

Puppet Governments

Through their press, radio, and with dollars, sterling and francs, the imperialists have created the unnecessary differences among our leaders, because they know that it is only through division of our independent states that they can still have their influence felt in Africa. They have been able to turn some governments of independent African States into puppet governments. It is a very sad state of affairs, but it is a hard fact we cannot overlook.

Why do they hate to leave Africa? Africa is a pivot of the imperialist economies. Without Africa they are ruined.

Let us mention two or three things which are taken away from Africa by the imperialists, without a bit of gratitude to her. Ninety-five per cent of the world's supply of industrial diamonds comes from Africa without which, the imperialists cannot manufacture automobiles and aircraft. Filaments in electric light bulbs, radio and television tubes, refrigerators, drills which

bore deep into the earth through layers of rock to reach the reservoirs of oil to keep automobiles, planes and farming machinery running, are all part of industrial diamonds from Africa.

Minerals

The greater part of the world's supply of palm oil which is used in the steel manufacturing process comes from Africa. In the field of medicine, too, Africa plays an important part. Reserpine, potassium, permanganate, radio activated cobalt, curare, cortisone, dicaleat, acacia which are used to cure various diseases, have their origin in Africa. Not only these, in minerals such as gold, iron, copper, manganese, bauxite and uranium, Africa's name is among the most important suppliers. Africa is the greatest supplier of the world's cocoa.

But do the indigenous people of Africa benefit from these? How many Africans have electricity in their homes? How many of us have radio sets and television sets in our homes? How many hospitals have the imperialists built in Africa for use by the Africans after their long stay in Africa? Are we not constantly suffering from disease, poverty, hunger and want — although food, medicine and wealth of the world have their origin on our continent? That is the rub.

It is therefore high time our leaders joined hands together to form a common front against our common enemy — the imperialists.

Why should some of our leaders allow themselves to be used as robots by our exploiters simply because of their selfish gains and lust of power? Have they forgotten their duties to the next generation? They are advised to reconsider their ways and rally round the banner of African Unity. For it is only with unity that we shall be able to conquer our cunning enemy.

Common Enemies

What some of our leaders ought

to realise is that colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism are our common enemies and it is these vices that we are fighting against, and as soon as they (the imperialists) themselves begin to praise us, then we should know at once that we are going astray. We are working for their interests unknowingly. That is why they call some of our divisional groups radicals, reasonables and moderates. They call some of these groups reasonables because they may appear to compromise with them on certain matters to further their interests, and others are called radicals because such group of states may be fighting uncompromisingly against them.

Whether radicals or reasonables, it sounds very foolish to allow the very enemy against whom we are struggling for our liberty, to act as our judge, when a little misunderstanding, which the enemy himself has engineered, arises among the forces in our own camp. Let us

forget about the judgments and comments given by our enemies and throw overboard our petty differences and, as has been declared by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana: "adopt a positive all-out anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist attack, and quickly, for we cannot afford the luxury of delay. Time acts for the enemy no less than for ourselves.

"Let us, therefore, examine our position seriously and objectively, to see how well we have managed so far, and evaluate our points of weakness and the necessary remedies. Let us determine what modifications are needed to adjust our strategy to counter the movements of the enemy and overcome him...

"As I see it, our greatest danger stems from dis-unity and the inability to see that the realisation of our hopes and aspirations, the realisation of our objectives of total independence, and of our future progress and prosperity, is

inextricably bound up with the necessity to unify our policy and actions in connection with the continuing struggle for independence and the greater task of economic and social reconstruction beyond it."

Struggle for Independence

Let us, therefore, go the whole hog and unite our forces, to drive away our common enemy and pool our resources together to develop our continent.

There appears a real hope, one observes, that the ideological differences between our states will no more hold sway but will soon be allayed, as evidenced in the recent speeches of our heads of state. They fairly unitedly talk about the possibility of bringing together the two groups — Casablanca and Monrovia Powers — a pointer to our cherished aim of African Unity.

EMBASSY OF THE SUDAN
P.O. BOX M.27,
ACCRA, GHANA,
24th Nov., 1962.

The Editor,
Voice of Africa,
Sir,

In your September issue, you published on page 28, a map of Africa purporting to show the Nato Military bases in Africa. In that map you have put a sign indicating the presence of a Nato Military Mission in the Sudan.

On page 30 your staff writer in his article "Repercussions of Nato War Bases in Africa" writes and I quote "Again these imperial Powers have six Military Missions in Morocco, Liberia, South Africa, Kenya, SUDAN and Libya".

The statement that there is a NATO MILITARY MISSION or any other Foreign Military Mission in the Sudan is baseless and entirely untrue. The Sudan since independence has remained free from any Foreign Military entanglements of any sort. The Sudan has never been a party to any military pact. There were never any military bases on Her soil. The Sudan has never asked for or received any foreign military mission since independence. On the contrary the Sudan insisted and successfully carried out the Sudanization of Her armed forces before regaining Her independence and since then the Sudan did not even employ any foreign military personnel in any capacity in the ranks of Her armed forces.

Apart from this the Sudan has consistently taken a firm stand against the introduction of foreign military bases in any part of Africa. This policy was recently reiterated by President Ibrahim Abboud when he addressed the conference of Non-Aligned States in Belgrade. He declared "Africa welcomes with open arms all those who genuinely desire to advance the wheel of economic and social progress in it. It meanwhile closes its doors in the face of those who wish to run the experiments of death on its soil or make of its land a military base, strategic out post or its people fodder for a devastating War".

I should therefore be grateful for the publication of the above in your next issue to remove the erroneous impression created by your quoted article. I hope you will also publish a corrected map.

(ABDULAH I EL HASSAN)
Ambassador of the Republic
of the Sudan

Africa Looks at the Common Market

by Jalang Kwena

THE European Common Market is an economic and trading bloc of the major west European capitalist powers, set up with the blessing of the United States of America. At present it excludes Britain—which is now negotiating to enter it—but nevertheless it comprises a big land area with a combined population of 170 million souls.

What is "Euromart"??

The Market was established by the European Economic Community, an economic and trading association consisting of six European nations: West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. The Community and its Market are set up under the Treaty of Paris, April 1951, and the Treaty of Rome, 25th March, 1957.

The structure of the European Common Market consists of the following organs:

An assembly composed of 142 members from the Parliaments of the six countries constituting the Market. "Its functions are to exercise a general control over the Community, based on the annual report submitted by the commission."

A Council of Ministers consisting of one member from each of the Six Governments. The Council is "responsible for co-ordinating the economic

policies of the Community and for ensuring that decisions are carried out in each country. It acts mainly on proposals submitted to it by the European Commission." It can only reject, approve or amend the commission's proposals unanimous vote.

"A European Commission—the executive organ of the Community—composed of nine independent members appointed by the governments of the six." It has wide powers "in the running of the Community. It issues decisions, binding on the parties concerned," "regulations, the application of which is compulsory in all member States," directives and recommendations which are necessarily binding. "All its decisions are taken by a simple majority."

"A court of justice composed of seven judges." The court serves the Common Market, Euratom and the Coal and Steel Community. It gives rulings on violations of the Treaty of Rome or abuse of discretionary powers. Its rulings are binding on member Governments.

An economic and social committee consisting of all sections of economic and social life within the Community such as employers' organisations, trade unions

and others. Its function is merely consultative.

A European Investment Bank. "It finances projects designed to assist the less developed areas of the Community. It also promotes modernisation and nationalisation schemes which would be beyond the means of individual members."

An Overseas Development Fund. The fund "finances schemes for improved education, public health and transport and industrial development in the overseas territories of member-countries. Main contributors are France and the Federal German Republic. . . It is of special interest to Africa."

A European social fund. This fund "finances projects designed to facilitate the employment and mobility of labour within the Community. It irons out any dislocation and hardships caused to employers and employees by the reorganisation of industry under the overall plan for economic efficiency of the Community as a whole."

Why this Common Market?

Europe was in an appalling state when the German armed forces collapsed at the end of the Second World War. With many of her cities and towns destroyed or badly damaged, her economy shattered, her political and social institutions shaken to their foundations, her peoples underfed, scantily clothed and poorly housed, and demanding justice, peace and security, Western Europe faced a social and political crisis of the greatest magnitude.

To add to this crisis, the West European monopoly capitalists were finding it more difficult to collect the vast sums in tribute and loot which they had been accustomed to extract from their "possessions"—the densely populated countries of Asia and Africa which they had shared out as colonies. Vigorous national liberation move-

ments were leading the people of these countries in revolt for national independence; to maintain the colonial system involved costly, unpopular and unprofitable military adventures, ending in one defeat and retreat after another.

Historically what should have happened in that situation was that the working class should have seized political power and established peoples' governments, as was the case in the eastern part of Europe and also in many countries of Asia.

American Imperialists

The revolution did not take place because of several reasons among which are—the destruction by Hitler's Gestapo of the working class, political and trade union organisations; the counter-revolutionary policies pursued by American imperialists who instituted the so-called Marshall Aid and pour enormous sums of money into all the countries of Western Europe in the form of loans, aid and investments, opening the way to political interference in the internal affairs of these countries, and to intrigues as well as military occupation; and the actions of the national bourgeoisie at the instigations of and heavily backed by the American ruling class and Government.

But economically the position remained more or less stagnant and the threat of social revolutions ever present. European recovery and the prevention of revolution became the major problems for the imperialist powers. It was quite obvious that something radical had to be done if capitalist Europe was to regain its past greatness. Bourgeois economists and theoreticians agreed that the solution lay in the economic and political unity.

"Political unification seemed out of the question in the days immediately following victory, when passions ran high and bitter memories ruled the thoughts of men. But economic unification seemed not only plausible but in-

dispensable. How else could Europe hope to compete with those two economic giants—Soviet Russia and the United States of America?"

In pursuance of this objective many feverish attempts were made such as the Council of Europe, the European Payments Union, the Western European Union, the Free Trade Area, the North Atlantic Alliance, the European Defence Community, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, the European Conference of Ministers of Transport, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, etc. But none of these proved satisfactory. Eventually the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Atomic Energy Community, the European Economic Community and the European Common Market were organised by six nations under the leadership of West Germany and France.

Britain Creates Rival Bloc

Britain could not join this bloc on her own terms. Instead, she was forced to organise her own rival community, the "European Free Trade Association" consisting of Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. From the point of view of importance as a market, this group with a population of 89 million (37 million excluding Britain) could not be compared with that of the European Economic Community. Britain went ahead nevertheless and organised it to use as a lever in her negotiations with the leaders of the European Economic Community. Beyond this, the "European Free Trade Association" was as good as dead even before it came into being. British imperialism stood to lose in the capitalists' rat-race, as against the superior economic resources of the combined West European industrial powers. That is why Britain did her best to sabotage the Euromart plan.

The question remains: why, then, did Britain not joint "the Six" from the start? The answer must be sought in the essential fact that Britain remains by far the greatest

colony-owner of all the European powers. The conceding of formal political independence to huge Asian and African territories, which formerly formed part of the British Empire, has not destroyed the essence of the economic relationship between those countries which have now been "promoted" to "partnership in the Commonwealth". It is an uneven partnership by which British imperialism continues to plunder the people and the resources of less developed nations.

But the essence of the European Common Market scheme is that the countries involved have each agreed to give up their "special" position in relation to "their own" colonies and former colonies—in order that they may more efficiently and profitably exploit these countries collectively.

With brilliant foresight, V.I. Lenin pin-pointed exactly this aspect as long ago as 1915, when dealing with a "United States of Europe"—an uncannily similar forerunner of "Euromart."

"A United States of Europe under capitalism," he wrote, "is tantamount to an agreement to divide up the colonies."

It was Britain's reluctance to sacrifice her special position in regard to the "Commonwealth"—i.e. to share her neo-colonialist plunder—which led to British hostility to Euromart.

Only now, when the obvious fact is that she is being outstripped, out-produced and outsold by her European rivals, is Britain reluctantly being compelled to drop her opposition and come in—on the principle "if you can't lick them, join them."

Gang of Bloodsuckers

Will she be allowed in? Yes, she will—but the price is steep. It amounts to the final liquidation as such of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For that there should be no tears shed, either in the victim-countries of the Commonwealth or among the British workers and democrats. But the plan is not to end colonial exploitation; it

is rather to intensify it; to replace the plundering of Africa and Asia by a single imperialist country with the collective plunder of a whole gang of bloodsuckers.

How it Works

The essence of the publicly-expressed theory behind Euromart and the European Economic Community is, roughly, as follows:

Big states are more efficient and powerful than small ones. But it is impossible at present to achieve political union in Europe. Therefore let us, at any rate, achieve an economic "United States of Europe". To that end, it has been agreed between "the Six":

To abolish "the obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital."

To abolish quantitative restrictions on imports and exports and all measures with equivalent effect.

"To do away with all customs duties and other barriers to trade as between themselves as a bloc."

"To establish a common external tariff (as low as possible) between themselves and the outside world."

To devise "common policies for agriculture, for transport, for labour mobility, and for important sectors of the economy."

To establish "common institutions for economic development."

To do everything necessary to enable the European Economic Community to move "forward as a compact bloc of nations ready to meet all political and economic challenges from whatever source."

"To bring into association with the Community the non-European countries and territories which have special relations with Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands."

To delegate "many of their powers to a commission, which, under the Treaty enjoys a considerable measure of

independence and can take decisions and issue regulations which are binding on the signatory governments." Members of the Community have agreed to subordinate their sovereignty to the interests and requirements of the Community as a whole.

To achieve these objectives the E.E.C. has to engage in all types of economic and political activities including trade agreements, financial transactions, the creation of commercial mergers, business tie-ups, monopolies and cartels, bribery, and blackmail, and at times, military actions.

An Association of Monopolists

In this article we are more concerned with the policy of the European Economic Community towards the under-developed countries, particularly towards the independent African States, and the effects of that policy upon the economies of these countries and states. As far as Europe is concerned we do not intend to deal with many of the objectives which the Community set itself to attain. We may, however, make certain observations:

This so-called European Economic Community is not an organisation formed by the general populations of the six countries of the European Common Market — the working classes, intellectuals, middle classes, peasants, farmers and lower levels of the capitalist class. It is an association of the big mine owners, industrialists, businessmen and bankers of the six nations. It is only they who have agreed to combine for the purpose of pooling their own financial resources, and the material and human resources of their countries in order to amass more wealth for themselves.

Under the pretext of economic planning, efficiency and raising labour productivity, they are introducing automation, retrenching staff, eliminating small independent undertakings and businesses and creating giant industrial, commercial and transport combines and monopolies.

Though, on the face of it France, West Germany and Italy are the joint leaders or three equal senior partners, in fact the real leaders of the European Economic Community are the big industrialists—bankers—militarists of West Germany. They have set themselves the task of achieving what Germany failed to achieve in two destructive world wars—economic and political domination of Western Europe, exploitation of the wealth and peoples of the less developed countries, and suppression of working class, political and trade union organisations.

West Germany today is not only an expression of revived German imperialism, and of all those sinister forces which unleashed two world wars and the monster of Hitlerism. It is also the spearhead and instrument of the most reactionary elements of the United States imperialism, heavily backed and penetrated by American monopolists in their reckless plans to plunge the world into a third war of unimaginable frightfulness.

To the masses of the people in the countries of Six, the European Economic Community means economic ruin, unemployment and lower standards of living.

In the process of economic competition and concentration large firms with huge financial resources fare better than small ones. Less efficient undertakings are absorbed by the bigger ones. Efficiency becomes the acid test of survival. "Survival in some causes may come through specialisation. In others it may come through tie-ups" with other firms in Common Market. "Rationalisation through mergers and take-overs has produced some giants in the industrial world," such as August Thyssen, Alfred Krupp, Siemens, Badische, Bayer and Hoechst in West Germany. The merger of four steel companies in France has produced the "Compagnie des Ateliers et Forges de la Loire," a formidable power in steel. "Two groups", the Rhone-Poulanc-Celtex group and the Pechinery-Saint-Gobian group, "dominate the French chemical industry where considerable con-

centration was needed and has taken place in order to face increased competition."

"Commercial tie-ups between French and Belgian firms and between Belgian and Dutch firms have been particularly noticeable in chain-stores and "supermarkets". Other combines have been formed in other branches of industry in all the countries of the Common Market. "On the air side, five major European companies, have formed an 'Air Union.' They are Alitalia of Italy, Lufthansa of Germany, Sabena of Belgium and Air France and T.A.I. both of France. This 'Union' goes far beyond the pooling of agreements which have long been a feature of international air transport. It entails the pooling of output and the sharing of profits according to agreed quotas, the joint purchase of aircraft, joint overhaul and maintenance arrangements, and, most important of all, joint negotiation of international traffic rights and fare adjustments."

The European Economic Community is itself an efficient body run by men who know what they want, and will leave no stone unturned and spare no money in their efforts to get it. Apart from the private financial resources of its members and the strong backing of the United States of America, the Community has the capital of the European Investment Bank, something like 1,000 million American dollars with schemes and projects in Europe.

Yet the Community faces many fundamental and difficult problems, problems which in the long run will prove it undoing. Some of these are:

The basic question of the very essence and character of capitalism, the chaotic and competitive nature of the systems, its inherent incapability of proper planning.

The glaring contradiction between the social nature of production and the private appropriation of the products, the utter injustice of it all.

That in the long run the making of "European industry

more efficient and therefore competitive" will not be beneficial to the population. It will only increase the insatiable demand everywhere within the Market for the lowering of costs: cheap labour, cheap power, cheap water, cheap rents, cheap raw materials, cheap transport and cheap rates and taxes. And with labour now more or less conscripted, workers will be called upon to give up the "luxury" of collective bargaining, go-slow and strikes.

The complicated issue of agricultural products from each of the Common Market countries and from other countries of Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America and North America.

The free entry of goods into the limited market will lead to big influx into, and the flooding the market, and sooner or later a saturation point will be reached, raising again the demand for more and more markets.

The economic and industrial development of the under-developed countries.

Leftward trends in countries of the Common Market.

Africa and the West

Capitalists and imperialists regard all underdeveloped and developed and dependent countries, territories and areas as important spheres for capital investment, for economic exploitation and as markets for manufactured goods. Though this is the general position, those of Africa and the continent of Africa itself are today regarded and treated as of special importance. That this is so may be seen from the policies of the United States of America and of the European Economic Community. The United States which possesses no territories in Africa, has already invested close on \$1,000 million in the continent since the end of the Second World War, and important representatives of the American Government and of the big business

concerns and financial institutions are in and out of the continent, promising all kinds of aid wherever they go.

Plunder

The United States is the leader of a conglomerate bloc of Western capitalist and imperialist powers which calls itself "the free world". America is the most highly industrialised and economically developed country in the world, with powerful financial resources and huge investments throughout the capitalist and colonial world, as well as vast military potential. To safeguard her investments and the unjust system of national and class oppression, plunder and exploitation, to check the advance of the colonial and socialist revolutions she has assumed the unenviable role of defender of the interests of the bloc and of all reactionary and oppressive social institutions and regimes everywhere in the world. In this role she has built military bases in many parts of the world, and she is using her enormous wealth lavishly to get weaker nations and young independent states to join her in her aggressive schemes against socialist and progressive countries.

Europe has for many years been the centre of trade from which came industrial goods of all kinds and finance. The European Economic Community, apart from its other activities, aims at retaining this position. A fund of \$581,250,000 to which West Germany and France contributed \$200 million each; Belgium and the Netherlands \$70 million each; Italy \$40 million and Luxembourg \$1,250,000 was established in 1958. The fund "is being used for technical and economic aid to Africa."

Representatives from some 16 African States associated with the E.E.C. met in 1961 to lay down what they thought should govern relations between them and the Community. They demanded that:

"No political strings be attached to technical and economic aid from Europe;

"There should be a joint European-African parliamentary body;

"African States should be directly represented at the seat of the European institutions;

"There should be guaranteed prices and markets for their goods;

"Technical assistance should aim primarily at training African technicians and experts;

"Financial aid should be in the shape not only of grants but of long-term loans;

"Stabilisation funds should be created to guarantee prices for certain raw materials exported to Europe (mainly bananas, cocoa, coffee, ginned cotton, ground-nuts, groundnut oil, palm oil, palm kernel, sisal, phosphates, copper, manganese chrome ores and concentrates)."

It is stated that the E.E.C. fully recognises the fact "that Africa has special needs and that the full trade liberalisation measures of the Common Market could not apply to the African States without causing a considerable upheaval and in some cases considerable hardship and damage to developing industries". We are however told that the present policy of the Community "is based on price support and planned markets", that tariffs on African goods have been reduced. But that this "may not last long because Holland and West Germany are against preferences for African goods which discriminate against goods from elsewhere and particularly Latin America. Brazilian coffee is a case in point."

It is interesting to note the types of "aid" given by 1961 and the amount under each head. Altogether \$129 million was spent as follows:

	In thousands of U.S. dollars
Education, professional training and welfare ...	16,620
Health Services ...	18,819
Water purification and irrigation schemes ...	3,609
Town Planning ...	7,122
Welfare and social research ...	11,457
Roads, ports and railways ...	49,487
Agriculture, stock-breeding and fisheries ...	21,388
Industrial and agricultural research ...	504
	<hr/> 129,006

In the first place \$129 million had been paid out from the Fund by 1961, that is in its fourth year of its existence. When divided among 16 States each received about \$8 million, a ridiculously small sum for a state. In the second place the allocation is silent on the most important question of industrial construction and, on the related issue, "industrial and agricultural research", the 16 countries together received an insignificant sum of \$504,000. Of course the amount of "aid" the Community gives is not determined by or depended on the needs, requirements or size of the country and its population, but on how reactionary, and therefore subservient, its government is.

The "associate" governments wanted to be directly represented in the governing councils of the European Economic Community but were instead told to form their own "Common African Market" or "African Malagasy Union" which could have its own customs union. They are, however, not allowed to decide "questions relating to the sale of goods in the Common Markets countries. At the same time the monopolies of the European Economic Community countries are granted substantial privileges in the sale of goods, the purchase of raw materials and investment of capital in Africa".

While the demand for the stabilisation of prices of raw materials remains unsettled, the E.E.C. is busy exerting pressure on its Associate African members to get them to guarantee investments "against political risk" and to grant to citizens of its countries the right to settle and trade or work freely in any country of the Associated African States.

It should be quite obvious from what has already been stated so far that there is great danger in any young independent state associating with the European Economic Community. It is encouraging indeed to see that, in spite of some attractive and enticing inducements, bribes, economic and financial pressures, and blackmail, several African independent States have refused to associate with the E.E.C. It is likely that many more will also refuse, and that even those which have been tricked into it will soon withdraw from the swindle.

Problems of National Independence

National oppression—with its deprivation of political rights, denial of economic opportunities, its inequality before the law, its social discrimination, its untold and unnecessary human indignities, sufferings and wastage—is a most humiliating and soul-eroding thing. All oppressed people yearn for national emancipation and independence. They want to be their own masters, to determine their lives and destinies. Those who risked their lives and their all did so in the hope that national liberation and freedom, the people's own rule would be different. The people fought for freedom and national independence because they honestly and sincerely believed that it would radically change living conditions, that it would usher in a new era of prosperity and happiness.

If national liberation and independence should merely mean that it replaces the expelled imperialists and colonialists by national exploiters and oppressors, then a question may well be asked: "Was it worth all the anxieties, suffering and sacrifices?" It is very important and essential that national

liberation and independence should be made what it really should be. It must fulfil the hopes, expectations and aspirations of the people, it must bring new life to the masses of starving workers and peasants.

Handicaps

Naturally, to be able to do that the new independent states must have the means, they must have sufficient economic and financial resources, as well as the technical know-how. Yet it is notoriously true that practically all African independent states suffer from many weaknesses, some of them very serious indeed. Here are a few of these weaknesses:

Under-developed economy:
Lack of proper knowledge of their mineral and other natural resources;
Shortage of capital;
Not enough trained personnel;
Low productivity;
Underdeveloped internal market;
Unprogressive social and psychological outlook.

A question may be asked whether, under these circumstances, these poor independent states can do anything except ingratiate themselves with their former masters and accept gratefully any financial and technical help the masters are willing and prepared to give? This line of thinking is very dangerous and should be emphatically rejected. Independent states face a fundamental problem of twofold nature: how to strengthen their national independence and how to abolish backwardness and exorcise the spectre of hunger from their lands and among their peoples. It will therefore not help to look the imperialists for assistance. Imperialist powers have never been and are not interested in the development of former colonial and dependent countries.

Evil Designs

They have evil designs upon these countries. Their biggest headache is how to retain Africa, Asia and Latin America as markets for their manufactured goods, sources of raw materials and cheap labour and as areas of capital investments. Economic advancement of the

under-developed countries runs counter to their wishes and interests.

However, what the under-developed and dependent countries need to strengthen and ensure their independence is large-scale industrial and agricultural development which enable each of them to provide for itself and free its economy from the domination of alien and hostile economies which have hitherto subjected it to fluctuations resulting from conditions of supply and demand. Each independent state, especially in Africa, should borrow money and get technical assistance from whichever country is prepared to give technical assistance and loans at reasonable rates of interests, without any political, economic or military strings attached, and embark upon a bold and imaginative programme of

surveying and tapping its mineral and other natural resources; large-scale industrial construction and electrification; training skilled personnel to man and manage different branches of the economy; mechanising agriculture; establishing a high tariff to protect the young national industries and trade; modernising transport and communications; raising standards of living and, thus, develop the internal market; and raising productivity.

The question will be asked: "Under which social system is this gigantic and revolutionary task to be carried out?" This is, of course, purely a matter for each state of the people concerned. There are two ways to choose from, two ways open to them: the capitalist way and the socialist way. But capitalism has already had its day and it is now in the twilight of its existence. What is more important and significant is the fact that capitalism failed to satisfy the elementary needs of the majority of members of its society ... even during its heyday. On the other hand socialism is at the threshold

of its life, but has already solved many economic and social problems which hitherto appeared to be "the curse of God" and beyond human ingenuity. It has also achieved miracles in the field of science and technology. Whether people want to admit the fact or not, socialism is beyond doubt the system of tomorrow, the forerunner of our future society.

What Socialism Means

Under socialism the means of production—the land, industry, banks, transport and the means of communication—are made social property or the property of society. Socialism is a system of planned economy. First the mineral resources and natural formation of the country concerned are properly and fully surveyed and tapped, and then the State undertakes an economic programme of all round large scale industrialisation in which special attention is paid to heavy industries such as: mining, iron and steel mills, engineering, chemical firms and hydro-electric dams, and to the development of agriculture.

By abolishing private property in the means of production a fatal blow is struck at the root of a system of exploitation of man by man. Thus ending the age-old double oppression of economic exploitation and political rightlessness and domination suffered by the working classes and oppressed nations. With the end of private ownership of the means of production and the profit motive in production will end the urge and demand for foreign markets, acquisition of other people's territories, subjugation and domination of other nations and peoples which acts as the causes of competition, frictions, strifes and wars, as well as hatred among nations and peoples.

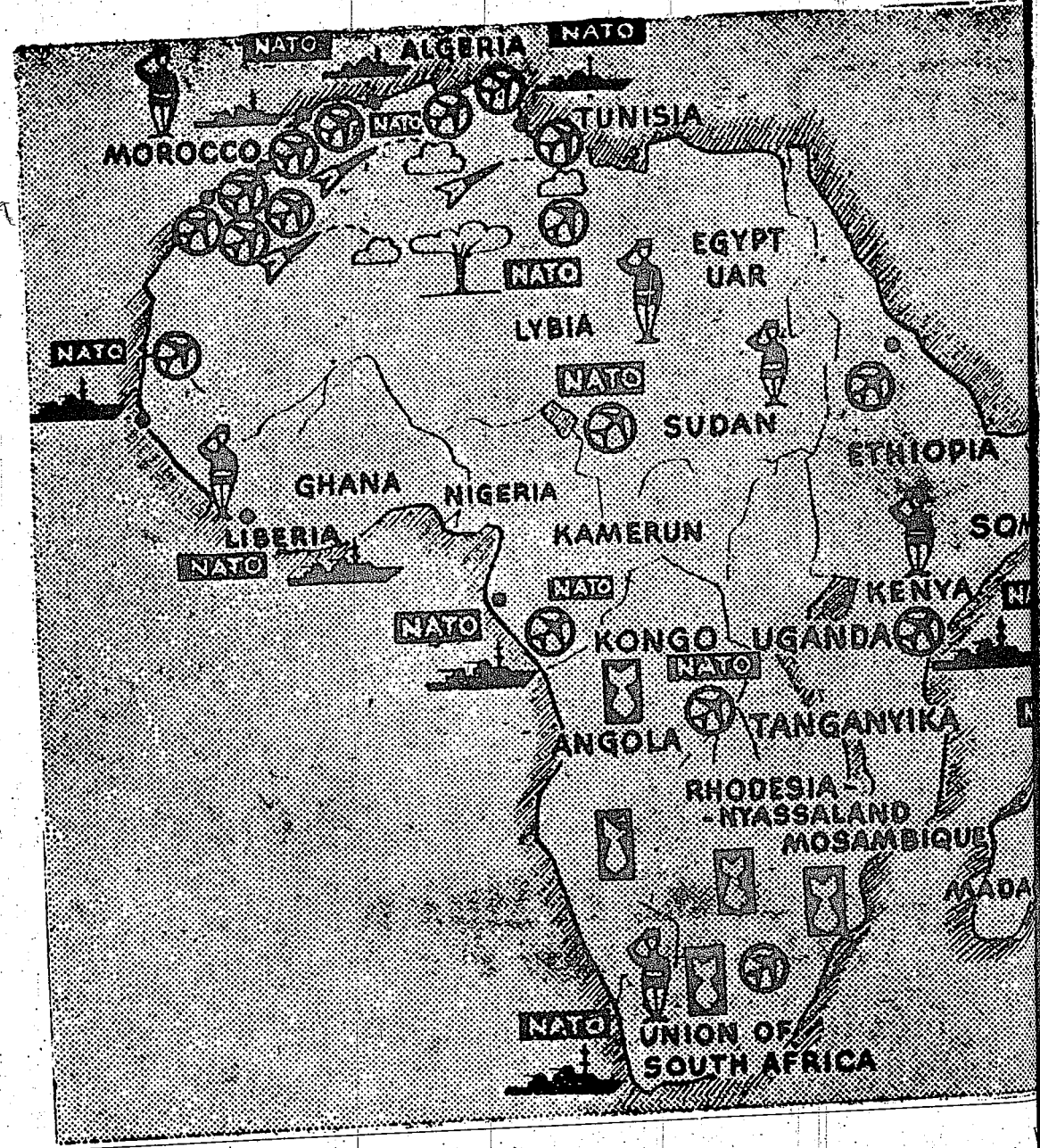
Capital Imperialism

The interest which the socialist countries have taken in and the assistance they have given and are giving to the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, therefore are not motivated by the desires

Continued on page 40

DANGERS OF NATO WAR BASES IN AFRICA

by *Serious African*



IN spite of the tremendous advances of modern science, in spite of the hydrogen bombs and the conquest of space, the sixtieth decade of the twentieth century can be called the African Age. It marks the rise of the peoples of Africa to take their rightful place among the comity of nations. While the stupendous achievements of science offer, in the main, a threat to the very existence of man, the African Revolution symbolizes the thirst of man to live a fuller, more satisfying life. It is a titanic attempt by man to jump over the gulf of time, and from a primitive stage, spring to the twentieth century civilization of the near superman.

But like all other experiments, this stupendous undertaking is fraught with dangers, the greatest of which is the mistake of alignment as exemplified in the presence of war bases on the

confinement of Africa. The map of Africa is at present besmirched with the dark marks of these springboards of aggression. They form a ring round and penetrate into the heart of the continent.

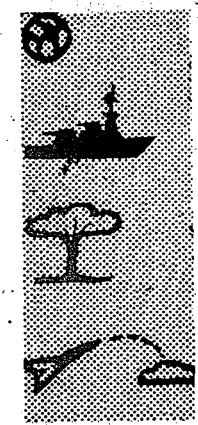
The following figures will give an idea of how much our land is infested with these war bases. There are 17 air bases owned by individual members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. These are mainly concentrated in North Africa where there are as many as six in Morocco alone. There are nine naval bases encircling the Continent from the north right round to the east. Again these imperial powers have six military missions in Morocco, Liberia, South Africa, Kenya, Sudan, and Libya. Supporting these individual bases are twelve large bases of air, naval and military missions owned by the NATO. Beside these, the imperialists possess three rocket and one atom

tests sites in North Africa and five mines for the exploitation of raw materials for the exploitation of atomic bombs. These are to be found in the Congo, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.

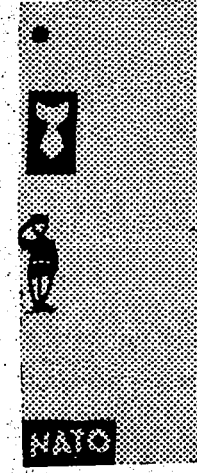
Bomb Test Sites
These bases confront Africa with a danger that is twofold. In the first place the presence of a war base in a country presupposes the alignment of that country with one or other of the power blocs, with all the concomitant risks and dangers which go with such an association. Secondly, these bases pose a grave threat to free untrammelled development in the country.

It needs hardly be said that Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah knew the risks and dangers involved in alignment when he declared: "The people of Ghana are determined not to get themselves entangled in the great ideological conflicts of the Great Powers as manifested in the cold war which divides the world into East and West Power Blocs, suspicious of each other's motives and intentions."

Risks of Destruction
The world is in great suspense and the cold war can heat up



AIR BASES
NAVAL BASES
ATOMIC TESTS
ROCKET SITES



STRATEGIC PORTS
RAW MATERIALS FOR ATOMIC BOMBS
MILITARY MISSIONS
NATO BASES

any time into a "hot war". An under-developed country that is aligned with a Power Bloc in that event stands the risk of being destroyed with it. The risk of destruction in the case of the under-developed country is twofold. Because by reason of its comparative backwardness a small damage can be very shattering, while recovery from the damage for the same reason can be very difficult.

We may note in this connection that Russia has repeatedly warned that countries with war bases will not be spared in the event of war.

But if there are any peoples who stand greatly in need of peace at these times, it is those in the under-developed countries. To quote Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah again, "We have a vested interest in peace." The African Experiment can only succeed in an atmosphere of peace.

Dangerous Alignment

Apart from the risk run by an under-developed country in the event of war, it suffers great economic loss in times of peace. Because by reason of its alignment, it may deprive itself of the gains that can be made through universal trade and commerce.

But these risks and dangers are glossed over by the offer of aid and protection. Thus alignment becomes a most tempting prospect to newly independent countries which on account of their youth and comparative backwardness must needs battle with baffling economic and political problems. But despite these enticements, the costs of alignment are still overwhelming. For a friendship between the lion and the antelope can never be a partnership of equality, but a relationship of master and slave, entirely dependent upon the whims and caprices of the stronger.

It is true that there are advantages to be gained by both parties in an alignment, otherwise no agreement will be reached in the first place. The guns, however, are unequal. In this lion-antelope relationship the lion of course has to take the greater share.

NOTE: The Sudan Ambassador to Ghana has written to say that there is no military base in Sudan. Refer to page thirteen.

—Editor-in-Chief

This is no mere supposition, but a matter of historical reality. The callous exploitation of our countries by these same powers and their allies is written in the pages of history and by its guidelines, we must beware of the Greeks even when they bring gifts. The golden apples of alignment are hung over instruments of destruction and are being blandished by powers which but yesterday would make us slaves. Powers which indeed are even now suppressing and exploiting our brethren in other parts of the continent.

Huge Military Budgets

But even the blandished aids are mere crumbs from the imperial tables. They are insignificant compared with the amount of money expended in maintaining the bases which have been planted in the subordinate countries.

The UNO experts report on the economics of disarmament has this to say: "The world is spending roughly 120 billion dollars annually on military account it is at least two-thirds of — and according to some estimates may be of the order of magnitude as—the entire national income of the under-developed countries."

Other authentic sources also state that: "The grand total of U.S. military aid to the powers with colonies in Africa amounted to nearly 7 billion dollars... Africa itself received not even a tiny fraction of this sum in economic aid."

We realise quite clearly then that these aids are mere inducements to accept the bases which are planted solely in the interests of the imperial powers. That is only to be expected; for no great power will contract with a smaller nation unless it is convinced that such an agreement will be to its advantage.

Alignment is simply colonialism in a new guise. It is a policy of

giving political controls in exchange for keeping war bases and so retaining a foothold in a territory which a colonial power has apparently left. While control in colonial domination is open and assertive in alignment it is secretive and subtle and, therefore, more dangerous.

Foreign Powers

That war bases in a country are solely meant to safeguard the interests of the foreign power is evidenced by the following confession by Dr. John C. Campbell in his book *Defence of the Middle East*. The overriding national interest (in the affairs of the Middle East) is the security of the United States. Soviet control of Middle Eastern oil could disrupt the economy of the free world. It is fundamental to the United States, then, that the Middle East remains part of the free world.

"Containment of Soviet imperialism in the Middle East carries an implication that the United States, like other great powers, is concerned with the Middle Eastern States and peoples only for the purpose of having them serve its own interests."

Dr. Campbell, of course, goes on to explain how the interests of the United States and of the other great powers are bound up with the interests of the states and peoples of the Middle East. But the hard facts of history are that in any eventuality, these great powers must put their interests above interests of all others.

Harassed With Problems

This is borne out by Campbell's own words: "The British system in the Middle East, going back over a century and a half, had been aimed at securing the routes to India and the Far East and keeping the area out of the hands of any hostile power." But when after World War II they found themselves harassed with their own problems, they handed over their responsibility over Greece and Turkey to the United States. He goes on: "In

the case of Palestine, they deposited it in the lap of the United Nations; and in the following year they simply withdrew their forces and their administration, leaving the fate of Palestine to be settled by an Arab-Jewish war."

Fires of Nationalism

Perhaps we need not blame the British for their precipitous withdrawal from positions long deemed vital. They could not save themselves, how could they attempt to save others? It was a matter of commonsense and natural instinct.

Dr. Campbell further writes of how the fires of nationalism which had been smouldering from a long time were fanned by the strains and stresses of war. During the fighting, the belligerent powers naturally gave precedence to their own urgent military requirements over the sensitivities of the peoples who happened to live in this strategically located region. Then, after the cessation of hostilities, preoccupied as they were with their own post-war adjustments, the British could find no time to offer assistance in the settlement of these explosive problems and, as we have just seen, left them to find their own solutions in the arena of fresh fightings.

Thus in the event of war while a country with war bases may suffer equally or even worse than its powerful ally, when the storms are over, it may receive little or no attention from the so-called protector.

This then is the bitter truth which must be faced by all African countries that are charmed by the allurements of alignment. No foreign power can sacrifice its own interests for the interests of an appendage. Self-interest is what dictates the policy of every nation both in war and in peace.

As regards the threat that war bases offer to free development, we must take note that with the

exception of three in North Africa, all the bases in Africa are equipped with conventional and rudimentary type of armaments.

Considering that conventional arms and rudimentary weapons would be quite useless in a modern warfare, one wonders at the reason for the fever of bases which possesses the imperialists. There can be only one answer to this. These bases are meant for the African nations themselves. They are to ensure that the aids get into "proper" hands, i.e. the sort of people who will dance to their tunes. It is clear then that bases are weapons of oppression and a threat to the free development of the African peoples.

Weapons of Oppression

These bases exist to strengthen reactionary forces and to fight against the forces of progress. By means of the bases the imperialists are able to keep weak tottering governments which are favourable to them in power against the express wishes of the people. Thus they are inimical to true democracy. American support for Nationalist China is a case in point. For many years, America has stubbornly upheld the cause of the handful of people on the Formosa Islands against the teeming millions of the mainland China, just because the people of mainland China happen to prefer a form of government which is distasteful to America.

On the other hand, these bases afford the means of overthrowing popular governments at variance with those of the imperialists. Again American adventures in Latin America give us examples of this. The American base established in Cuba during the time of President Batista, was used as the springboard for aggression against the Cuban people in 1961 and 1962 in the abortive attempt by the

American imperialists to overthrow the Government of Cuba.

It is an indisputable fact that the instability of Governments in Latin America is due to the presence of American troops in this region. Because these forces are used to suppress any popular movements which are likely to disfavour them. Thus when it was realized after a recent election in Argentina that the popular movements which were opposed to American imperialism had won power, the imperialist agents used the army to seize power. Although America boasts to be a democratic country, it sees no ill in supporting the present Government of Dominica which is the most dictatorial in the world today. The reason is that Dominica has allowed America to build war bases in that country.

These war bases, then, are a threat to the people of the countries in which they are situated and also to those of nearby countries. When in 1956 Britain and France clashed with Egypt over the Suez Canal, they urged Israel, Egypt's mortal enemy to invade Egypt, and then, using forces from their bases in Mombasa and South Africa, they intervened between the belligerent nations and captured Port Said. But for the global condemnation of their designs, they would have captured the entire canal.

In the Korean War too, the Americans found their base at Asmara in Ethiopia a great asset.

Inhuman Massacres

We are told that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is for the defence of the West against what they term communist imperialism and aggression. But in actual fact, the arms supplied to the participant countries are used in inhuman massacres of defenceless citizens in Africa.

For eight long years, NATO arms were used by France against

the liberation forces of Algeria. During those years, millions of people, men, women and children, lost their lives. Their only crime was that they knew what was good for them and had the courage to ask for it. During those years many French governments rose and fell. But for NATO arms these tottering governments could not have resisted the nationalist movement for so long, the French people would have realized the futility of damning the flood of freedom sooner than they did, and the present solution would have dawned upon them earlier than it did, numberless lives would have been saved and many heart-rending experiences remitted.

But the NATO has been the bulwark of the forces of oppression and enslavement not only in French territories but also in Portuguese colonies where the most inhuman form of suppression is being prosecuted. Despite the heavy censorship, the little information that trickles through the ban tells of unspeakable atrocities. Nor is there any sign of abatement or of hope for an early end of the harrowing experiences of a people whose only crime is that they have dared to ask to live as men in their own God-given land.

Illiterate Portugal

Yet Salazar's backward Portugal where forty per cent of the population is still illiterate and where the national budget can scarcely meet the needs of the people who go abegging on the streets from passing travellers could not have dreamt of embarking upon this campaign of horror except for the support of the NATO. It is NATO arms and amunitions that are used in mowing down the defenceless people of Angola, NATO swords cut and carry the heads of those who are captured, NATO fuels burn them and their houses, and NATO vehicles chase those who run.

How can the NATO convince us that the war bases are not planted in our land to destroy us? Did they not know of the interminable French-Algerian War? Have they not heard of the perpetrations in Angola? Yet they have not cried, they have not protested. They cannot protest, for France and Portugal are mere agents, their agents

The Press in NATO countries is loud in its condemnation of dictatorships and the instruments of oppression. Is Salazar not a dictator and is his campaign of terror not only excelled by Hitler's solution of the Jewish problem? If we must condemn, let us be fair in our condemnation, let us condemn the instruments of oppression wherever we find them.

NATO's Support

But to the NATO powers dictatorships are welcome if they are the means of obtaining slave labour in territories where their economic interests are staked. Who is South Africa to flout the orders of the United Nations for so long? But she knows she has NATO backing. And so it is. For with the NATO powers, it is better to leave well alone where economics are concerned. Apart from the wisdom in self interest and the great advantages these imperialists gain in their military alignment with South Africa, of defence, there are the economics of trade and capital to be considered when any opposition to its policies is being contemplated. Millions of pounds of British and American capital is invested in South Africa and any undue interference in their "domestic" policies is sure to be punished on the exchange counter. Surely then, it is better for NATO arms to be used in carrying out the satanic policy of apartheid in South and South West Africa than to stand the risk of suffering such gigantic losses.

Talking of the economic involvements in NATO policies, it is significant to note that all the six members of the European Common Market are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Equipped with the foregoing regrettable history of the NATO, it is easy to foresee that, should African states succumb to the inducements of the NATO powers and get themselves entangled in the ECC, their subjugation will be complete and permanent.

Neo-Colonialist Domination

Thus in the economic as well as the political field, the inexorable logic of non-alignment is unmistakably clear.

Non-alignment is inalienably rooted in the demand for independence. For without such a firm and positive policy, independence leads to neo-colonialist domination and to economic exploitation — the very thing from which we seek to save this continent by the demand for freedom. Thus we see how the imperialists seek to take back with the left hand, what they give with the right.

The newly independent states must learn to stand on their own feet from the very start. To lean upon the power blocs is to court failure and final subjugation.

Poverty and Disease

Non-alignment may be the more difficult road towards the emancipation of our peoples from poverty, disease and ignorance, but it is the safer one. Therein lies our guarantee that we shall not sell our fatherland to the exploiters. With African Unity, however, non-alignment need not be a rough and difficult road. Because when we are united we can pool both our human and material resources for the benefit of our peoples.

Neo - Colonialism

by *Presence Africaine*

ATTENTION must be drawn to the alarming and large-scale conspiracy which is tending, in various ways which are sometimes brutal and sometimes insidious, to place Africa once again under the yoke of the West. The difficulty of this task is in fact due to the problem's extreme complexity. For the neo-colonialist movement whose development can be observed today and which aims either at giving domination a more flexible and less aggressive form, or quite simply at the recovery or retention of the privileges, which belonged to the original colonist, is far from achieving constant homogeneity. If all the forces and interests which are at present in play in Africa to hold, strengthen or re-impose Western prerogatives are inspired by the same nostalgia and the same objectives, the choice of means sees them divided.

Extremist Whites

When we say means, this must be understood as strategy. One is struck to see that it is precisely the men who select the most conventional and out-of-date strategy who make use of the most modern tactics. We refer to the adherents of neo-fascism, chiefly represented within the Secret Army Organisation in Algeria, to similar groups in Kenya, to the Katanga lobby and the racist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. Throughout the length of Africa, these

minorities of racist, extremist Whites are strongly entrenched and are in close touch with one another.

Powerful Capitalist Interests

They show an unconditional attachment to the maintenance of the white man's privileged status. They can imagine no policy other than the one which has constantly favoured them in the past. Consequently, they cannot admit the idea of self-determination or independence when applied to the native African peoples. Against lawful aspirations to freedom and dignity on the part of these peoples, they set in motion the pitiless machine of repression. Powerful capitalist interests in various quarters uphold those who support unconditionally the continued presence and domination of the Whites in Africa. This aspect of neo-colonialism is obviously the most barren and retrograde kind.

The other expression of neo-colonialism is subtler and more insidious. This second type is likewise practised by a West which tolerates, when it does not openly support the activities of the O.A.S., the Katanga lobby and the racials in Rhodesia and South Africa, as though it wanted to give the impression that it had stakes on both sides. But here the methods are very different. The right of formerly

subject peoples to decide their own future is officially recognised.

Intermediaries

Considerable aid is granted to the new African governments. But it is precisely through the medium of this aid that the West counts on strengthening its hand in Africa and retrieving its privileges. For the aim underlying this neo-colonialism (bearing in mind that in the event of failure, recourse to the first plan will always be possible) is to allow the West to govern the new African states by means of intermediaries, that is by native administrators in the service of Western interests.

This means that Africans must be more watchful than ever and not be lulled to sleep in the euphoria of a conceded independence. We must realize that the danger lies here and that it is a double one. The first should lead to a reconsideration of the problem of military bases if we do now want them to become bases for aggression overnight. The second makes the re-thinking of the problem of technical co-operation an urgent necessity. For the moment Africa is doubtless unable to do without foreign aid, however suspect, but she must at least look upon it as a makeshift, temporary arrangement. It is a question of not losing ground by compromise and not sacrificing the future to the immediate present.

Faith in Africa

More than ever, faith in Africa and the dignity of the African personality is vital. Beyond the winding course of daily events, ambition to fulfil our destiny is vital. It is more essential than ever to keep a clear, basic vision of the great aim to be achieved: the real independence of Africa in order to safeguard the organic integration of African initiative and authority in the vitality of a rapidly growing universe.

Negritude, Literature and Nationalism —

a Word From South Africa

by J. B. Booth

At the Mbari Writers' Conference at Ibadan recently—a milestone in the development of literature on our continent—no subject evoked livelier discussion than Negritude—the expression of a peculiar blackness or Africanness in literature which is related to matters like the development of an "African personality" and the cultivation of a recognisably African literature.

It is a subject on which the writers from the French-settled parts of Africa are most vocal and vehement—they have also supplied vital examples in both theory and practice.

But on this subject, South African writers are strangely silent. True, the trio of Lewis Nkosi, Zeke Mphahlele and Bloke Modisane, effectively punctured the mystical aura which surrounds the concept and in his "African Image" Zeke drove a truck through it. Yet it seems hardly adequate to dismiss the subject by pungent criticism; if it can excite the lively interest of a sizable proportion of the writers on our continent it surely deserves a little more careful analysis.

The origins of negritude and its associated concepts are not hard to find: it might be easiest to sum

them up in the typical Gallic tendency to ratiocination and the abstraction of theory from a small number of observed facts. It can also be partly explained by a reaction against Europeaness or whiteness, the assertion of the Black man's pride in his ancestry and blackness in defiance of the superiority and disdain which he encountered in many white circles including the literate.

Slavish Imitation

But certain aspects of the problem of expressing Africa in literature are genuinely problematical. They amount, among others, to these: how does one express the atmosphere and customs of the people of Africa? how does one avoid slavish imitation of "European" models? to what extent should one conform to the standards set by "European" writers? and how does one achieve a literature which is genuinely and peculiarly expressive of thought, custom and ideals in Africa?

At the risk of sounding charlatan, I begin my answers with the assumption that the life of people on this continent is indeed different in certain respects from that of people on other continents, and that to express this life and the peculiar vitality of Africa is

not only a feasible but laudable aim, and that it is possible for Africa to make its own contribution to world literature but offering a literature as great and universally human as that of any other continent.

African Nationalism

Underlying the statement of the problem, and my partial reply is a further assumption: that we can think of concepts such as African nations and African nationalism.

This, it seems to me, lies at the heart of the matter and it is the failure to recognise its existence which makes discussion of subjects like negritude and an African literature sterile and unfruitful.

But we had better have some clarity on what we mean by "nationalism" in relation to literature.

Two quotations will help. The first is from the late Lionel Forman, writing in *Liberation* in 1959. ".... the best way to achieve a fusion of national cultures in the future into one culture is to favour the blossoming of many cultures first."

The second is from a recent publication by the African National Bureau of Political and Social Studies:

"African Nationalism is evolutionary, dynamic and progressive (because) we recognise that it is in itself restrictive and exclusive but as it evolves and progresses its dynamism makes it less restrictive and more inclusive and finally becomes all-embracing."

This, it seems to me is a good point to start from; that we must recognise and accept the existence of nationalism—and be prepared to use it and give expression to it but that we always be aware that it is evolving into something more all-embracing in which we can find the expression and ultimate fusion of many diverse cultures.

What does this mean in terms of literature?

Continued on page 29

Power Centres in South Africa's Economy

In an article in the July 1962 issue of the "Voice" several influential groupings of capital in South Africa have been discussed. These included Oppenheimer's Anglo-American group and foreign capital which resembled their counter-parts in other capitalist countries. Monopolistic, state-supported agricultural capital and state capital, however, are typical and basic white-supremacist South African institutions. The last of the great power centres, Nationalist Capital, is even more blatantly the creature of political reaction than agricultural or state capital.

by G. Fasulo

NAT writers distinguish three successive "economic movements" in the "Afrikaner's economic struggle." (S. Patterson, *The Last Trek*, pp. 162-172). In the first, prior to 1919 little occurred except appeals to oust the "English" from business. Only in 1918 were K.W.V. (Ko-operatiewe Wynbouers Vereeniging — which has already been dealt with in a previous article on state-supported farmers) and Sanlam and Santam founded. The latter insurance companies were founded as a result of appeals by the Dutch Reformed Church to open new avenues of employment for Afrikaners in the towns and so rescue the "poor whites" from poverty (and the possibility that they might lose their racialism and become militant).

The period from 1918 to 1939 is described as the "second economic movement." During this period numbers of individual Afrikaners went into business and in 1934 Volkskas was founded by the Broederbond. The first chairman of Volkskas was Pro-

fessor L. J. du Pleassis, the notorious Broeder who has recently fallen out with his Broeders and been expelled and ostracised by them. The entire original board of the bank appears to have been Broeders.

Broederhood Drive

This period is also the period of the spread of fascist ideas in the ranks of the "New purified" Nats and of the drive by the Broederhood to organise all aspects of Afrikaans life under their control. In 1938 the Centenary of the Great Trek was the occasion for a great outburst of nationalistic emotion. It was suggested that an important way of honouring the Trekkers was to rescue their descendants from poor whiteism. A good deal of money was raised and a welfare organisation called the Redd — dingsdaadbond was set up.

All this spelt opportunity to the new Nat ideologists and capitalists. An Ekonomiese Volkskongress was organised in Bloemfontein in 1939. The big names of the drive to build Nat capital

and to capture the trade unions appeared: Prof. C. G. W. Schumann from Stellenbosch, the Nat academic business expert, Dr. A. Hertzog, Dr. N. Diederichs and Dr. H. F. Verwoerd who are all cabinet ministers today. They all said "Afrikaans" businesses must build up in order to create jobs, wealth and power. "What weapons are available to the Afrikaner in this struggle? State power Purchasing power Capital power" Dr. Verwoerd summed up the views of the Broeders.

Business Wing of the Nats

It was decided that money be collected from Afrikaners for a financial company to finance Afrikaner businesses. Sanlam and Santam in the person of Dr. M. S. Louw came forward to organise this company named Federal Volksbeleggings. The Reddingsdaadbond was transformed from a welfare organisation of the Nat drive to totalitarian power.

Previously we have been dealing with capital owned and managed by Afrikaners and little

different from other capital but now there emerges Nat capital. Volkskas founded by the Broederbond, and Federale Volksbeleggings which was intended to gain economic power for the fascistic new Nats as part of the building of the totalitarian social movement, are not ordinary businesses. They call to mind Volkswagen, the firm established by the Nazi Labour Front and the Herman Goering Works. These firms and their associates of the Sanlam group have acted as the business wing of the Nat movement ever since.

During the war Volkskas and Sanlam group grew slowly compared with what was to come. Their golden age dawned in 1948 when the Nats finally got control of state capital, and of the state with its vast funds. Before that only two of Verwoerd's three "weapons" were available. Purchasing power was mobilised by means of nationalistic campaigns to buy, bank and ensure Afrikaans and of course not to trade with Indians, Jews, or Jingoos. The fat wartime incomes of the farmers made this an important source of economic power. Capital power in the shape of the profits of the Nat capitalists' existing investments was also available.

Contracts for Pals

But this was greatly augmented when the resources of the state fell into Nat hands. They give themselves contracts. For example, Verwoerd's publishing houses (Dagbreekpers and Hayne and Gibson) have been given government contracts worth R3m. since 1960 (*Sunday Times*, June 24, 1962). One of Escom's biggest power stations is built next to a Federale Mynbou coal mine, and a second even bigger power station near Ermelo is to be built next to another Federale Mynbou colliery (*The Star*, September 13, 1962).

This of course gives Federale Mynbou, which is its coal for the next 80 years or so while these power stations continue to

function. An earlier case concerned the Brenner bread swindle. Sanlam, through a subsidiary, got control of Marine Products, a fishing firm which was awarded a contract for fish meal to 'enrich' bread. Many years later it was announced that the fish meal enrichment had no value and the contract was terminated. Meanwhile Marine Products and Sanlam grew fat on public money.

Federale Volksbeleggings is to finance a synthetic rubber plant using raw materials from the state firm Sasol and the rubber factory has full government backing to guarantee it a market. (*The Star*, March 14, 1962.). This Broederly assistance from public funds is made easier by the system of interlocking directorates which have been built up between Nat capital and state capital. For example, Dr. H. J. van Eck of the state firm I.D.C. is a director of Sanlam.

Dr. M. S. Louw of Sanlam has been appointed head of the government's new Coloured Development Corporation (*The Star*, April 11, 1962). Mr. C. H. J. van Aswegen, general manager of Sanlam has been appointed a director of the state-owned National Finance Corporation (*Rand Daily Mail*, August 29, 1962). Mr. J. G. van der Merwe is a director of Voortrekkerpers and of Massey Ferguson, the big agricultural machinery firm in which Federale Volksbeleggings has a large investment, and of the state firms Iscor and Klipfontein Organic Products (KOP).

In addition the State capitalist firms and state departments are used as a training ground for Nat business managers. An indication of how greatly this state aid assisted Nat capital is provided by Sanlam which had assets of R7m in 1939 and R36m in 1949 which rocketed to R180m by 1961.

An idea of the size of Nat capital can be gained from *Tegnick*, July, 1962, which lists the ten biggest Afrikaans financial

institutions and their assets today as being:

Volkskas	R198,991,118
Sanlam	180,000,000
Trust bank	83,100,462
Sambou	65,167,218
Santam	25,301,000
Sentrale Finans-Korporasie	20,103,660
Bonuskor	16,454,200
African Homes Trust	15,870,693
Federale Volksbeleggings	14,618,514
Federale Mynbou	8,181,625

and having total assets of over R627m. All the firms listed except Volkskas are in the Sanlam group. Co-operation between Sanlam and Volkskas is extremely close and Volkskas and Bonuskor, a member of the Sanlam group, have a joint subsidiary, the Northern Investment and Development Corporation.

All the firms listed therefore are to be regarded as forming a single group: Nat capital, the total assets of the group are far greater than R627m since none of the industrial or commercial enterprises are the smaller financial undertakings in the group.

The actual size of the group is unknown but it is clearly still a good deal less than the Oppenheimer group with about R2000m., British capital in South Africa with a bit less than R2000m and state capital with more than R3,000m. On the other hand, Nat capital is growing very rapidly and it is strengthened by its close links with the other two economic bases of Nat power, namely, state capital and state-supported, organised farmers' capital.

Finance and Farming

The structure of Nat capital has evolved on the basis of its traditional fields of experience: finance and farming, plus those fields in which the aid of the State plays a decisive role. Its financial institutions are listed above and it has invested heavily in fishing. (Marine fishing — where the aid of the State-owned Fisheries Development Corporation may also have been important), farm machinery (Safin and Massey Ferguson which is likely to set up a tractor factory in South Africa with the encouragement of the Government Board of

Trade) and fertilisers. (Fison) whose South Africa factory is based on raw materials produced by the state-owned Sasol plants.

Nat capital is to finance a synthetic rubber works using Sasol raw materials and promoted by the government as part of their drive to make South Africa economically self-sufficient. They are breaking into mining through coal mining with the help of big contracts with Escom.

Take-Over Bid

Two important incidents in the history of Nat capital show how strong and how politically important they are becoming. In 1957 acting through the Glazer brothers they tried to take over Central Mining and Investments (Corner House), the second largest mining house in South Africa. The combined efforts of Oppenheimer, Engelhard (backed by Wall Street's Dillon, Read and Co.) and several of London's banks were required to defeat this take-over bid.

Its defeat was followed by loud complaints both by Sanlam's Dr. M.S. Louw and a number of prominent Nat politicians against foreign capital, and even talk of nationalisation by M. S. Louw. Apparently as an appeasement gesture Federale Mynbou was admitted as an investor in Anglo-American's Zandpan Gold Mine. (*Liberation*, December, 1959).

After Sharpeville many foreign investors withdrew their capital from South Africa. Prices fell heavily on the Stock Exchange and an economic crisis threatened the government and led to considerable dissatisfaction among businessmen. Sanlam (and the Old Mutual, which has Paul Sauer as a director but is not a Nat institution) then began buying shares, putting a huge portion of their new funds into the stock market, and this was a major factor in stopping the fall in share prices (*Optima*, December, 1960) Sanlam put 62 per cent of its fund for the year ending September 30, 1960 into

shares and doubled its holdings of equities. (*The Star*, March 16, 1961).

Anton Rupert has built up a cigarette (Rembrandt, America Tobacco Peter Stuyvesant, Rothman, etc) and booze (Villa Rosa, Oude Meester, etc.) empire worth R110m. (*The Star*, November 25, 1960). He was a protege of the Ekonomies Komitee set up after the Ekonomies Volkskongress, and has Dr. N. Diederichs on his board of directors. He appears to be relatively independent and unpolitical by Nat standards (probably because the bulk of his business is in overseas). However, his line is merely a modernised and more rational version of the Nat viewpoint which might have more appeal to non-Nat whites. This viewpoint is now being spread by the Rupert and Schlesinger-backed magazine *News Check*.

Nat Capital

At the opposite, imbecile end of the Nat scale is the prospectus for Sabikor, a firm which intends to produce one or more newspapers, "to educate the Bantu in the light of existing conditions in the political field" and to establish border industries and industries in Bantu areas. This prospectus stated "We believe in our God, we believe in our Nation and in the future of South Africa... with Bantu's eagerness to read, Sabikor shares can pay off great dividends in the future" and it ended by quoting a verse of Die Stem. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 28, 1961): God, reactionary politics and big profits and for the price of one!

Clearly the Nats are continuing to attempt to create Nat capital on the basis of nationalisation and co-operation with the state. However the only important groups that have resulted thus far are the Volkskas — Sanlam group and Rupert's empire. The Volkskas — Sanlam group is the important one inside South Africa and it constitutes an important support for Nat rule.

Negritude, Literature and Nationalism

Continued from page 26

I suggest that the writer make use of the material at hand — material he knows and understands and loves. It means that the West African, the Kenyan and the South African alike can depict in their writing the milieu they know — and make it available to the world. It means to write with understanding of the remnants of tribal culture where they exist, and the bustling life of the South African proletariat — a peculiar fusion of European culture and the vestiges of a tribal culture.

It means that we can speak freely and understandingly of what we know, and share our knowledge with the world. It means too that we must be sufficiently catholic to have a keen eye for and assimilate the diverse cultures which make up life on the African continent.

For the South African it means moving familiarly through the glassy exurbia of Nadine Gordimer with its surface glitter, as well as the missionary plants of Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country" through Peter Abraham's faded stores of oversimplified images as well as the garbage of Zeke Mphahlele's "Second Avenue". They are all part of our continent — our own special world.

Finally, it means that out of this rich and varied soil will come the literature which will be African's, special contribution to world literature.

Little has been written or said on this subject: it is uncharted waters and one sets sail perilously; but it is time we struck out and began to fix a course.

New Crisis Looms in Kenya

by I. Cox

BEFORE Maudling gave up his position as Colonial Secretary in the recent British Cabinet changes to become the new Chancellor, he delivered two parting shots which are bound to create a new crisis in Kenya. The first was to announce that new elections would not be held until 1963. There would then be a long period of internal self-Government, with real power in the hands of the British Governor. No date has yet been fixed for Kenya's independence, and unless the British Government is forced to concede it earlier, it is now not likely until the early months of 1964.

The second parting shot was to announce a free hand-out of R36 million to purchase one-third of the three million acres of European mixed-farming land in the White Highlands during the four years 1963-67. The Government case is that this scheme will provide farms for 70,000 African landless families during this period, namely one half of the existing 150,000 landless families.

These two declarations are part of a single strategy, the first to buy more time to enable the British rulers to put their land scheme into operation, and the second an attempt to commit in advance the new independent Kenya to continue paying out millions to the European settlers.

Both of them are certain to create new serious tension in Kenya and to aggravate the present critical economic situation.

Sabotage of Independence

It was expected that Kenya would have new elections in September this year, with the prospect of independence before the end of 1962. Maudling's visit to Kenya in July (only four months after the London constitutional talks) was designed to prevent this. In the elections of March 1961, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) won 550,000 votes on a restricted franchise, in contrast to the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) which polled only 150,000 votes.

Though both parties prior to the elections were pledged not to form a government until Jomo Kenyatta was released, KADU broke this pledge and joined hands with Sir Machel Blundell (Britain's chief mouthpiece) and other Europeans and formed a minority government. From that moment KADU has been the chief instrument of British strategy to create and widen the divisions in Kenya. At the end of the London talks in March, 1961, Maudling presented an ultimatum that the leaders of KANU and KADU must form a coalition government and come to an agreement on the future

constitution before any date could be fixed for Kenya's independence.

Maudling's experience in Kenya convinced him that KANU was bound to sweep the poll if elections took place this year. Even Lord Colyton (one of the Tory backwoodsmen) had to admit in the House of Lords in May, this year:

"It seems to be widely taken for granted that Kenyatta is the undisputed leader of the majority of the electorate".

To safeguard against this Lord Salisbury (close friend of Welensky and Tshombe) emphasised that:

"It should be made clear to the African political leaders, and to the European population and everyone else, that there will be no general election in Kenya until the details of a new constitution have been agreed....."

Maudling's Strategy

Maudling's strategy is in line with that of these noble lords. KADU knows it has no chance in any new elections, and that its vote will be smaller even than in March 1961. So its leaders are doing everything possible to prevent an agreement with KANU on a new constitution and to hold up new elections as long as possible. During Maudling's visit in July it voiced a demand for a permanent coalition, and that this should be entrenched in the new Kenya constitution. This was too blatant even for Maudling, who prefers to move one stage at a time to hold up Kenya's independence.

Millions for Settlers

Maudling's plan to hand over a free gift of R36 million to European settlers in the next four years is not entirely new. For years the settlers themselves have put forward far more ambitious schemes, but to most of them this is a step in the right direction.

Lord Delamere (son of the original land grabber in 1903), the chairman of the Kenya National Farmers' Union (Euro-

pean) lost no time in declaring "I think this is an excellent practical start to the problem" (Financial Times, 11th July, 1962), though on the same day the Guardian expressed the view that "it is an expensive operation". At the same time, many Europeans are not satisfied and regard the Maudling plan as "inadequate and lacking in urgency", and urged the settlers to sell out now for the highest price and to get out of Kenya without delay.

Due to the serious economic situation in Kenya, land values are falling, and it's extremely doubtful whether most European settlers would get a bigger price from private sales than what is now offered by Maudling. The most urgent need in Kenya is to press ahead with substantial economic development but Maudling made it clear that this scheme to hand over R36 million "will be the first charge on development funds made available to Kenya over the period when the scheme is operating".

This means that the interests of the European settlers are given priority over the urgent need to improve the economic situation in Kenya. Moreover, Maudling's aim is to commit any future government in Kenya to continue this scheme, but most Europeans realise that it won't be worth the paper it is written on after Kenya becomes independent.

African, Landless

Nor is there any evidence that the scheme will provide any real solution for the problem of the 150,000 African landless families. Similar schemes (on a smaller scale) have already been in operation during 1961-2. Up to the end of this year the plan is to take over 250,000 acres, which are expected by that time to provide small holdings for 5,000 African landless families, but with an expected annual cash income of only R80. The declared aim of the new scheme is to provide for 17,000 families in each of the next four years.

Even if this is achieved, there will still be more African landless families at the end of four years than there are now. On July 17 Mr. Tom Mboya (now Minister of Labour) pointed out that 31,500 Africans were thrown out of work during the ending June 1961, and among there were 20,000 in the white Highlands. At this rate there will be 80,000 extra African landless families in four years — more than the total provided for in Maudling's scheme. There are now at least 300,000 Africans unemployed in Kenya, and the number is increasing each year. From this it is clear that the Maudling scheme is no solution for Kenya's problem, and that British policy has no solution at all. Indeed, it is most likely that British ruling circles welcome the worsening economic situation in Kenya in an attempt to justify the maintenance of British rule.

Shameful Record

European land robbery is the most shameful record of British rule in Kenya. Now it is proposed to reward the robbers for what they have stolen from the Africans.

Soon after the British annexed Kenya in 1892 the European land grabbers started operations. In 1901 there were only 13 European settlers. By 1905 there were 886. They grew to over 5,000 in 1914, dropped rapidly during the First World War, rose again to 2,000 before the Second World War, and are now over 2,000.

Land reserved for Europeans in the White Highlands covers an area of seven million acres, most of it ranches and plantations (owned by big private companies) which are untouched by Maudling's scheme. The new plan applies only to mixed-farming land, which is about three million acres — one-third of which is to be purchased in the next four years.

Under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, nearly 6,000 square miles was taken from the Africans

and given to Europeans between 1902 and 1915. After 1915 more than 10,000 square miles were taken, most of it on leases of 999 years at rents of 2½d. an acre up to 1945. Between May 1903 and December 1904 there were 220,000 acres transferred to 342 European settlers, 100,000 acres to Lord Delamere, 350,000 acres to the East African Syndicate (a monopoly firm); and in 1920 the East African Lands and Development Co. acquired 310,000 acres. By 1951 this latter firm had sold all but 800 acres of its land. It paid a dividend of 100 per cent, during 1947-50, and 33 per cent in 1951.

Settlers Make Big Fortunes

After the First World War, returned British soldiers were encouraged to settle in the White Highlands of Kenya to take over farms ranging from 160 to 300 acres. Until 1945 the rent per acre was only 2½d, but in recent years has increased to over 40 cents. Since then speculation in the sale of land has become the greatest occupation of the richer European farmers, and the market value of and has jumped to between 10 and 20 times its real value.

After making huge fortunes both as occupiers and sellers of land, the European settlers are now promised even bigger fortunes by the British Government. Their appetites are insatiable, and both Maudling and Sandys (the new Colonial Secretary) are anxious to satisfy and appease them before the Africans are in control of an independent Kenya.

Jomo Kenyatta has made it clear that an independent Kenya will accept no responsibility for handing over free gifts to European settlers, for "KANU does not believe in any land policy designed to persuade immigrant farmers to stay after self-government." But under the present coalition government in Kenya, the British grip is still strong. The Maudling scheme is a threat to the future of Kenya for it is designed to sabotage the advance to independence.

Algeria's Past And Future

by Pierre Courtade

ON July 1, 1962, Algeria regained her independence after 132 years of French occupation, after a fierce struggle lasting almost eight years, after innumerable and bloody insurrections (notably in 1871 and 1945) and a fight which was, in effect, unceasing.



BEN BELLA
Algerian Premier

to a genuine economic revolution which, although it was to the detriment of the Algerian masses, none the less modernised certain branch of production. By expropriation, brutal confiscations, and plunder disguised to a greater or less extent the French colonialists formed vast estates, usually managed by limited companies, on which a highly productive agriculture was developed. Lastly, the recent discovery of oil in the Sahara has attracted French and foreign capital investments, which means the beginning of industrialisation in Algeria.

In brief, while it is right to denounce vigorously the lie put about by colonialist propaganda that France has accomplished a "philanthropic mission" in Algeria, it would be dangerous to take too simple a view of the situation. The defeat suffered by colonialism is therefore all the more significant. It is a radical condemnation of a system which in relatively favourable circumstances nevertheless provoked the unanimous hatred of the colonial people.

Raw Materials

The development of the large-scale agriculture (cereals, grapes, citric plants), particularly in the coastal region, has had the effect of completely disturbing the balance of the traditional economy of "subsistence" agriculture. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century the amount of grain available per head of the population was considerably lower than at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The pattern of exchange between France and Algeria made Algeria a country supplying agricultural commodities and raw materials and entirely dependent on the French economy for consumer goods and equipment.

A situation arose which *Le Monde*, on July 1, 1962 described in these terms: "...the stagnation or decline of the traditional economy automatically entailed a lowering in the standard of living of a large section of the inhabitants, their baggarisation. On this point there was a great disparity between lavishly

proclaimed principles and sad reality".

The contrast between political principles and reality was even greater. In the name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, Algeria was subjected to direct military administration or else to the domination of the European minority, camouflaged by parodies of elections which deceived nobody.

Until September 16, 1959, on which date the French Government was obliged to recognise Algeria's right to self-determination, the myth of "French Algeria" was sustained by shameless propaganda in defiance of the evidence. Not only was Algeria not French, but the Algerian nationality asserted itself in a struggle which necessarily appealed to the traditional values which attach the country to the Maghreb as a whole and, beyond that, to the entire Arab world.

All these factors played a determinative role in the armed struggle which ended in the liberation of Algeria and contributed towards giving this struggle specific features which must be taken into account if one wants to understand what is happening at the present moment.

Struggle For Independence

In the first place the struggle for independence has been the struggle of the entire Algerian people. Naturally enough, the French colonialists have occasionally found accomplices and even active "collaborators", but despite desperate efforts they were incapable of forming a "French Algeria" party, which had the support of even a fraction of the Muslim population. Attempts to create in Algeria the equivalent of "bao-daism" such as existed in Viet-Nam failed lamentably. On the contrary, it has been possible to observe a certain radicalisation of the Algerian people's struggle favoured by the relative weakness of the Muslim big bourgeoisie and by the fact that with some exceptions the leaders of the Army and the political apparatus of the National-Liberation Front

belong to the peasantry, to the urban middle strata, and, to a less extent, to the working class.

Finally, despite the employment of military measures unprecedented in the bloody history of colonialism, despite recourse to a terror which by its systematic and universal nature assumed the proportions of genocide, despite the heavy blows struck against the combatants notably by the erection of practically impassable "barrages" near the Algero-Tunisian and Algero-Moroccan frontiers, the French Government, supported by the ultra European minority, proved incapable of reversing the train of events.

Big Monopoly

The moment came when the French ruling circles realised that, even if it were possible to win the war on the military level, it was futile to think of imposing the "solution" of "French Algeria". De Gaulle himself had to admit this when he announced to those who were still nostalgic for the old forms of colonisation that "Papa's Algeria is dead".

But this formula, although an admission of failure, equally proclaimed that those French ruling circles who express the point of view of big monopoly capital did not consider themselves beaten, quite the reverse. For a long time now these circles have understood that colonial domination and exploitation can take more discreet forms, though the new methods are just as effective, if not more effective than those of direct administration. "Neo-colonialism" has been mentioned in this respect. The expression is right, although this "neo-colonialism" does not even have the merit of being new. In this domain, too, European capitalism had done nothing more than follow in the steps of American imperialism.

It is a very long time now since the American capitalists discovered the virtues of a system thanks to which, while parading their anti-colonialism, they have been able since the end of the last century

to conquer an "invisible empire" in Latin America which is just as profitable and in many respects less vulnerable than the traditional Empires built by the European Powers in Asia and Africa.

In this system it matters little what flag flies over a country so long as its basic economic structure is controlled, even indirectly, by the imperialist Power.

To come back to Algeria, it has become obvious for a number of years that French Big Business no longer had any objection to the Algerian flag flying over Algiers so long as its own flag continued to fly, either alone or in company with others, over the oil wells in the Sahara, over the pipe lines and the mines. Indeed de Gaulle made no secret of this fact when, in recognising the Algerian people's right to self-determination, he immediately added that "whatever happens all necessary measures will be taken to ensure the extraction and transport of oil" (speech on September 16, 1959).

It only remained for the old-fashioned supporters of the idea of "Papa's Algeria" to be persuaded that they must renounce their claims and privileges which prevented the introduction into Algeria of a system of exploitation inspired by neo-colonialism. This has only been achieved with much difficulty.

Neo-Colonialism

It may justly be said that for nearly three years the French monopolists have had to fight on two fronts, in the one place in order to impose on the Europeans in Algeria a solution which they opposed with the strength of despair to the point of having recourse to terrorism, and in the other to impose on the Algerians conditions of peace which would commit the future of the new state along lines favourable to the interests of neo-colonialism.

Naturally enough, there is scarcely any need to point out that this fight on two fronts has been con-

ducted in very different ways according to whether it was against their mutinous ultra-colonialist brothers or against the Algerian "rebels". The fight against the "ultras" has always been marked by a sense of solidarity between partisans of two variants of colonialism. The very origin of Gaulist power born of the fascist push on May 13th 1958, did not allow it to mete out too severe punishment to individuals who had and still have innumerable accomplices in the Governmental machine.

Bloody Episode

The mock-medieval title of "liege of equality" with which de Gaulle once greeted Baoul Salan reminds me irresistibly of this dialogue: a King of France wishing to call to order a rebellious noble, addressed him in these terms—"Who made you duke?" to which came the pertinent reply: "Who made you king?"

Thus despite the bloody episodes the conflict between the backwoodsmen of colonialism and the capitalist monopolies remained secondary. Or rather, while combating those O.A.S. "ultras" who flouted the authority of the state in too open a manner, the French authorities in fact made use of fascist terrorism as an element of pressure in the negotiations with the Algerians. It is typical that, while some fascist terrorists have been condemned and executed for attacks on French policemen, not one has been punished for crimes perpetrated against defenceless Muslim crowds.

Up until July 1, everything happened as if the French Government's only concern was to contain the "ultra" terrorists within "reasonable" limits while allowing them to direct the main blow against the Muslim Algerians.

In the meanwhile the war was being implacably waged against the "rebels" on whom efforts were made to impose a compromise which have made independence a fiction pure and simple. But the Algerian people did not yield. The sacrifices they willingly

made between the recognition of the right to self-determination in September 1959 and the conclusion of the Evian Agreements obliged the French Government to renounce successively its most extravagant claims: the partition of Algeria, the granting of a special privileged status to Europeans, and above all the detachment of the Sahara, which would have deprived the new state of all possibility of controlling its essential power resources.

The heroic struggle of the Algerian people who fought while they negotiated has won recognition for their fundamental rights: (with certain restrictions relating in particular to the base at Mers El Kebir and the experimental atomic base at Reggane in the Sahara) and recognition of the principle of economic independence.

It is not for us to decide whether it might have been possible to obtain more. We shall simply recall that the Evian Agreements have been approved by all tendencies in Algeria, without exception, and ratified by a massive majority of the French people.

Evian Agreements

This said, it is impossible to hide the fact that on the economic level—which is precisely where the neo-colonialists intend to play the deciding match—the French negotiators have for the time being succeeded in imposing fairly narrow limits on Algeria's "monetary and commercial independence" as recognised by the Agreements.

Moreover, the settlement of the question of Saharan oil reached on the basis of the status quo could have in the future negative consequences for the young state.

I say "for the time being" and "could have", for everything depends in the final analysis on the evolution of the relation of forces between the Algerian people and the French and foreign imperialist circles and on political developments inside Algeria.

The economic aspects of the Evian Agreements need to be studied from the dialectical standpoint,

taking into account the fact that each clause in the agreements is susceptible of an interpretation more or less favourable to the cause of independence. An article written from this standpoint by M. Hincker in the French Marxist review *Economie at Politique* in its June issue draws attention to the following point.

In the first place it notes that "despite the proclamation of the principle of economic independence the agreements stipulate that Algeria remain in the franc zone." If this provision were to be observed, its strict application would result in a real customs and monetary union between France and Algeria. Now it is a fact that under the capitalist system a customs and monetary union between two equally developed countries acts in favour of the more advanced economy.

Without any doubt, one of the tasks confronting the new Algerian state, if it wants to assert its real independence, will be at least to limit the effects of this tendency, notably by bringing into full play the clauses which oblige the French Government to take account of the "imperatives of Algeria's economic and social development" and which limit the transfer of private funds in an Algeria-France direction. A mixed commission with parity membership will be entrusted with the task of examining all questions connected with these transfers as well as the apportionment of French public credits which will be assigned to public or private projects proposed by the Algerian state but which the French side reserves the right to reject.

Common Rules

This means, to quote from *Economie at Politique*, that the "parity membership" of the commission "will simultaneously conceal the factual inequality of the respective monetary powers". The same remark is valid in respect of a clause envisaging the establishment of "common rules" for the two states in preparing trade agreements in foreign exchange. The strict application of this clause will in fact

place the whole of Algerian trade under French control; moreover, Algeria would be able to trade with other states outside the franc zone only jointly with France, etc.

It is easy to foresee the consequences of such a practice, in particular for trade between Algeria and the countries of the East. However, since the majority of young African states have already rid themselves of this particular chain, one is entitled to think that the Algerian state will follow their example.

More restricted is the freedom of manoeuvre which is left to Algeria in the field of oil. "Dealt with at greater length and with greater exactitude," *Economie at Politique* observes, "the questions touching on oil show where the essential imperialist interest lies. And the degree of compromise appears to be more severe here for Algeria, leaving less latitude for interpretation than in other economic problems."

Dangerous Provisions

One of the most dangerous provisions of the agreements on oil is undoubtedly that which stipulates that dues collected by the Algerian state on tonnage exported to the franc zone or eventual state exports to France will be paid in French francs. In the minds of the French capitalists this clause is intended, on the one hand, to enable them to stock themselves with oil paid for in French francs and, on the other, to compel Algeria to "buy French".

Moreover, it is difficult to see how, if all these provisions were to be observed, Algeria could escape from the European Common Market in which France is now becoming more and more deeply integrated. It is difficult not to see in these clauses and in others of the same kind stepping stones on the way to the setting up of this Eurafrika which remains the grand plan of the European neo-colonialists.

In view of these facts the future of Algeria as an independent state will be what the Algerians make of it. It will depend also on developments in France herself, and, of course, on modifications in the relation of forces at the international level.

One may be sure that the French neo-colonialists will try by every means to create in Algeria a political situation favouring an interpretation of the economic clauses in the Evian Agreements to their advantage.

Dissensions

Is it then possible to attribute to their actions the unfortunate dissensions within the National-Liberation front which have accompanied and cast a shadow over the independence celebrations? We do not have the information to enable us to decide, and in any case it is necessary to guard against mechanical interpretations according to which the position of such and such a leader reflects the position of a social group or particular interests. Nor is it possible to explain the differences between the Algerian leaders on the eve of independence and in the subsequent period by and psychological traits, as the French governmental press is now trying to do, with the evident intention of diminishing the profound impression made on public opinion by the unity and discipline of the Algerian people and its Army in face of provocations from the A.O.S. fascists.

On the other hand, it must be realised that the divisions which existed among the leadership of National-Liberation Front throughout July could have lightened the sabotaging work of the neo-colonialists and objectively served their purposes.

"Invisible" Imperialism

The experience of numerous newly independent African and Asian countries and also the historical experience of Latin America in its relations with the "invisible" imperialism of United States have shown that neo-colonialism banks on two main cards: disruption of the unity of the anti-colonialist front and anti-Communism.

The crisis in the ruling circles of the National-Liberation Front which has developed in the last few months of the liberation struggle and burst wide open on the eve of independence can only weaken the authority of the new state in

side the country and on the international plane to the advantage of the neo-colonialists. Anti-Communism is manifested in the Blida and Cherchell regions mainly in the arbitrary arrests of combatants of the National-Liberation Army whose sole "crime" is membership of the Algerian Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the Algerian Communist Party in a statement published in Algiers on July 7 drew attention "to the dangers entailed in using these anti-democratic methods which can only harm the indispensable union of the national movement and the patriotic forces". Although it may be said that these are local instances, on the other hand the visit to Algiers on Washington's behalf by Irving Brown, the American expert in "subverting" the working-class movement, the adherence of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA) to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and also the anti-Communist speeches made in West Berlin at the conference of this latter organisation leaves little doubt as to the orientation of certain Algerian leaders.

Fascist Terrorists

Should these decisions and these arbitrary arrests be attributed to the compromise which certain members of the Algerian Provisional Government judged necessary to arrive at with the fascist terrorists on the eve of the self-determination referendum? It is not for us to pass moral judgment in this matter. All compromise of this kind obviously has its painful aspects, though it cannot be denied that many combatants in the Army and the resistance felt it as an attack on their dignity, even though it probably saved Algiers and, to a less extent, Oran from new trials.

However that may be, there can be no doubt that despite the reservations with which it has been surrounded by the Algerian negotiators this compromise has resulted in factual recognition of the ultra-colonialist Europeans as a "valid negotiator" and as a political force which could take its place in the

new Algeria. At the same time one of the principal negotiators of the compromise on the European side, the fascist chief Susini, openly proclaimed that the "reconciliation" should be effected on the basis of the fight against Communism and for an Algerian "revolution" of the national-socialist type!

Even more grave and perhaps more significant is the role played in arranging this compromise by the representatives of the European big bourgeoisie, notably the former mayor of Algiers Jacques Chevallier who, having played the "liberal" card, did not hesitate to serve as intermediary for the benefit of the "ultras".

Capitalist Bourgeoisie

Commenting on these events in its appeal on July 7, the Algerian Communist Party declared: "The neo-colonialists who have gained control of our mines and the industrial centres, the Saharan oil fields and the administrative services are seeking ways to undermine the foundations of our independence. The French army stationed on our territory is a menace to our sovereignty. The Jacques Chevellers, Blanchettes, Schiaffinos, etc., representatives of the European capitalist bourgeoisie of Algeria, are trying to lure a section of our national bourgeoisie onto the path of collaboration and conciliatory moves. The name of Jacques Chevallier has always been linked with the division of the national movement and anti-Communism".

In regard to the differences in the National-Liberation Front, the Algerian Communist Party appeal further declares: "All the Algerian social classes have from the first conducted, in unity, the war of liberation with a common goal: to achieve independence. However each one of these classes has given a different content to the word 'independence,' today, the Party believes, different points of views exist in the liberation movement, for example on the choice of the path of Algeria's economic development: the capitalist or the non-capitalist path. Different points of view exist on the meaning of co-operation with France and the other

capitalist countries, on the scope and time-table of agrarian reform etc., etc. The appeal concludes: "It would not serve any purpose to deny these differences. The solution is to let the people speak so as to find a democratic solution to the crisis."

Interference

In view of the heightened tension in Algeria ensuing from the differences, which have arisen among members of the Provisional Government and National-Liberation Front leaders, and the threat of civil and intervention by imperialist forces, the Algerian Communist Party issued a new appeal to the people at the end of July. It stated that the existence and future of the country were in danger and that "it is impossible that those who only yesterday were brothers-in-arms should today rise up against each other in bloody combat".

The appeal points out that "the neo-colonialists are looking for a pretext to intervene militarily in our internal affairs; French troops are patrolling some of our towns, in violation of the Evian Agreements, and the O.A.S. is beginning to take up its criminal activities once more. French imperialism wishes to make of our country a new Congo."

In its statement of August 3, the Algerian Communist Party again firmly stressed the need for preserving unity.

Subsequently, under pressure from the people seized with a profound desire for unity, and so as to prevent the young Algerian state becoming a victim of internal contradictions or even being dragged into civil war, representatives of the various trends came to an agreement which has provisionally settled the matter. The last word on the future of independent Algeria, however, belongs to the people who will have a chance to express their will at the elections to the Constitutive Assembly on September 2, 1962.

The French democratic movement can and must play a big part in this affair. It is perfectly clear

that if the solutions of the economic and political problems confronting the new Algeria essentially depend on the Algerian people themselves, political developments in France will have a big influence on political developments in Algeria.

American Imperialism

It might even be said (with certain reservations, of course) that the democratic solution of the Algerian problem is linked with democratic solution of the French problem. A France governed by the agents of monopoly capitalism and undermined by ultra fascism which has redeployed onto French territory a large part of its terrorist organisations from Algeria, a France closely dependent on American imperialism and integrated into the Common Market, which is tending to become a Eurafrikan combination, will inevitably make use of the Franco-Algerian co-operation envisaged in the Evian Agreements to threaten Algerian independence.

The decision of the French Council of Ministers on August 8, 1962, refusing to give Algeria financial assistance, has brought into sharp relief the intentions and aims of the neo-colonialists. As *L'Humanité* observed, this refusal is really a form of blackmail and should not pass unnoticed by French democrats.

French Democracy

The greatest danger is that the sense of relief following on the re-establishment of peace will lead to a slackening of interest by French democratic opinion in the Algerian question with the risk of it arising once again in even more dramatic terms, which could give French military chiefs an occasion for brutal intervention.

In order to avert this dangerous possibility, the task before the French democratic movement is quite obvious: to support the Algerian people in their struggle to impose an interpretation of the Evian Agreements favourable to the genuine independence of Algeria and consequently, at the same time, to the installation of genuine democracy in France.

La Conference Du Commonwealth Sur Le Marche Commun

par Anila Graham

LA conférence des Premiers Ministres du Commonwealth sur le Marché commun a mis nettement en évidence la fracture qui s'est produite entre le Gouvernement britannique et les différents Gouvernements du Commonwealth. Tout incomplets qu'ils sont, les accords de Bruxelles ont été condamnés en bloc par chacun des Gouvernements du Commonwealth, car ils n'offrent pas des garanties suffisantes pour sauvegarder leurs intérêts. De l'avis général, il semble que dans sa hâte de parvenir à un accord avec les Six, le Gouvernement britannique est prêt à vendre le Commonwealth long du Rhin.

Selon l'opinion unanime des représentants du Commonwealth, s'il appartient uniquement à la Grande Bretagne de décider son adhésion au Marché commun, il est hors de doute que dans les conditions proposées à l'heure actuelle—celle-ci porterait fatalement préjudice au Commonwealth. Comme l'a fait observer M. Menzies, la Grande Bretagne a—paraît-il décréte que les avantages économiques dérivant de son entrée dans la Communauté l'emporteraient sur les pertes.

Il est souhaitable que cette opinion soit exacte, mais il semble qu'en fin de compte ce soit le Commonwealth qui ferait en partie, si ce n'est en totalité, les frais de l'opération. L'attitude du délégué canadien, M. Diefenbaker, fut encore plus énergique. Il déclara que l'adhésion de la Grande Bre-

tagne au Marché commun bouleverserait les relations à l'intérieur du Commonwealth, et souligna l'importance que le Canada attachait à l'intensité des échanges commerciaux avec le Royaume-Uni. M. Diefenbaker cita, à l'appui de son jugement contraire à l'attitude actuelle de la Grande Bretagne, une déclaration faite en 1959 par l'un des membres du Gouvernement même de M. Macmillan, M. Maudling

Celui-ci avait alors déclaré: "il est incontestable qu'en signant le Traité de Rome, nous accepterions les Tarifs extérieurs communs qui constitueraient une barrière pour les produits du Commonwealth, et à mon avis, aucun gouvernement de ce pays ne saurait avancer une proposition qui entraînerait l'abandon du libre-échange à l'intérieur du Commonwealth". Mr. Diefenbaker critique le changement fondamental survenu depuis lors dans l'attitude britannique et laissa entendre que le Gouvernement devait en expliquer les raisons à la Conférence. Quant à l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'Europe deviendrait plus forte en resserrant ses liens, il déclara qu'il fallait se demander si cela n'amènerait pas l'Amérique du Nord à se sentir moins responsable de la défense européenne.

Il demande également si en entrant dans une Fédération ou dans une Confédération européenne, la Grande Bretagne ne risquait pas de devenir semblable à une province du Canada ou à l'un des

Etats-Unis. Les autres Premiers Ministres ont exprimé la même crainte à l'égard d'une union fédérale et de ses répercussions sur les relations du Commonwealth, car un tel entre la Grande Bretagne et l'Europe provoquerait dans le Commonwealth, un bouleversement peut-être fatal.

Selon M. Nehru, il importe de considérer l'adhésion de la Grande Bretagne à la Communauté européenne en fonction de la tension Est-Ouest et de la paix mondiale. Tous les pays sont directement intéressés au conflit Est-Ouest, de clara-t-il, et toute initiative doit désormais être jugée de ce point de vue: "Est-ce que cela réduit la tension entre l'Est et l'Ouest? Est-ce que cela écarte la menace d'une guerre?". M. Nehru a également mis en doute l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'unification de l'Europe contribuerait nécessairement à la paix internationale. "Nous craignons que les propositions actuelles et l'entrée du Royaume-Uni dans la Communauté européenne n'aient des conséquences opposées et n'accroissent la tension entre l'Est et l'Ouest".

Certains pays d'Europe orientale ont soutenu que le Marché commun entraînerait le renforcement de l'Otan. "Ceci n'est peut-être pas tout à fait exact, mais il risque néanmoins d'envenimer les rapports entre les deux blocs... et d'affaiblir les possibilités de désarmement".

Certes, il a toujours été évident que le Commonwealth serait lésé par l'adhésion de la Grande Bretagne au Marché commun dans les conditions proposées, car celles-ci prévoient pour 1970 l'abolition de tout le système préférentiel du Commonwealth et l'application par la Communauté d'un tarif extérieur commun pour les produits provenant du Commonwealth. Cette mesure créera une situation paradoxale car les pays du Commonwealth, dont les produits bénéficiaient auparavant de tarifs préférentiels dans le Royaume-Uni, se heurteront désormais à un système préférentiel inversé, dans lequel les

merchandises provenant des pays membres du Marché commun seront privilégiées, tandis que celles du Commonwealth devront franchir une barrière douanière.

Par conséquent, on ne saurait s'étonner si tous les dirigeants du Commonwealth sont unanimes à déclarer que l'adhésion britannique à la Communauté portera fatalement préjudice aux échanges commerciaux du Commonwealth. Tous les Premiers Ministres ont insisté sur ce point. Le représentant du Canada, M. Diefenbaker, a souligné que l'adhésion de la Grande Bretagne à la CEE bouleverserait les relations du Commonwealth. Comme l'a fait observer M. Nehru : "Je ne vois pas comment le Commonwealth pourra survivre, à moins que les propositions actuelles ne soient radicalement modifiées". Il a également déclaré : "Je conçois que le Royaume-Uni puisse se voir offrir un avantage à entrer dans le Marché commun. Cela est fort possible, mais je ne vois pas très bien quel profit on peut attendre d'un tel lien s'il nuit au Commonwealth."

Ce sont peut-être les pays du Commonwealth actuellement en voie de développement qui ont formulé les critiques les plus significatives à l'égard du Marché commun. L'adoption du tarif extérieur commun semble avoir pour but de maintenir ce pays au rang de producteurs de produits de base, car tandis que les matières premières nécessaires à l'industrie européenne sont exemptes de droits de douane, les produits manufacturés sont frappés de droits élevés. Etant donné la situation mondiale actuelle, où l'écart entre les pays riches et les pays pauvres s'accroît sans cesse, il importe avant que les pays industrialisés augmentent leurs importations dans les régions sous-développées.

Par suite de l'abaissement des prix des produits de base, les nations en voie de développement se trouvent dans l'impossibilité de se procurer les devises suffisantes pour financer les importations des biens d'équipement nécessaires à la réalisation de leurs plans d'industrialisa-

tion, alors que celle-ci est pour ces pays le seul moyen de sortir du cercle vicieux de la pauvreté et du chômage. Jusqu'ici, les puissances occidentales semblent croire que les prêts financiers constituent une solution à leurs problèmes, mais l'abaissement constant des produits de base a largement absorbé le bénéfice d'une telle aide. (Au total la dette extérieure des pays sous-développés s'est accrue de 250 pour cent pendant ces cinq dernières années, tandis que le produit des exportations n'a augmenté que de 20 pour cent environ).

Par conséquent, la seule solution possible, est que les nations industrialisées acceptent d'importer les produits manufacturés des pays en voie de développement. Malheureusement, elles semblent actuellement préférer accorder à ces pays des prêts onéreux plutôt que d'acheter leurs produits bon marché. Les disputes qui ont éclaté lorsqu'il a été question que le Marché commun importe des textiles provenant des pays asiatiques en sont un exemple frappant. Tous les orateurs asiatiques ont mis en relief le dommage incalculable qui serait causé aux pays asiatiques en voie de développement s'ils devaient perdre leur marché protégé en Grande Bretagne (qui constitue actuellement un de leurs principaux débouchés) et affronter, aussi bien en Grande Bretagne qu'en Europe occidentale, un tarif extérieur commun.

La diminution immédiate du produit des leurs exportations empêcherait la réalisation de leurs plans de développement économique et se produirait dans une période où les gains en devises étrangères sont extrêmement faibles. Cet argument a été soutenu avec la plus grande énergie aussi bien par l'Inde que par le Pakistan, et Ceylan a également insisté particulièrement sur ce point.

La plupart des observateurs ont certainement été surpris d'entendre le Président pakistanais Ayub Khan s'exprimer à ce propos en des termes aussi violents. Il déclara que si les pays en voie de développe-

ment étaient contraints de continuer à produire uniquement des matières premières pour alimenter les usines occidentales "cela reviendrait à rétablir le pire impérialisme qui soit, dont les conséquences seraient littéralement désastreuses". De même, M. Nehru déclara dans son discours : "Les propositions actuelles semblent inspirées, sinon entièrement, du moins en grande partie, par le vieux concept colonialiste ou par une idée du même genre".

Le Président Ayub Khan a ensuite déclaré que le monde occidental doit décider s'il veut assurer aux pays en voie de développement une existence indépendante, ou s'il entend se transformer en "un puissant cartel international qui interdirait à nos produits l'accès des autres marchés et nous force à produire uniquement des matières premières pour alimenter ses industries, impose les conditions commerciales et nous contraigne à acheter ses produits finis à un prix exagéré".

Il souligna ensuite que dans la situation économique où il se trouve actuellement, le Pakistan ne pourrait supporter, ne fût-ce que pour un temps limité, une diminution sensible dans l'encaissement de devises. "Nous serons contraints soit de restreindre nos importations dans les pays qui étaient nos fournisseurs traditionnels soit de modifier radicalement notre politique commerciale et de chercher d'autres débouchés pour nos exportations". M. Nehru a fait observer qu'il serait possible de résoudre les difficultés économiques de l'Inde et des autres pays en voie de développement en exemptant de droits de douane le plus grand nombre d'articles possible et en abaissant les tarifs sur les autres produits.

Dans l'ensemble, les pays asiatiques du Commonwealth ont soutenu que la philosophie économique de la CEE est dans un certain sens hostile à leurs intérêts. Les perspectives commerciales de la CEE sont destinées à perpétuer l'ancienne division de la production entre les pays sous-développés, producteurs de matières premières et les pays

industrialisés, producteurs de produits manufacturés. Soit l'Inde soit le Pakistan on fait remarquer que les gouvernements des Six se sont toujours montrés sensibles aux pressions de leurs propres producteurs de produits bon marché, et qu'en cas de conflit d'intérêts avec les producteurs asiatiques, ils soutiendraient les industries nationales.

Les représentants des deux nations ont chacun mis en relief la contradiction existant entre, l'aide massive et la clôture des marchés et tous deux ont demandé de quelle manière le monde occidental entend à l'avenir prodiguer cette aide—et permettre à leurs pays d'affermir leur économie—s'il n'offre des débouchés à leurs produits bon marché.

Ce sont sans doute les pays africains qui ont porté à la Conférence le coup le plus sévère en refusant catégoriquement de s'associer à la Communauté en tant que territoires d'outre-mer. La Grande Bretagne espérait que l'offre du statut d'association pour les territoires d'outre-mer constituerait une garantie pour les pays du Commonwealth situés en Afrique et aux Caraïbes. On savait dès le début que le Ghana était hostile à ce lien dont il avait déjà montré la signification néo-colonialiste. M. Goka, ministre des Finances et du Commerce du Ghana—qui est, entre parenthèses, le principal animateur du mouvement formé par les pays du groupe de Casablanca pour créer un Marché commun africain—a déclaré à ce propos que même si la Grande-Bretagne adhère effectivement au Marché commun, le Ghana n'a pas l'intention de solliciter une association avec la communauté, quelles qu'en soient les conditions.

Il a ajouté que les Etats africains qui ont accepté l'association en tireront certains avantages immédiats, mais qu'en fin de compte "ils paieront cher leur décision". Mais la plupart des observateurs ont été surpris de voir les autres pays africains du Commonwealth soutenir avec véhémence la même opinion. Même un pays comme la Nigéria a déclaré catégoriquement que si la Grande Bretagne adhérerait au Mar-

ché commun, elle refuserait pour son compte de s'y associer.

Comme la fait remarquer le représentant de ce pays, les problèmes que doivent affronter les pays en voie de développement sont d'une nature si vaste et si profonde que la question de l'association ou de la non-association avec la CEE revêt une importance secondaire. Bien plus, il a fait remarquer que l'association n'a pas résolu les problèmes essentiels des pays qui l'ont acceptée, et a exprimé l'opinion qu'elle allait plutôt vraisemblablement accroître leur dépendance économique. "A l'heure actuelle, les pays en voie de développement se trouvent pris dans un cercle vicieux, car tandis que le produit de leurs exportations ne cesse de décroître et a désormais atteint un niveau inférieur à celui de la période a plus critique de la récession de 1957-58, les prix des marchandises qu'ils importent dans les pays industrialisés continuent à augmenter".

Les pertes que la Nigéria a subies de la sorte, a-t-il dit, dépassent de loin l'aide qu'elle a reçue. A propos des difficultés auxquelles se heurte l'exploration de produits manufacturés à destination des Six, il a déclaré que "la politique commerciale de la CEE à l'égard des pays en voie de développement est pour le moins déconcertante".

Le Premier Ministre du Tanganyika provoqua un nouveau coup de théâtre en refusant carrément l'association, non seulement pour son pays, mais aussi pour le Kenya et l'Ouganda. Il déclara que les trois territoires du Commonwealth situés en Afrique orientale rejetaient l'association et qu'ils se proposaient de traiter séparément avec la CEE, en tant que Marché commun d'Afrique orientale. Il fit observer que l'indépendance, la stabilité et la prospérité de l'Afrique ne peuvent se réaliser pleinement que dans le cadre de l'unité africaine. L'association de l'Afrique orientale avec le Marché commun entraînerait son alignement sur les positions du bloc occidental et ceci serait incompatible avec le développement du Marché commun d'Afrique orientale.

Tous les dirigeants africains se rendent compte qu'ils font un sacrifice économique en rejetant l'association avec la CEE, mais leur opposition est dictée par la sincère suspicion politique que leur inspire cette institution. L'Afrique constitue désormais un continent uni, indépendant et non-engagé. Ses dirigeants sont convaincus qu'une association avec l'Europe aurait une portée aussi bien politique qu'économique. Elle les engagerait sur l'un des fronts de la guerre froide, les séparerait des autres pays producteurs et perpétuerait à certains égards l'ancien lien colonial.

La conférence du Commonwealth a fait ressortir nettement la conviction des dirigeants asiatiques et africains selon laquelle la politique occidentale est encore dictée par les vieux principes colonialistes. Comme tous les pays qui sont d'anciennes colonies ont pu s'en rendre compte, le gros inconvénient du système colonial consistait à maintenir les territoires coloniaux dans un état d'infériorité économique. Ils ne pouvaient produire que des matières premières et des denrées alimentaires, tandis que les métropoles édifiaient une industrie qui constitue la base d'un rapide essor économique. Les plans d'industrialisation sont aujourd'hui contrecarrés par l'abaissement des prix des produits de base et par le refus des pays occidentaux d'acheter leurs produits manufacturés.

Ces nations n'ont pas besoin d'une simple assistance, mais d'échanges commerciaux et d'aide en attendant que les échanges commerciaux sans aide deviennent un jour réalisables. Tous ces pays sont convaincus que le Marché commun vise à maintenir leur économie à un niveau primitif, et la plupart d'entre eux ne voit dans l'intégration économique européenne qu'un moyen d'élargir encore davantage l'abîme qui sépare les riches et les pauvres.

Dans son discours final, M. Nehru a souligné les dangers que provoquerait la Communauté économique européenne en accroissant sa richesse et puissance aux dépens du reste du monde ou du Commonwealth. "Tout ce qui

augmente l'écart entre les pays riches et les pauvres est destiné à créer des difficultés car les nations défavorisées ou en voie de développement se sentiront inévitablement lésées. Nous devons par conséquent réduire la distance qui sépare les pays en voie de développement et ceux qui ont déjà atteint leur maturité". Dans son discours de clôture, M. Macmillan a également reconnu la nécessité d'une politique commerciale plus ouverte et plus libérale.

Malgré les plaidoyers enthousiastes de M. Macmillan et de M. Health, la conclusion de la Conférence des Premiers Ministres du Commonwealth a prouvé que les dirigeants du Commonwealth

considèrent avec la plus grande appréhension l'adhésion de la Grande Bretagne au Marché commun aux conditions actuellement proposées dans les accords de Bruxelles. Cette crainte se reflète dans le communiqué final qui a été adopté au terme de deux séances prolongées et orageuses.

On n'y trouve nulle approbation pour le projet sous sa forme actuelle, mais chaque groupe de pays a spécifié en quel sens les conditions sont inacceptables, quelles sont les garanties supplémentaires requises et s'est réservé le droit d'examiner à nouveau les propositions finales de l'accord. De son côté, la Grande Bretagne a assuré qu'elle tiendra compte de toutes les observations faites au cours de

la conférence lorsqu'elle reprendra les négociations avec les Six. La partie la plus encourageante du communiqué est probablement celle dans laquelle la grande majorité des pays réunis reconnaît que les nations privilégiées doivent accorder à l'augmentation des possibilités d'échanges la même importance qu'à l'assistance financière aux fins du développement des pays défavorisés.

NOTE DU RÈDACTEUR EN CHEF

Nous ne partageons nécessairement pas l'avis de l'auteur de cet article. Nous acceptons néanmoins de le publier, car il soulève quelques points essentiels du Marché commun.

Common Market

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to exploit or colonise these countries. This technical and financial assistance is actuated by the desire to free the economies of these countries from the economic and financial stranglehold of imperialism, to set their peoples on the road to progress and complete and full national independence and freedom.

Capitalist imperialism on the other hand regards, treats and wants these countries and territories as markets for its manufactured goods; sources of raw materials and cheap labour, and fields for capital investments. The prosperity of all imperialist countries depends largely on the exploitation of economically less developed countries and territories. So, it is only natural and understandable for all of them to want to keep this source of prosperity. Of course the best way of ensuring the continuance of such state of affairs is to keep the local population ignorant, poor and backward.

Millions in Subjection

In addition the imperialists also want the people of these countries as allies, allies not in the sacred and noble struggle for their economic progress and cultural advancement, but as allies in the fight against their own interests. Through misrepresentations, suppression of

the truth and fraudulent propaganda the imperialists sometimes succeed in getting people on their side to block the progress of their countries, to frustrate policies which would lead to industrial construction, social progress and well-being of the population.

Until the end of the last World War many Western powers owned large areas of colonial possessions and held in subjection millions of people of different national and racial groups. Britain and France owned huge empires in Asia, Africa and the West Indies, while the United States held South America in a state of vassalage. They invested some money to extract required raw materials, built few factories and workshops and the inadequate services which existed in those countries. In some countries larger quantities of gold and diamonds were extracted and sent to Europe as profits.

If the leaders of the new independent African States have taken the trouble to study the modern history of relations between the Western imperialist powers and the small independent countries, they will understand that there can be no real political independence without economic independence, that independence without a solid industrial and economic foundation is nothing but a sham which, as in the South American Republics, Portugal, Spain and the potentates

of Western Asia, soon degenerates to the position of dependency ruled by reactionary and corrupt military cliques whose policies are dictated and controlled by some foreign imperialist power; while the rulers of these countries live in abundance, millions of their countrymen remain backward and live under conditions of extreme poverty.

Robbery of Africa

From the point of view of the African states the European Common Market is a trap. It is designed to perpetuate their economic dependence, to subordinate their needs for rapid industrial development to the needs of American and European capitalists to retain Africa as a source of cheap raw materials extracted by cheap labour. It is a device to replace existing imperialist relationships which is "collective imperialism," that is the joint robbery of Africa by the joint efforts of the imperialist powers. It is a device to draw African countries, as junior partners of the "West" in the cold war against socialism, which is at the same time a war against national independence of Africa and Asia.

Thus the proposal that the African countries should join the European Common Market is one which should be rejected outright by all patriotic Africans. Those leaders who accept it should be repudiated by their people.