



Experiences
and Facts

Parenthesis

Eskor Toyo

President Sékou Touré recently denounced new plans of aggression against the People's Republic of Guinea. Portuguese colonialism, supported by NATO, tries to detour the African nation from the road chosen by its people.

Nigerian economist Eskor Toyo, author of documented essays on the reality of his country, one of which—'Nigeria, Causes of a Crisis'—was published in number 12 of this magazine, provides this enlightening analysis that presents interesting economic and historic data useful for an understanding of Guinea, and points out the threads in this sinister imperialist plot supported by the Guinean bureaucrats and businessmen who are anxious to switch back to capitalism.

At 2 AM ON NOVEMBER 22, 1970, mercenary troops landed in Guinea by sea with the mission of overthrowing the government of Sékou Touré. On November 27th fresh invaders arrived. The armed people of Guinea hurled themselves against the invaders with the determination worthy of a people intent on freedom.

It has now been confirmed by the United Nations investigating team that the invasion was, in actual fact, an act of aggression by Portugal. Associated with Portugal, of course, are the Ojukwaj of Guinea. Nevertheless the invasion is clearly an imperialist act by the powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), of which Portugal is a member.

Only an imbecile can entertain the notion that the invasion of Guinea is an act by Portugal alone, as a consequence of the support which Guineans have given to their kinsmen of Guinea-Bissau (see map 1) who are fighting for their own liberation from Portuguese colonialism. Yet this is the impression with which the NATO press and politicians want to stamp the event. Even if this were the whole story,

however, Guinea's crime under Sékou Touré would be no worse than that of Nigeria, whose only crime in the eyes of Portuguese colonialism was her liberal contribution to the liberation fund of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was intended to aid freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and eventually South Africa.

But the truth is that Portugal is not acting alone nor only in the company of disgruntled Guineans. Here, as elsewhere, Portugal is only playing her assigned role in Africa as the hangman of NATO imperialism. As the Secretary of the OAU, M. Diallo Teji, pointed out, the invasion of Guinea is the handiwork of NATO. Sékou Touré himself has asserted this. He affirmed that "the participation of the United States in this affair is substantial" (*Le Monde*, Paris, December 10, 1970), adding that France, Great Britain, West Germany, Israel and South Africa provided "important military aid to Portugal to enable her to pursue her colonial war." (*Ibid.*)

There can be no doubt that the

MAP OF GUINEA 1

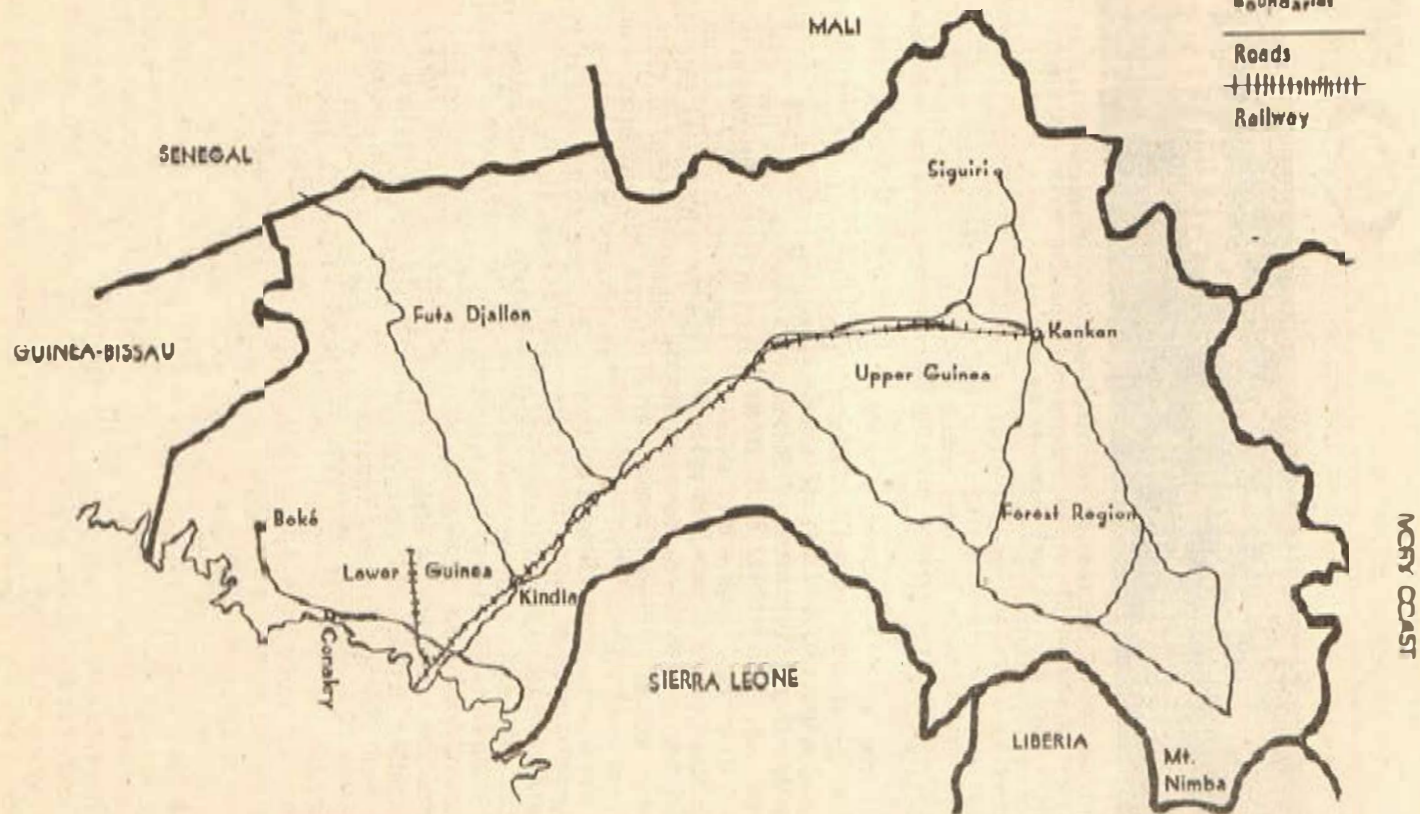
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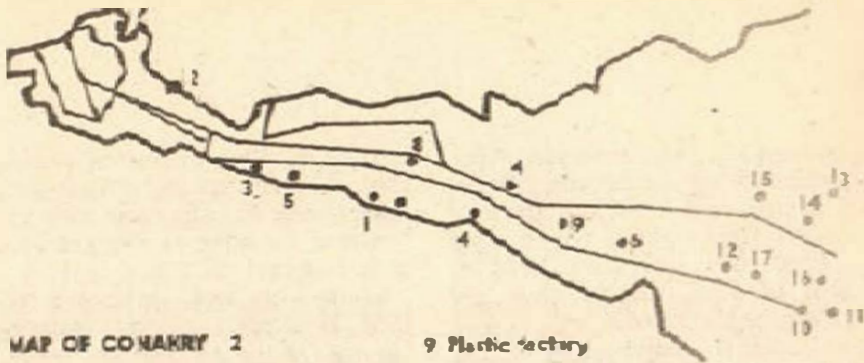
Boundaries

Roads

|||||

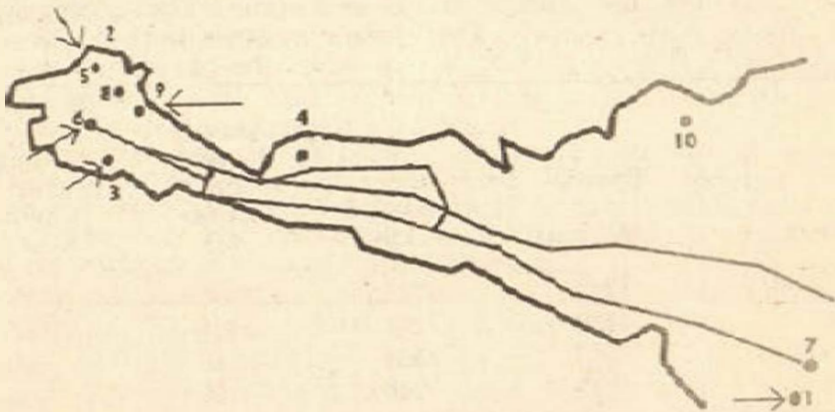
Railway





MAP OF CONAKRY 2

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 Slaughterhouse | 9 Plastic factory |
| 2 Motor vehicle assembly | 10 Army garment factory |
| 3 Fruit canning | 11 Army shoe factory |
| 4 Roofing sheets and utensils | 12 Prefabricated buildings factory |
| 5 Tire retreading | 13 Brick-making factory |
| 6 Modern bakery | 14 Furniture factory |
| 7 Port cold storage | 15 Oxygen and acetylene factory |
| 8 Patrice Lumumba Printing Works | 16 Army laundry |
| | 17 Granite grinding and cutting |



MAP OF CONAKRY 3

(Showing points attacked)

Road and rail ———

Attacks →

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Airport | 4 National Grand |
| 2 Harbor | 5 Presidency |
| 3 Military headquarters | 6 Radio |
| | 7 Military Camp |
| | 8 Railway |
| | 9 Transformer (electric) |
| | 10 President's Villa |

Government of that intrepid African revolutionary statesman, Ahmed Sékou Touré, has been a source of chagrin to imperialism for a long time. They have long been bent on disposing of him, just as they got rid of Patrice Lumumba. The record of semicolonial imperialism since the 19th century and its more recent neocolonial manifestation in the Congo, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Indonesia and elsewhere demonstrates that imperialism cannot be expected to rest as long as a government rules in Guinea that is not prepared to bow to the dictates of NATO investors and policy-makers.

We are on the threshold of critical events in Guinea. Africa and the world are entitled to know the facts about the tussle between imperialism and the Guinean people.

What then are the crimes of Sékou Touré and Guinea? The crime of Sékou Touré is that he is

a patriot. The crime of Guinea is that, like Katanga, she is rich in vital minerals: she is as rich in iron ore and bauxite as eastern Nigeria is in mineral oil.

Guinea gained independence in 1958. In a referendum organized by the de Gaulle regime in September of that year, Guinea was the only former French colony to vote for total independence and exclusion from the then-proposed French Community — counterpart of the British Commonwealth but with closer association with France. It was a vote that echoed throughout the world and profoundly affected the subsequent development of French-speaking Africa. On October 2, 1958, Guinea was formally declared independent.

Guinea is a small country whose size and level of development can be seen in the following comparative indicators of positions in 1965 — that is, before the Nigerian coup.

Country	Population (millions)	Area (thousand sq. km.)	Annual Income Per Capita (\$)	Annual Energy Consumption Per Capita (kw)
United States	174.1	7704	3550	8722
France	45.0	551	1920	2933
Nigeria	56.7	924	80	38
Guinea	3.9	246	80	—

Guinea's principal products are rice, palm oil, palm kernels, bananas, coffee, pineapples, groundnuts, millet, iron ore and bauxite. She exports all these products except rice and millet. In 1955, just before independence, she exported 50 000 metric tons of iron ore per month and 39 000 metric tons of bauxite.

By 1968, however, she was exporting 176 000 metric tons per month of bauxite.

Iron ore, copper and bauxite are the most important industrial metals. The industrial uses of iron are manifold. Copper is chiefly used in the electrical industry. Even in this use, however, it is being challenged by aluminum, which is found in bauxite. The advantage of aluminum is

that it has many other industrial uses, such as in aircraft manufacturing, in the manufacture of building materials and prefabricated buildings, in the making of light metal alloys or in the manufacture of a wide range of consumer durables. Consequently, there is an aluminum craze.

Guinea is potentially the richest of the French-speaking countries in West Africa. Formerly her iron ore exports were from a deposit near Conakry, the capital (see map), worked by British and French interests. Now it has been found that Mount Nimba (see map) contains one of the largest and richest iron ore deposits in the world. It contains known deposits of 25 million tons.

Now, what are the interests of the United States and the NATO powers in Guinea?

First although the United States has a very large reserve of iron ore, this is becoming more and more costly to work as easier deposits are being exhausted. Second, the price of crude iron has been so artificially inflated by the monopolies in the United States that that country is now a net importer. For many years

US iron ore interests have dug into the Labrador deposits in Canada and the Brazilian and Venezuela deposits in Latin America. They are now bent on snatching the Nimba deposits at all costs.

Engaged in keen competition for these deposits are an American group, the US Steel Corporation, a Japanese group, the Kinoshita Shoten, a Euro-American group embracing the Geological Research Bureau of France, CECA, British Iron and Steel and Bethlehem Steel, and a European group, the Centrafrique Bank Consortium, created in July 1956, which comprises the Bank of Indochina, the German Bank, the Bank of Brussels, the Hambro Bank of London and Netherlands Handelsmatshppij Bank. About ten years ago the Centrafrique Consortium won a concession for the exploitation for 75 years of the Mount Nimba deposits but the other monopoly groups are still claiming their share of the Guinean booty.

As for bauxite, the following table shows Guinea's position among world bauxite producers in recent years (in thousands of metric tons per month).

	1966	1967	1968
Australia	152	354	413
Guayana	279	290	296
France	234	234	226
Guinea	134	137	176
Hungary	119	137	163
Greece	115	140	147
Dominican Rep	68	71	84
Brazil	21	25	26
Ghana	29	29	24
Haiti	34	31	—

The following table shows world production of aluminum (or world consumption of bauxite) in 1955 in

percentages.

USA	47	Norway	2
Canada	19	Italy	2
USSR	12	Japan	2
West Germany	5	Austria	2
France	4	Others	5

It will be observed that although the United States and her NATO allies are by far the largest importers of bauxite (apart from the Soviet Union with only 12) they are not themselves producers of bauxite, with the exception of France which produces an insignificant quantity of aluminum.

There are two bauxite deposits in Guinea: one at Kinda and a larger one at Boké (see map). A Western source reports:

The Americans, despite discouragement, have hung on in Guinea, partly for the sake of the aluminum project at Boké, in which they are extremely interested, and have provided a \$22 million loan [...] to complement the \$64 million World Bank loan. The Peace Corps are back at half their previous strength.

One source of annoyance to the NATO powers is Sékou Touré's open door policy toward socialist countries. On November 24, 1969, Guinea signed an agreement with the Soviet Union which will permit Guinea, with Soviet help, to develop the Kinda bauxite deposits on her own, thus enabling her to repay her external debts and gain relative independence from foreign coercion. In that way not only is the Kinda deposit lost to the aluminum sharks of world imperialism, but also, in a few years Guinea will be in a position to challenge other interests of world finance capital in the country.

Nor is that all. The Soviet Union

is helping Guinea build a dam over the Konkouré river. Such projects as dams and railways, as all developing countries know, are major projects involving millions of pounds of revenue for capitalist construction firms. The "loss" of such projects to the Soviet Union or China is something the construction monopolies of the capitalist world cannot tolerate. In their own minds they have a natural right to such projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America, as innumerable reports in their industrial and technical journals clearly indicate. The Russians are also renovating the railway at Kinda, and the Chinese are doing so from Kinda to Kankan (see map).

What is more, since her independence, Guinea has been at swords' point with France. One of the flies in the ointment is that France is in debt to Guinea. The bulk of the debt, 9 billion francs, is for war veterans' pensions.

The imperialist conspiracy against Guinea has not been much of a secret. In 1965 the present writer read a Canadian report in French revealing that the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had completed plans to overthrow Kwame Nkrumah in 1965, and that after him would come Sékou Touré, for which French imperialism was also working overtime. Nkrumah fell in February 1966. Whatever the errors of the Nkrumah regime, its fall was certainly not unconnected with the vast bauxite deposits near the Volta in which certain American millionaires were vitally interested. The

bauxite scheme, which was the diamond in the crown of the then current Ghanaian development plan and a focus of attention of world finance capitalism, was financed in part by private US companies. In a similar way the enormous iron ore and bauxite wealth of Guinea is now both the great hope of the Guineans themselves and the focal point of industrial and financial interests in NATO countries.

The sum total of the Guinean situation is that the NATO powers find their interests greatly threatened by the progressive and patriotic policies of the Sékou Touré regime and they will go to all lengths to replace him with some other Guinean leader more subservient to their schemes.

Policy of Independence

Armed intervention in Guinea has elicited comments from several African leaders. Among these one of the most important is that of Siaka Stevens, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone. He said:

We have a different way of doing things in Sierra Leone; but we never have the same trouble with you British as Sékou Touré had with the French. We don't think Sékou Touré is very sensible with his economic policies — he is taking things too far, nationalizing everything. [...] On the other hand he has done things that none of us have really done — given his people a real identification and pride in their country, a national awareness and commitment which is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful. [Guardian, Britain, December 7, 1970.]

This statement is studded with interesting points relevant to the situation in Guinea.

First, Guinea pursues a policy of

independence.

Second, this policy meets with the determined and often open antagonism of French imperialism.

Third, the policy of independence has implied the courageous nationalization of French monopoly enterprises.

Fourth, this policy of independence is at variance with that of many other African leaders and regimes which actually practice nothing more than neocolonialism.

Last, no regime in West Africa has had the same trouble with the British as Guinea has had with the French. But this is not because British imperialism is better behaved, as Siaka Stevens may suppose. It is simply because no West African leader, not even Nkrumah, has so far stood up to British monopoly enterprise as Sékou Touré has to French monopoly investments.

As to the last point, it must be said that we cannot eat our cake and have it in these matters. If we want independence and "real identification and pride" in our country, on the part of our people, this inescapably involves the nationalization of capitalist monopoly investments, because they compromise our independence and identity. If we are not prepared to do this then we must stop dreaming of independence and of wanting our people to feel identification and pride in a regime that sacrifices their dignity for mere convenience or even self-interest. Whether Sékou Touré has taken things "too far" in this respect the reader himself can judge.

As we have seen, Guinea was the only country to vote for complete independence from France in the de Gaulle referendum of 1958. This vote and the Algerian and Viet Nam

wars of independence eventually defeated French imperialism's efforts to preserve the French empire behind a new facade. Other African countries opted for independence in one form or other, and the proposed "French Community" withered away.

The French colonialists were so angered by the Guinean vote that they withdrew their personnel and whatever else they could take with them from the country. Even pensions owed to Guinean veterans of the Second World War who fought for de Gaulle were not paid. It will be recalled that French colonialists and settlers treated Algeria similarly. The French fancied that the

new regimes in Guinea and Algeria would collapse and the patriots would come on their knees, begging them to return. But nothing of the sort happened. Rather in both Guinea and Algeria the abandoned enterprises were nationalized, and both countries started on the arduous but sure and honorable road of self-reliance.

It is not that the Guineans are rich and can afford self-reliance better than other African countries. Far from it. The following table showing average annual per capita national income in dollars in various regions of the world and in West Africa in 1953-55 indicates Guinea's position.

World Areas		West Africa			
Western Europe	1605	Ghana	230	Gambia	90
Socialist Europe	1075	Ivory Coast	220	Dahomey	80
Latin America	345	Liberia	210	Guinea	80
Africa	165	Senegal	210	Niger	80
Asia	140	Sa. Leone	150	Nigeria	80
		Mauritania	130	Mali	60
		Togo	100	Upper Volta	50

It can be seen clearly that even among West African countries, one of the least developed regions of the world, Guinea is one of the poorest. Unpatriotic leaders and regimes are inclined to blame their servility and cowardice on the poverty and smallness of their countries. Cuba and Viet Nam have exploded the lie; so has Guinea.

To be sure, the known mineral deposits of Guinea include limestone, bauxite, gold, diamonds, iron, manganese, titanium, cobalt, nickel, chrome, zinc, copper, graphite, asbestos, radioactive minerals and high-quality granite. Even in fabulous Africa one has to go to Katanga

to find another area as rich in minerals as the Futa Djallon system which forms the backbone of Guinea. Besides, the country is rich in sources of hydroelectric power. Small as she is, therefore, Guinea has the potentiality for industrialization. Yet 80% of the people live on the land. The policy of the Guinean regime has aimed at changing this situation fundamentally.

Owing partly to her patriotic dissociation from France, Guinea had to learn early the lesson of self-reliance. She led West Africa in the proportion of her national income devoted to productive investment as distinct from conspicuous consumption, luxury products, disproportionate administrative expendi-

ture and the like. She led this region also in the creation of an independent national currency.

Soon after independence, Guinea put in operation the Three-Year Plan (1960-63). The object was a decisive and rapid switchover from an economy based on colonial dependence to an independent and planned national development. The strategy at this stage was to bring aid to the peasantry. The plan, therefore, concentrated on building dispensaries, schools and an administrative infrastructure. Some light industries were also established at this stage.

The next stage, the present one, was launched with the Seven-Year Plan (June 1964-June 1971). The aim is to enable the economy to "take off." This is the most crucial stage in all economic development; it is also the most difficult, as all economic planners know. If the economy is not to stagger along at the *laissez-faire* pace characteristic of client capitalism in, say, Latin America, then there will have to be heavy investments in raw materials and infrastructural bases such as mines, dams, factory buildings, ports, and railways, which take a long time to yield their benefits. At the same time, even if factories are established — and many have been in Guinea — they may save foreign exchange but cannot as yet make much in the way of profits. Guinea is at this stage and all sorts of people are exploiting the difficulties of the country.

And if "take off" is not going to be take off into capitalism, corruption and dependence on the imperialist powers, then it must take off into socialism and real independence, as is being attempted in Cuba, Congo-Brazzaville, Egypt, Al-

geria and, more recently, Chile.

The policy of independence and "noncapitalist development" has been put into effect in Guinea partly by the nationalization of large commercial enterprises, state monopoly of foreign trade, creation of a state bank, creation of a national currency, creation of a national insurance company, nationalization of large transport establishments, and creation of other financial, administrative and commercial institutions.

If one is looking for a reliable indicator of independence and socialist development, however, one should ask who owns the new mines and the growing manufacturing industries.

The accompanying map of Conakry shows 17 new factories. Of these, the vehicle assembly plant and the furniture factory are owned jointly by the state and certain foreign interests (Yugoslavia in the case of the furniture works). The rest are state-owned. Apart from these a granite quarry, a textile complex, a tobacco and match factory, a bicycle factory and plants for fruit juice, aluminum and quinine — to name only a few — have been established outside Conakry. The aluminum and fruit juice enterprises are jointly owned with foreign interests, while the others are state-owned.

Industry such as the above has also been established in other African countries since 1958, of course, but in the case of Nigeria, for instance, it belongs almost exclusively to foreign monopoly capitalist interests.

The policy of real independence being pursued by Guinea is perhaps best grasped — as Siaka Stevens rightly understands — by comparing

it with the policy of collaboration and subservience pursued so far by many African countries. It is sufficient to examine French-speaking Africa.

By January 1970 the FED (Fonds Européen de Développement created by the six European Common Market countries had invested in 347 projects and programs in the 18

African and Malagasy states associated with the Market and the 13 other associated countries — 12 former French colonies and one former Italian. Two funds were created, the first for the period 1958-63 and the second for 1964-69. The distribution of the funds among development projects was as follows:

	1st Fund		2nd Fund	
	\$'000	%	\$'000	%
Rural development	143 797	24.8	316 688	45.2
Infrastructure	255 986	44.0	247 791	35.4
Education	155 253	19.9	62 263	9.7
Health	51 241	8.8	28 540	4.0
Energy	4 140	0.7	24 457	3.5
Various	10 833	1.8	15 282	2.2
Total	621 250	100.0	695 021	100.0

Manufacturing is included under the heading "Various." The little attention paid to it and to energy development as against agricultural raw material exports — so-called "rural development" — is self-evident. It is a typically neocolonial policy.

Of the investments, the associated territories in Africa received by far

the lion's share, reflecting the fact that, with the United States dominating the Latin-American countries and with Asia consumed in revolutionary flames, Africa remains the last stand of West European imperialism. The share of Africa in the First Fund was \$474 550 000 and in the Second Fund \$634 714 000.

It is interesting to note the largest recipients:

	1st Fund	2nd Fund
Cameroon	52 798	53 166
Congo-Kinshasa	19 593	74 389
Ivory Coast	36 644	57 173
Madagascar	56 265	79 226
Senegal	43 831	60 400

It will be seen that Congo-Kinshasa received substantial invest-

ments only after Patrice Lumumba and his supporters had been removed from the scene. Furthermore, till recently, as the press widely reported, Ivory Coast and Senegal

were the haven of those intent on removing Sékou Touré. Further still, the investments of FED in each of 16 recipient territories increased

substantially in the second period. Only for Congo-Brazzaville and Mali did the investments decline, and substantially too, as follows:

	1st Fund	2nd Fund
Congo-Brazzaville	25 036	20 686
Mali	42 023	33 069

Guinea, of course, is conspicuously absent. Apart from Guinea, as everyone knows, the only former colonies of European Common Market countries in Africa pursuing a policy of economic independence and inclination towards socialism are Congo-Brazzaville and pre-coup Mali. It may be added that, of the five countries that received heavy investments, Madagascar is a rich source of uranium for NATO bombs, and the funds actually went to develop the uranium deposits; and Félix Moumié had to be murdered to pave the way for "safe" investments in Cameroon.

Of late the imperialists have been making a lot of noise about the Guinean economy "showing signs of stagnation." They wrote similarly during the last year of Nkrumah's regime when the heavy investments in slow-yielding nationally-owned projects, necessary to independence, created an inevitable hardship. The imperialist press now reports that Ghana is leading West Africa in the export of manufactured goods. What they will not do is credit this achievement to the policy of revolutionary courage and sacrifice which made it possible.

Politics and Invasion

Since independence the Parti Démocratique Guinéen (PDG), the party which Sékou Touré leads, has

been pursuing politics based visibly on a five-pronged program:

- establishing and consolidating a popular one-party state;
- the firm repudiation of any interference in the internal affairs of the country by any state;
- an open and practical renunciation of the capitalist road for Guinea and a cautious leading of the country toward the path of socialist development;
- unwavering and forthright backing of the cause of African liberation, armed or unarmed;
- broad, enthusiastic support for world revolution against imperialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Naturally, in many circles, such a policy cannot be pleasing.

Her one-party policy, however popular it may be with the people, is anathema to reactionaries and decadent liberal intellectuals who pretend that the two-party or multiparty form of rule is necessarily the very hallmark of democracy, no matter what depravities and frivolities it makes possible.

The Western powers are openly antagonistic to the patriotic independent policy of the country, while some of the leaders of her French-speaking neighbors have, in the past, shown signs of uneasiness about the contagious effect of

such a policy in their own masses.

Compared with Nigeria, Guinea hardly has a class that can be called capitalist, but the fact that capitalists are initially absent from a country does not mean that there is also an absence of traders and state bureaucrats who would like to become capitalists at all costs and by any means. Theories of African classlessness often make a profound mistake on this score. The desire to become capitalists on the part of those who stand a chance of so becoming is often no less powerful a political force than the desire of those who are already capitalists to remain so. Guinea is in a position where this ambition for evolution into capitalists is very strong among a host of Guinean businessmen and bureaucrats. The more firmly PDG policy has slammed the door of capitalist development in their face the more bitter has been their antagonism to the regime.

What is more, some traditional chiefs of Guinea, former instruments of French colonial rule, enjoyed traditional and colonial privileges over the local peasantry which now they are most reluctant to see pass away. That these privileges be swept away to free the wheels of progress is the determination of the PDG, which has been translating its policy into action. Again it does not matter that these privileges of a dead past are not of the same order of magnitude as those of the Pashas and Beys of the Arab world or the Maharajas of India.

Traditional privileges, however small by international comparisons, are not considered unworthy of defense by the local orders that enjoy them.

Consequently, Guinea's road of

socialist development has many enemies: mainly the tribalists, pretenders to a capitalist road, and the Uncle Toms of Guinean origin on the one hand, and world monopoly capitalism on the other.

Similarly Guinea's policy of support for rebellion against colonialism in Africa must mark the regime for certain destruction by those who want to remove all centers of even mildly radical resistance to imperialism on the continent. Whether the Guinean leaders are aware of it themselves or not, support for continental or world revolution always means that one must be ready oneself for the inevitable armed assault of imperialism and its associates against the partisans or supporters of such a policy.

Any country that wants to establish socialism must create a military force ready to defend the people and the country's policy against the conspiracies of capitalists at home and abroad. To do this and at the same time avoid the heavy cost of expanding the regular army, patriotic regimes have adopted the formula of creating a militia educated for patriotism and against imperialism. Without such a militia it would have been impossible for the patriotic regime in Cuba to resist US pressures and defeat armed interventions. Guinea, therefore, created such a militia.

This step has also enabled some sections of the regular army to be released from armed service and, to quote a Western source, "deployed in worthy nation-building tasks like running a shoe factory, farming and building schools." In October 1969, all soldiers became civil servants and could move or be transferred to any section of the public service.

There can be no doubt that such a policy enables a small country like

Guinea — beset by powerful enemies and much poorer in trained personnel than, for instance, Nigeria — to cut down the cost of maintaining a large army mobilized. At the same time the country has a working reserve which can be mobilized in an emergency. In the meantime the sounder and more disciplined training of some of the military personnel can be turned to good account in the immense construction work facing the country. This can be especially helpful in countries where the public service is not free from corruption or red tape, a situation characteristic of all underdeveloped countries.

Reflect for a moment on the work Col. Adekunle did recently on the Nigerian docks: cutting his way in military fashion through red tape, relieving the Lagos docks in a matter of weeks of scandalous and disastrous overcrowding, and saving millions of pounds, to the surprise of Nigeria and the world.

But this patriotic policy in Guinea is grist to the malicious mill of imperialist propaganda. In their eyes, this practice leads to "emasculatation of the army." They have sought by such characterization to stir up disaffection in the Guinean army.

In March 1969 there was a plot organized by a group of officers and involving a Colonel Kaman Diaby. Prior to this, there had been other plots.

The imperialist press has sought to attribute the invasion of Guinea to so-called Guinean "exiles." A Western source, however, reports: "The vast majority of expatriate Guineans (possibly over a million are spread through Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Senegal) are economic refugees who still say they admire Sékou Touré." This was confirmed by Prime Minister Siaka

Stevens himself in a conversation with a British journalist:

Oh, yes, Sékou Touré has opposition — particularly from the Fula and the Sousa. They have always been traders and they didn't like Sékou Touré's nationalization of all the trading — that's why many of them have come to live in Sierra Leone. But they still like him. Did you hear about the demonstration here in Freetown? — 6000 Guineans demonstrated in support of Sékou Touré.

In all probability the vast majority of Guineans living abroad are no more refugees than the Nigerian "economic refugees" who were living in Ghana and who recently made the headlines. It is certain that they admire and are loyal to the regime of Sékou Touré and the PDG.

That cannot be said of all expatriate Guineans, however. There exists a microscopic minority of disgruntled elite elements — the Ojukwus and Tshombés of Guinea. A few elements of this fraternity have been mentioned by name by the Western press. Among Guinean politicians who have gone into exile, for instance, the most notable is the former Guinean ambassador to France, Nabi Youla. It is reported that "he was last heard of in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast Republic, and a broadcast on Radio Conakry names him as one of the three dissidents involved in organizing the invasion."

The so-called National Liberation Front is the opposition movement to President Sékou Touré. Before the invasion, Conakry Radio announced that one Thierno-Habib Diallo, commander of the army of the National Liberation Front, was recruiting

Guineans living abroad to establish an army for the Front. Servicemen were being recruited for 10 000 francs. One group of 20 had been installed on Guinea's border with Guinea-Bissau and Senegal and another of the same number on Guinea's frontier with Liberia and the Ivory Coast.

The imperialist press pretended not to believe the Conakry Radio report. Even after the invasion had been launched, only eye witness accounts, the death of two German diplomats in the fighting and the verdict of the United Nations team compelled them to admit grudgingly that there had been an attack. However, they now say that the invasion was merely a "raid," and their view of the aims of this "raid" is stated in the London Economist (November 28, 1970):

The pattern of the raid indicates that it had a limited objective and was probably not an attempt to overthrow President Sékou Touré's government. The raiders [...] concentrated on the prison in Conakry and it seems they succeeded in freeing a number of Guinean political prisoners and several Portuguese soldiers captured in raids on Portuguese Guinea. The second objective was the headquarters of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). [...] There are enough disgruntled and exiled Guineans in Portuguese Guinea and in other neighboring states to launch such an attack.

But even The Economist had to add: "But it is doubtful whether they could have raised the money without outside backing."

As for the aims of the attack,

map 3 of Conakry shows points on which attacks were actually launched. This leaves no doubt as to what the purpose was: it was clearly to capture the capital in a surprise blow and overthrow the government of Sékou Touré. The imperialists are no fools and have learned their lessons from the Congo and Nigerian wars. Their conclusion would be something like this: to launch an attack from a remote province on a government you wish to overthrow gives that government the advantage of time to mobilize a main port, internal communications, economic and political cohesion and other military and political advantages, chief of which is morale; a quick and successful blow on the capital would deny the government all these advantages, eliminate any center of organized resistance and effect the immediate collapse of the regime, without a costly and protracted patriotic war.

The present writer visited Conakry in 1933. Unlike Lagos, for instance, Conakry is highly vulnerable to attack from the sea. These facts explain why the invasion was launched first and foremost on Conakry. The attack on Conakry could also have been diversionary — to permit easier penetration elsewhere, and this was actually attempted.

It is noteworthy that the imperialists have dropped several remarks which seek to shift responsibility for the attack from themselves not only to "Guinean exiles" but to the African states neighboring Guinea. The Economist, for instance, writes: "But last year the Guinean president saw the hands of France, Mali, Senegal and Ivory Coast in plots against his regime. The field for speculation is wide open." It turns out well for the African states adjacent to Guinea and for the African

people that those on whose heads imperialism sought to wipe its bloody hands, quickly and unequivocally destroyed any grounds for speculation by themselves condemning the invasion and naming its actual perpetrators.

Take, for instance, Liberia. The correspondent, Jonathan Power, writes:

President Tubman deeply shocked the large American diplomatic community in his country when, in a speech marking his seventy-fifth birthday, a week after the Guinea invasion, he said of the Americans: "Whatever they do or write they cannot change the desires or opinions of the Liberian people. They can do so only by using the bullet." He then went on to explain that that was just what the Americans were doing in Indochina.

As soon as Guinea was attacked, General Gowon of Nigeria and the Egyptian Government offered immediate military help, and African states rallied in an unprecedented way. The comments of the Western press show that they do not like General Gowon's offer and wonder when he will dissolve his mobilized army of 200 000 battle-ready soldiers. The reason why well-known circles sought the disintegration of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is now obvious.

As for the African support, this has taken imperialism by surprise and in order to mislead the world, as usual, they attribute it to the respect Sékou Touré has earned personally for what they call his "individuality," his ability to "mend his fences," etc. No doubt the non-cheuvistic African policy of Sékou Touré has earned much respect and positively helps to expose imperialism and effect the unity of the

African people against it. But the real cause of the African response lies in Viet Nam, Rhodesia, Southern Africa, the Congo, Nigeria, and latest of all Sierra Leone, October 1970, where the American neo-colonialists were caught red-handed with documents in a nefarious plot to overthrow the government of Siaka Stevens.

Our experience so far has a lesson to teach. Among the enemies of Africa, not the least are politicians and intellectuals to whom any talk of imperialism or neocolonialism is nothing but communist shibboleth. Such persons see all developments as tribalistic or false individualistic spectacles, which makes them conscious or unconscious collaborators with imperialism when they happen to be in charge of public affairs in their respective countries. In order to free themselves, the African people must understand the working of imperialism, and in order to understand imperialism, African leaders and intellectuals must undertake a scientific study of it. Mere patriotic emotions are not enough, and the type of education one gets from universities in Western Europe or the United States tends to offer one blinkers rather than a telescope.

The invasion of Guinea to overthrow the regime of Sékou Touré, like armed secession in eastern Nigeria, is but a variation of the politics of colonialism, no matter what mask it may choose to wear. The African people must so prepare themselves intellectually and physically that no matter when, where or in what guise imperialism may choose to operate, they see it for what it is, mobilize themselves, and smash it.