

**Sally N'Dongo, African Immigration,
and the Politics of Neocolonialism in West Africa and France**

Gillian Glaes, Ph.D.
Department of History, Carroll College, Montana (USA)

“It’s curious that independence allows Africans to be
more and more exploited in Africa and in France alike.”
-Sally N’Dongo, *La ‘Coopération’ franco-africaine*¹

Abstract

This essay discusses Senegalese immigrant Sally N’Dongo’s assessment of African immigration to France, its relationship to economic development, and French neocolonialism in West Africa. N’Dongo became increasingly suspect of France’s favorable position within its former West African colonies, including Senegal, his country of origin. His unease with French influence there reflected the growing sense among African nationalists, writers, and international scholars that political independence from the French empire was not akin to economic sovereignty. N’Dongo’s work demonstrated the ways in which the anti-colonial movements of the colonial era contributed to anti-neocolonialism after decolonization. His assessment also represented the confluence of post-colonial African immigration with Pan-African nationalism, aspects of the *Négritude* movement, and leftist opposition to colonialism and imperialism. N’Dongo’s contributions reflected the participation of immigrant groups and the “decolonized” in the political discourse in France surrounding decolonization and other important events in the post-colonial, Cold War era.

The process of independence in French West Africa looked much different from that in Algeria or Indochina. A relatively peaceful decolonization process allowed France to formulate a much different relationship with West African nation-states such as Senegal than was possible after the violent wars of decolonization in other corners of its empire. In fact, France retained significant economic, political, and cultural influence in West Africa long after it lost control of its colonies there.² Not everyone supported this approach, however. The relationship between France and its former West African colonies became a point of contention for many constituencies, including African immigrants residing within the borders of the former colonial power after independence in 1960.³

Just as vigorously as they contributed to independence movements before and after World War II, immigrant groups in France participated in the process of reshaping the colonizer's relationship with its former colonies after decolonization. One political activist in particular – Senegalese worker Sally N'Dongo – contributed to the debate over French neocolonialism from the immigrant perspective. For his part, N'Dongo played an important role in the African immigrant community in France during the 1960s and 1970s. He founded and directed an influential African immigrant association, the *Union générale des Travailleurs sénégalais en France* (UGTSF). Originally focused on providing housing, education, and medical assistance to African workers in France, N'Dongo and the UGTSF shifted their focus to political developments in France and Senegal by the early 1970s, with neocolonialism at the forefront of the political agenda.

To examine these critical issues, this essay discusses N'Dongo's assessment of African immigration to France, its relationship to economic development, and French neocolonialism in West Africa. N'Dongo became increasingly suspect of France's favorable position within its former West African colonies, including Senegal, his country of origin. His unease with French influence there reflected the growing sense among African nationalists, writers, and international scholars that political independence from the French empire was not akin to economic sovereignty.⁴ N'Dongo's work demonstrated the ways in which the anti-colonial movements of the colonial era contributed to anti-neocolonialism after decolonization. His assessment also represented the confluence of post-colonial African immigration with Pan-African nationalism, aspects of the *Négritude* movement, and leftist opposition to colonialism and imperialism. As historian Catherine Hall argues, N'Dongo represented the voices and perspectives of decolonized peoples living within the borders of the former colonizer.⁵ N'Dongo's contributions reflected the participation of immigrant groups and the “decolonized” in the political discourse in France surrounding decolonization and other important events in the post-colonial, Cold War era.⁶

NEOCOLONIALISM: DEFINITIONS

The economic influence that N'Dongo decried constituted an important component of neocolonialism in West Africa and became a hallmark of continuing French and Western influence throughout the nation-states that emerged from European colonial empires.⁷ Monetary policy and the connection between West African currencies and the French franc reflected the

central role that economics played within the colonial and post-colonial eras.⁸ As a colonial power, France focused on the agricultural production of commodities such as peanuts in Senegal and cacao in the Ivory Coast.⁹ Consequently, there was little emphasis placed on developing industrial capacity or resources, which posed many challenges to new West African nation-states after 1960.¹⁰ Development aid also played a key role, allowing France to leverage economic influence through financial assistance provided under the guise of economic growth.¹¹ The question remained: could politically independent nation-states remain economically autonomous or would former colonial powers such as France remain highly influential within their former colonies?¹² With the French government and the private sector leveraging so much economic influence throughout West Africa, nation-states such as Senegal remained dependent upon their former colonizers. As historian Robert C. Young argues, “. . . the former masters continue(d) to act in a colonialist manner towards formerly colonized states.”¹³ To outside observers – including immigrants such as N’Dongo – these economic connections, the lack of industrial resources, and post-colonial influence all pointed to the emergence of a neocolonial relationship.

Other markers of neocolonialism emerged as well. The French military intervened in the domestic affairs in Sub-Saharan African nation-states from 1960 to the 1990s.¹⁴ In the Francophone context, French cultural policy and agreements between France and countries such as Senegal perpetuated French linguistic and cultural influence into the post-colonial era. Organizations such as *L’Agence Internationale de Francophonie* located in Niger contributed to the continual presence of French language and culture.¹⁵ Personal and professional relationships between French politicians such as François Mitterrand and the first generation of African leaders such as Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Léopold Senghor in Senegal solidified France’s position within its former colonies.¹⁶ Violent colonial regimes that used policies such as forced labor¹⁷ gave way to neo-colonial states, which profited from, as Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiong’O argues, “. . . exploitation, inequality, and oppression . . .”¹⁸ Yet as historian Tony Chafer points out, neocolonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa also reflected the French attempt to maintain a position of “*grandeur*” and international power within the Cold War context.¹⁹

If these were some of the general characteristics of French neocolonialism in West Africa, how exactly did N’Dongo define “neocolonialism”? In his book *La ‘coopération’ franco-africaine*, he positioned neocolonialism as a consequence of Gaullist policies in Africa,

explaining that it was part of an effort to “maintain the supremacy of French big business, without paying the price of colonization.”²⁰ The cooperation agreements signed between France and former colonies such as Senegal after 1960 – including that of May 12, 1962, which helped to create a monetary union – extended power and influence in the economic, political, military, and cultural realm for the French government and for private industry.²¹ From N’Dongo’s perspective, these agreements remained fundamentally unequal, benefitting France at the expense of its former colonies. The “cooperation” between France and West African countries and the “aid” that the former colonizer provided only perpetuated dependence on France while stunting development, a hallmark of neocolonialism overall.

One of the key aspects of N’Dongo’s critique was his focus on the relationship between Senghor as Senegal’s first president and French politicians such as Mitterrand. French colonialism, the African diaspora, and the process of independence in Senegal and other West African countries contributed to the close nature of this rapport. As the independence movement continued before and after World War II, African nationalists who became heads of state in new West African countries, including Senghor, created and maintained close-knit relationships with French culture, society, and politics while living and working in metropolitan France.²² After World War II but prior to independence, Senghor supported what he termed “a melting pot of culture” within the French Union, labeling the relationship between France and West Africa a “marriage rather than an association.”²³ Senghor’s comments reflect French colonialism’s emphasis on culture and the ways in which it created important links between the first generation of post-colonial West African leaders and French élites, which from N’Dongo’s perspective facilitated a neocolonial relationship.²⁴ While Chafer emphasizes the cultural commonalities between French and African political leaders, Senghor himself linked the non-violent nature of decolonization in West Africa to *Négritude* in explaining West Africa’s close rapport with the former colonizer. He maintained that, “. . . decolonization has been accomplished without too much bloodshed or hatred and that a positive form of cooperation based on ‘dialogue and reciprocity’ has been established between former colonizers and colonized.”²⁵ N’Dongo viewed France’s advantageous position as neither “dialogue” nor “reciprocity,” arguing that France benefitted at the expense of West African nation-states.

N’Dongo’s critique of French neocolonialism brought him to the conclusion that the economic power that France retained after decolonization was unacceptable. From the vantage

point of Senghor and other West African political leaders, however, it was inconceivable to develop independent nation-states from former colonies without French assistance.²⁶ These different perspectives on independence sparked new debates about neocolonialism, as exemplified by N'Dongo's critique of Senghor, his policies, and the position France retained in Senegal during his presidency.

FRENCH NEOCOLONIALISM: THE IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVE

N'Dongo explored several facets of French neocolonialism in West Africa throughout his analysis. He linked ongoing economic problems – such as unemployment in former colonies – to continuing West African ties to the former colonizer.²⁷ Joblessness drove immigration from West African countries to France. In “*Coopération*” et néo-colonialisme, N'Dongo assessed neocolonialism within the context of post-colonial African immigration to France.²⁸ He viewed this migration pattern as one of the central components of French neocolonialism in West Africa.²⁹ Looking to the daily challenges encountered by African immigrants in France after decolonization – including decrepit housing, difficult working conditions, and disease – N'Dongo asked the question, “[w]ho is responsible for (France's) deadly immigration policy?”³⁰

In answering his own query, N'Dongo pointed to the emergence of neocolonial economic and political policy as key factors in the problems endured by immigrant populations, including African workers residing in France after 1960.³¹ Farmers confronted poor market conditions and workers in general struggled with high unemployment rates. Migration to France presented itself as a solution to impoverishment as unemployment continued throughout the 1960s in West African countries such as Senegal, where the industrial sector employed 29,000 workers out of a population of 3.8 million.³² Postwar economic expansion in France in several sectors, including construction, metallurgy, and automobile manufacturing, presented new opportunities for West African workers to escape the challenging economic conditions they faced at home. By the last years of the 1960s, 99.2% of the African population earned less than \$300 per year and the stagnating economy led to deteriorating standards of living.³³ N'Dongo pointed out that, “farmers and young farmers (in Senegal) cannot find in their midst a decent way of life: they look to the cities in France, expecting to find a cure for their ills.”³⁴ Beyond economic considerations, other factors facilitated this migration pattern, including the geographical proximity of West Africa to Europe, the well-established networks of sociability, the

longstanding tradition of migration to France, and the linguistic connection between France and its former colonies.³⁵

Yet once workers from Senegal and West African countries arrived, N'Dongo explained, they encountered racism, exploitation, repressive government authority, smugglers, sleep merchants, and apathy from French and African officials alike.³⁶ By 1967, President Senghor characterized this migration pattern as, “a haphazard immigration which can only lead to unemployment, poverty and disease . . .” while Mali’s president, Modibo Keita, invited Malian workers who found themselves unemployed in France to return home.³⁷ Who was to blame for the plight of these immigrant workers? N'Dongo observed the ways in which this migration pattern benefitted French employers at the expense of the immigrants themselves, pointing to the disequilibrium between the two sides. He accused employers of intentionally recruiting undocumented workers in order to avoid sick pay while creating abusive working conditions. At any hint of resistance, N'Dongo documented that employers would contact the authorities and threaten immediate deportation.³⁸ This approach proved profitable, as private employers and landlords made large sums of money in industry and housing while exploiting African immigrants. While industrial firms saved money by hiring undocumented African workers at lower wages, landlords throughout the Paris region and in other urban areas profited from African immigration by charging workers exorbitantly high rents for dilapidated housing.³⁹ N'Dongo brought these patterns to light to explain how France, as the colonial power, benefitted, while former colonial citizens suffered economically, socially, culturally, and politically.⁴⁰ In *La 'Coopération' franco-africaine*, he explained that:

Franco-African 'cooperation' agreements, 'help', foreign investment, the French military presence, and emigration are the strings that the capitalists and the French government use habitually to their advantage with the puppet African governments that are in place.⁴¹

These aspects of neocolonialism, he argued, benefitted French interests rather than the countries they purported to assist.

In linking the plight of African immigrants in France to neocolonialism, N'Dongo also addressed the issue of racism in the form of racial and social segregation endured by African immigrants in urban areas such as Paris.⁴² As in the colonial context, African workers found themselves separated from the rest of the population and living in run-down buildings in

peripheral neighborhoods and suburbs. Yet N'Dongo identified a more pervasive form of segregation, one more often associated with the United States or South Africa during segregation and apartheid, respectively. “African only” dormitories emerged in the outskirts of Paris, which traditionally housed the working classes, and in suburban cities throughout the Ile-de-France, such as Montreuil, Aubervilliers, Clichy, Drancy, St.-Ouen, and Ivry-sur-Seine.⁴³ Cafés and swimming pools banned African patrons and a petition circulated against the “coloring” of Vincennes, a suburban city located just outside of Paris.⁴⁴ The spirit of integration and assimilation associated with French republicanism conflicted with the tendency toward racial and spatial segregation within the colonial realm. N'Dongo's analysis suggested that colonial mentalities did not dissipate after decolonization and in fact shaped policies addressing post-colonial West African immigration to France.

While investigating African immigration to France and its relationship to neocolonialism, N'Dongo also examined French policies in West Africa and the ways in which they limited economic growth in the region. In *La 'Coopération' franco-africaine*, he outlined the ways in which French imperialism substituted direct colonial exploitation for that of the more subtle and muted yet efficient and effective neo-colonial variety.⁴⁵ From N'Dongo's perspective, one could trace the origins of post-colonial problems such as the lack of industrialization and infrastructure in West Africa back to the colonial era. The French and British colonial regimes, for example, facilitated the development of monoculture within the agricultural realm while abandoning any real efforts at industrialization.⁴⁶ N'Dongo linked Senegal's specialization in peanut production to colonial policies in which French authorities forced the colonial cultivation of crops that benefitted the French economy.⁴⁷ This kind of forced specialization corresponded to French interests and not to local needs or skills. N'Dongo argued that the economic development perpetuated under the French colonial regime explained the challenges encountered in the agricultural and industrial sectors of the Senegalese economy after decolonization. The struggling industrial sector and ongoing agricultural problems that Senegalese workers grappled with throughout the 1960s and 1970s – and their impact on employment opportunities – contributed to the neocolonial relationship that ensued after independence in 1960. Financial dependence developed during the colonial era continued after decolonization in large part because of the type of economy created in French West Africa.⁴⁸

Although it was one of the most important colonial states and the center of the French empire in West Africa, N'Dongo believed that Senegal had fallen out of favor with the French government and investors following independence because of its reliance on cash crops such as peanuts. N'Dongo explained that despite President Senghor's assurances, Senegal no longer held a privileged position within the French neocolonial sphere of influence. Instead, the Ivory Coast attracted French attention and investment in large part because of its more agriculturally diverse economy and its production of coffee and cacao. N'Dongo maintained that, "[t]he Senegalese economy, seeing resources decrease or stagnate uses French aid: almost all of its budget depends on it."⁴⁹ This concept of foreign "aid" remained central to N'Dongo's neocolonial assessment of the relationship between the two countries. The "assistance" that France provided actually perpetuated colonial dependence into the post-colonial era. Senegal and other West African countries enjoyed independence in name only.

PAN-AFRICANISM, *NÉGRITUDE*, AND POST-COLONIAL POLITICS

N'Dongo's response to French neocolonialism continued a long and important tradition of scrutinizing the relationship between France and West Africa dating back to the colonial era. Immigrant communities comprised of workers, students, and intellectuals living in France from colonies such as Algeria, Senegal, and Indochina played a critical role in anti-colonial movements. Some of the most prominent anti-colonial activists – including West Indian poet Aimé Césaire and Senghor – lived, worked, and studied in France, honing their critiques of the colonizer and shaping concepts such as *Négritude* as a way of protesting colonialism and promoting African independence. While Césaire coined the term⁵⁰ and positioned it as the "recognition of being black,"⁵¹ Senghor referred to *Négritude* as "the totality of civilization and its values within the black world"⁵² and it became a Francophone version of Pan-Africanism, a political movement aimed at liberating African peoples from colonial oppression.⁵³ As literary scholar Abiola Irele argues, *Négritude* ". . . forms a distinctive current of a larger movement of black nationalism . . ."⁵⁴ Senghor's focus on autonomy and that of African nationalism and anti-colonialism more broadly shaped N'Dongo's understanding of neocolonialism. Throughout his assessment, he fused the political message of Pan-Africanism with the cultural critique found within the *Négritude* movement.⁵⁵

In fact, neocolonialism undermined the very principles of the anti-colonial movement and undercut the sovereignty of new nation-states such as Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Mali, and other former French colonies.⁵⁶ Within the process of independence, Senegal and other West African countries did not gain what it was that they lacked as colonies, or what Young describes as “agency.”⁵⁷ Responding to this lack of autonomy and the failure to secure complete independence, N’Dongo’s critique carried the anti-colonial movement and *Négritude* into the postcolonial era, creating an anti-neocolonial discourse within the African immigrant community. His analysis incorporated the issues of agency, autonomy, and independence, which, from his perspective, new nation-states such as Senegal could not attain while under the influence of French neocolonialism.

N’Dongo’s analysis reflected the influence of 1960s radicalism and ongoing leftist discourse to interpret the stifling French influence that lingered in former colonies after decolonization.⁵⁸ Building on the leftist perspective of interwar African organizations such as the *Union des Travailleurs nègres* (UTN) in Paris, he referred throughout his discussion to the “bourgeois” interests at the expense of “proletariat” immigrants and the power that France maintained in West Africa after decolonization.⁵⁹ As N’Dongo wrote: “in this way, from Africa to France, the exploitation of African workers is constant.”⁶⁰ Importing workers from West Africa proved vital to the success of French economic interests while excluding immigrant workers from decent housing, social programs, political rights, and union participation.⁶¹ Yet this migration occurred at the same time that new nation-states in West Africa attempted to construct stable, prosperous economies, which they could not do without economic and political autonomy and a stable workforce. Anti-neocolonialism became an important political and intellectual component of post-colonial debate as N’Dongo sought to identify, address, and attempt to rectify the inequalities created by colonialism and perpetuated through neocolonialism.⁶²

The leftist influence within N’Dongo’s critique also represented a broader process of radicalization that occurred by the late 1960s and early 1970s amongst the African diaspora in France. In other examples of political activism, African workers joined in on the May events of 1968 while African residents of dormitories throughout the Paris region staged rent strikes throughout the late 1960s and into the 1970s.⁶³ African immigrants protested the deaths of five Malian immigrants from asphyxiation in a rundown dormitory in Aubervilliers in January of 1970, which made headlines in *Le Monde* and other French newspapers.⁶⁴ N’Dongo himself

pointed out the role of social justice in this burgeoning post-colonial political activism and consciousness emerging within the African diaspora. He explained that, “. . . one cannot doubt the solidarity of the French working class and its organizations, with the inevitable 'contagion' of its ideals of social justice.”⁶⁵ To protest their living and working conditions, N’Dongo and the African immigrant community in France appropriated the tactics of national liberation movements developed in West Africa and France before independence, drawing attention to the legacy of colonialism, its impact, and the challenges faced by West African workers.⁶⁶ This visible politicization affirmed authorities’ fears of growing radicalism and affiliations with leftist political organizations throughout the post-colonial African immigrant community.

N’Dongo’s assessment also echoed global debates in the post-colonial era about the relationship between former colonizers and newly emerging independent nation-states. Beyond the Francophone context, African nationalists such as Kwame Nkrumah – who served as Ghana’s first leader after independence – warned of former colonies’ subordination to the colonizer after independence, especially in the economic sphere.⁶⁷ In *Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, Nkrumah explained that, “[t]he essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.”⁶⁸ Nkrumah’s point underscored the ways in which foreign investment would exploit rather than assist developing countries, including former colonies.⁶⁹ In highlighting French economic neocolonialism, Nkrumah indicated that African countries received almost all of France’s aid to developing countries by the early 1970s.⁷⁰ The dynamics of political and economic power played a critical role in these new relationships – just as they did within the colonial realm – and rendered states powerless to determine their own fate.⁷¹ N’Dongo’s critique built upon many of the ideas and concepts in Nkrumah’s critical contribution, demonstrating the global nature the post-colonial response to neocolonialism.

Within the broader political discourse, N’Dongo’s analysis represented a backlash against French neocolonial influence identified by scholars, journalists, France’s African immigrant community, and others by the early 1970s. Historian Jean Suret-Canale argued that:

[w] hat is certain is that the system set up in 1960 is beginning to collapse under the growth of rival powers, and especially in the growth of the national independence movements that pose the widespread problem of economic independence as the only means capable of yielding a continuous and real political independence.⁷²

Much of Suret-Canale's critique focused on France's economic influence in post-colonial West Africa. Other components of French policy in its former colonies came under scrutiny as well. Journalists such as Tibor Mende in France evaluated French aid in West Africa and its connections to French firms.⁷³ Egyptian economist Samir Amin of the University of Dakar explored the ways in which French policies dominated the economic landscape of former West African colonies.⁷⁴ In his path-breaking analysis, *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa*, Amin documented that between 1960 and 1970, foreign investment accounted for between 60% and 83% of all investment in former colonies such as Guinea, Mali, Senegal, and Togo.⁷⁵ Amin explained that, ". . . the fragmentation . . . which West Africa has undergone constitutes an irresistible pressure for the maintenance of colonial structures and policies and colonial 'development', and that these in turn no less irresistibly produce foreign domination and underdevelopment."⁷⁶

By the early 1970s, other academic analyses pointed to financial assistance provided to West African countries in the form of development aid and an ongoing and expanding financial dependence on France, the former colonizer.⁷⁷ Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, published in 1972, became a foundation for world system theory developed by Immanuel Wallerstein and other scholars contemplating the post-colonial world.⁷⁸ In evaluating the first ten years of African independence, the journal *Présence Africaine* based in Paris published a special edition that included essays analyzing French neocolonialism in West Africa.⁷⁹ N'Dongo's response to French neocolonialism reflected not only the intellectual dialogue among African scholars and activists, but also the work done in various academic fields throughout the 1970s regarding economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa after decolonization.

CONCLUSION

As a Senegalese immigrant living in France, N'Dongo understood the grave problems that African workers experienced once they arrived in Paris and other French cities. He linked these problems to the legacy of colonialism, French neocolonial influence, and the failure of economic autonomy to accompany political independence in West Africa. Growing increasingly frustrated with the poverty he observed amongst African workers in France and West African countries such as Senegal, N'Dongo channeled the radicalization of the 1960s, Pan-Africanism, anti-

colonialism, and *Négritude* into a critique of French neocolonialism that spanned two continents and incorporated a multi-faceted economic, social, cultural, and political analysis. In doing so, he contributed to a global debate over neocolonialism and its consequences throughout the 1970s. Political leaders, journalists, economists, historians, and activists assessed how it was that a former colonial power managed to retain so much influence over its former West African colonies and the consequences of that lingering power.

N'Dongo added an important element to this debate, arguing that beyond the economic and political situation in countries such as Senegal, African immigration to France itself represented a facet of French neocolonialism. He signified not only a concern for political, economic, and cultural development in Senegal as his country of origin, but also the contentious nature of decolonization itself in an area of the French empire known for its peaceful independence process. In making this argument, N'Dongo presented French neocolonialism in West Africa as an important catalyst for post-colonial African migration to France. As France reoriented its position internationally after the collapse of its empire, N'Dongo argued that it leveraged influence in ways benefitted French interests at the expense of West African countries and their citizens, including immigrants residing in France. By situating African migration to France within neocolonialism more broadly, N'Dongo carried the tradition of immigrant participation in anti-colonial movements into the post-colonial era while shaping new sentiments of anti-neocolonialism from the immigrant perspective.

Notes

¹ N'DONGO Sally, *La "Coopération" franco-africaine*, Paris, François Maspero, 1972, 15 p. Original quote: de plus en plus exploités que cela soit en Afrique ou bien en France.”

² YOUNG Robert J.C., *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Malden, Blackwell, 2001, 44 p.; CHAFER Tony, *The End of Empire in French West Africa: France's Successful Decolonization?* Oxford and New York, Berg, 2002, pp. 15-16; YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, 2 p.; *The «Loi-Cadre» of June 23, 1956 (1956)*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1956-loicadre.html> (accessed July 10, 2012). For more on colonialism and decolonization after World War II in the Francophone context and beyond, see Frantz FANON Frantz, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1952; SHEPARD Todd, *The Invention of Decolonization: the Algerian War and the Remaking of France*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 2006; MEMMI Albert, *Decolonization and the Decolonized*, trans. Robert Bononno, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006; BURKE Roland, *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

³ For example, see MCCLINTOCK Anne, «The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-colonialism'», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN Tejumola et QUAYSON Ato (dir.) Malden, Blackwell, 2007, 633 p. Tony CHAFER also discusses the ways in which neocolonialism differed from French

colonialism. See CHAFER, «Franco-African Relations: No Longer So Exceptional?», in *Africans Affairs* no. 101, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 343-63.

⁴ See, for example, the work of Kwame Nkrumah, Samir Amin, Jean Suret-Canale, Henri Brunschwig, and Ngugi wa Thiong’O.

⁵ HALL Catherine «Histories, Empires, and the Post-Colonial Moment», in *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, CHAMBERS Iain and CURTI Linda (dir.) London, Routledge, 1996, 67 p.

⁶ For an assessment of the «decolonized» see MEMMI, *Decolonization and the Decolonized*.

⁷ YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, 5 p.

⁸ CHAFER, «Franco-African Relations: No Longer So Exceptional?», pp. 343–44; YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, 5 p.

⁹ SURET-CANALE Jean «Difficultés du néo-colonialisme français en Afrique tropicale», in *Canadian Journal of African Studies /Revue canadienne des études africaines* 8, no. 2, Toronto, Canadian Association of African Studies, 1974, pp. 218-20.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 224-6.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 216.

¹² YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, 5 p.

¹³ Ibid., 45 p.

¹⁴ CHAFER, «Franco-African Relations: No Longer So Exceptional?», 348 p.

¹⁵ Ibid., 346; WAUTHIER Claude, «France and Africa: ‘Long Live Neo-Colonialism’», in *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 2, no. 1, New Brunswick, African Studies Association, Spring 1972, 23 p.

¹⁶ CHAFER, «Franco-African Relations: No Longer So Exceptional?», 344 p.

¹⁷ YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, pp. 4-6.

¹⁸ WA THIONG’O Ngugi «Writing Against Neo-Colonialism (1988)», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN Tejumola et QUAYSON Ato (dir.), 164 p.

¹⁹ CHAFER, *The End of Empire in French West Africa*, pp. 231-2.

²⁰ N’DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, pp. 20-1. Original quote : «maintenir la suprématie du grand Capital français, sans avoir à payer le prix de colonisation.»

²¹ SURET-CANALE, «Difficultés du néo-colonialisme français en Afrique tropicale», 229 p.; WEILLER Jean, «Unions monétaires et rapports de coopération internationale dans un monde en transition: l’exemple de l’Union monétaire Ouest africaine», *Revue Economique* 14, no. 2, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, mars 1963, 198 p.; CHAFER, *The End of Empire in French West Africa*, 12 p.

²² CHAFER, *The End of Empire in French West Africa*, 13p.; BOITTIN Jennifer Anne, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010, pp. 156-58; DEWITTE Philippe, *Les mouvements négres en France, 1919-1939* préface de Juliette BESSIS, Paris, L’Harmattan, 1985, pp. 24-44; HAYES EDWARDS Brent, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism*, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 2003, pp 29-30, 241.

- ²³ NKRUMAH Kwame, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, New York, International Publishers, 1965, 24 p.
- ²⁴ CHAFER, *The End of Empire in French West Africa*, 13 p.
- ²⁵ SENGHOR Léopold Sédar, «Negritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN et QUAYSON (dir.), 199 p.
- ²⁶ CHAFER, *The End of Empire in French West Africa*, pp. 234-5.
- ²⁷ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 8 p.
- ²⁸ N'DONGO Sally, *«Coopération» et néo-colonialisme*, Paris, François Maspero, 1972, 7 p.
- ²⁹ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 7 p.
- ³⁰ N'DONGO, *«Coopération» et néo-colonialisme*, 142 p.
- ³¹ Ibid., 134 p.
- ³² N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 8 p.
- ³³ OKONJO, «Africa: A Decade of Independence (An Economic Assessment)» in *Presence Africaine*, 134 p.
- ³⁴ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 38 p. Original quote: «les paysans et les jeunes agriculteurs (en Sénégal) ne peuvent trouver dans leur milieu un mode de vie décent: ils regardent alors vers les villes en France, croyant y trouver un remède à tous leurs maux.»
- ³⁵ Centre des Archives nationales contemporaines (CANC) 1990353 art. 22 Ministère du Travail de l'Emploi et de la Population, *Bilan de l'Immigration en 1968*, Paris, 1968; CANC 19850087 art. 9 Direction des Renseignements Généraux, *Objet: Les migrations de travailleurs originaires d'Afrique noire*, March 15, 1967.
- ³⁶ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 7 p.
- ³⁷ CANC 19850087 art. 9 Direction des Renseignements Généraux, *Objet: Les migrations de travailleurs originaires d'Afrique noire*. Original quote : «une immigration hasardeuse qui ne saurait déboucher que sur le chômage, la misère et la maladie . . .»
- ³⁸ N'DONGO, *«Coopération» et néo-colonialisme*, 142 p.
- ³⁹ Ibid., 136-7 p.
- ⁴⁰ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 9 p.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., 7 p. Original quote: «[I]es accords franco-africains, la 'coopération,' 'l'aide', les investissements étrangers, la présence militaire française, l'émigration constituent les ficelles que les capitalistes et le gouvernement français tirent habilement pour faire agir dans le sens de leur intérêts les pantins que sont les gouvernements africains en place.»
- ⁴² N'DONGO, *«Coopération» et néo-colonialisme*, pp. 139-40.
- ⁴³ Ibid. For more on urban spatial segregation in the colonial context, see CONKLIN Alice L., *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1997, pp. 42-4. Tyler Stovall discusses working-class sections of Paris that eventually became home to

African workers and other immigrant groups. See STOVALL Tyler, *The Rise of the Paris Red Belt*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990).

⁴⁴ N'DONGO, «Coopération» et néo-colonialisme, 142 p.

⁴⁵ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 7 p.

⁴⁶ N'DONGO, «Coopération» et néo-colonialisme, pp. 14-5.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 35 p.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 21-2.

⁴⁹ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, pp. 21-2. Original quote : «[l]'économie sénégalaise, voyant les ressources diminuer ou stagner fait appel à l'aide française : la quasi-totalité de son budget en dépend.»

⁵⁰ SENGHOR, «Négritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN and QUAYSON (dir.), 195 p.; IRELE Abiola, «What Is Négritude?», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN et QUAYSON (dir.), 203 p.

⁵¹ THOMPSON Peter S., «Négritude and a New Africa: An Update», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN et QUAYSON (dir.), 211 p.

⁵² THOMPSON, «Negritude and a New Africa: An Update», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN et QUAYSON (dir.), 211 p.

⁵³ IRELE, «What Is Négritude?», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN et QUAYSON (dir.), 203 p.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 203-4.

⁵⁵ THOMPSON, «Négritude and a New Africa: An Update», in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, OLANIYAN et QUAYSON (dir.), 211 p.

⁵⁶ ECKEL Jan, «Human Rights and Decolonization: New Perspectives and Open Questions», *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 1, no. 1, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, automne 2010, 114 p.

⁵⁷ YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, 45 p.

⁵⁸ HAYES EDWARDS, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 244 p.

⁵⁹ N'DONGO, «Coopération» et néo-colonialisme, 142 p.; N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 9 p.; HAYES EDWARDS, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 261 p.

⁶⁰ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 9 p. Original quote : «[a]insi, de l'Afrique à la France, l'exploitation du travailleur africain est constant.»

⁶¹ N'DONGO, *La «Coopération» franco-africaine*, 9 p.

⁶² RAMONE Jenni, *Postcolonial Theory*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, pp. 114-116; LARONDE Michel, «Displaced Discourses: Post(-)coloniality, Francophone Space(s), and the Literature(s) of Immigration in France», in *Postcolonial Theory and Francophone Literary Studies* MURDOCH H. Adlai et DONADEY Anne (dir.), Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2005, pp. 175-8.

⁶³ For example, see Archives départementales du Val de Marne (ADVM) 2018W art. 20 Mamadou Diandouma to M le Préfet du Val de Marne, Ivry, 11 novembre, 1969.

⁶⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale MICR D-66 1970/01 MFM MERCIER J.M., «La mort de cinq travailleurs africains à Aubervilliers – qui est responsable?», *Le Monde*, Paris, 4-5 janvier, 1970. CANC 19960311 art. 6 Préfet de Police, Report, Aubervilliers, 9 janvier 1970.

⁶⁵ N'DONGO, «*Coopération*» et *néo-colonialisme*, 140 p. Original quote : «de plus, on n'est pas sans redouter la solidarité de la classe ouvrière français et ses organisations, avec l'inévitable 'contagion' de ses idéaux de justice sociale.»

⁶⁶ YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, 62 p. For more on trade unions and their role in independence movements in West Africa, see Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 407-31.

⁶⁷ CHAVEZ John R., «Aliens in Their Native Lands: The Persistence of Internal Colonial Theory», *Journal of World History*, 22, no. 4, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, décembre 2011, 789 p.; NKRUMAH, *Neo-Colonialism*, pp. ix-x; YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, pp. 46-7.

⁶⁸ NKRUMAH, *Neo-Colonialism*, ix p.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, x p.; YOUNG, *Postcolonialism*, 48 p.

⁷⁰ NKRUMAH, *Neo-Colonialism*, 17.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, x p.

⁷² SURET-CANALE, «Difficultés du néo-colonialisme français en Afrique tropicale», 233 p. Original quote : «[c]e que est certain, c'est que le système mis en place en 1960 est en train de s'effondré sous la pousse des grande puissances rivales et surtout sous la pousse du mouvement d'indépendance nationale qui pose maintenant partout le problème de l'indépendance économique comme seul susceptible de donner un continue réel a l'indépendance politique.»

⁷³ WAUTHIER, «France and Africa: 'Long Live Neo-Colonialism'», pp. 23–6.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 p.

⁷⁵ AMIN Samir, *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa*, traduction par Francis MCDONAGH, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973, 270 p.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁷⁷ SURET-CANALE, «Difficultés du néo-colonialisme français en Afrique tropicale», pp. 212-13.

⁷⁸ YOUNG, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, 51 p.

⁷⁹ *Présence Africaine Numéro spécial: Réflexions sur la première décennie des indépendances en Afrique noire/Reflections on the First Decade of Negro-African Independence*, Paris, Éditions Présence Africaine, 1971.

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