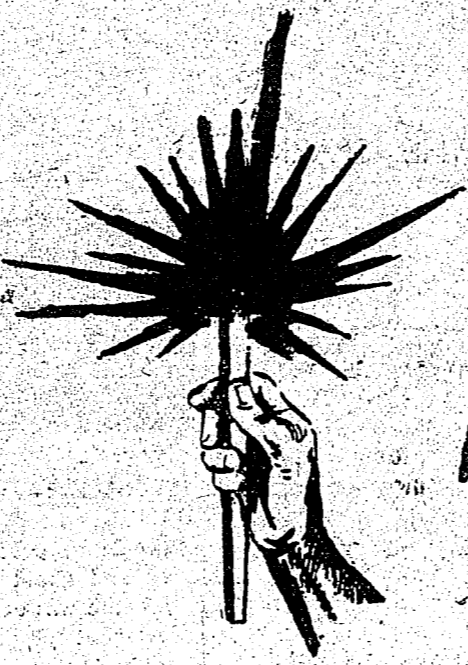


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## EDITORIAL

### MOBILISE NOW!

A NEW world offensive has been launched by the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is an offensive which must be checked.

In South-East Asia, Washington is stepping up its brutal war against the people of Vietnam. Every day brings reports of new and more destructive air attacks and of the dispatch of more U.S. troops to prop up the latest of a succession of U.S.-backed puppet regimes.

The United States, which first employed atomic weapons against an Asian people in what is now recognised to have been not the last blow of the World War but the first in its struggle for post-war world hegemony, is now using Vietnam as a proving ground for its new weapons, just as on the eve of the Second World War Hitler Germany used the war in Spain to test the weapons which he was later to employ against the people of the whole of Europe.

In our own continent the mercenaries are still at large in the Congo, while the colonialists are stepping up their efforts to consolidate a belt of steel across Africa, linking the Portuguese colonies, the Congo and Ian Smith's racist Southern Rhodesia, backed by Verwoerd's monstrous apartheid regime.

In Latin America, cradle of U.S. neo-colonialism, the mask has come off with the naked U.S. armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, while the undeclared war against Cuba continues.

Imperialism's spokesmen like to protest their devotion to peace and democracy—but in Asia, Africa and Latin America it is the forces of imperialism which are waging war against the peoples seeking freedom.

\* \* \*

Imperialism's political and military offensive is paralleled by an economic offensive which is undermining the developing countries' plans for progress and prosperity. By speculation and market manipulation, the world prices of the commodities upon which they depend have been reduced to an all-time low, while the prices of the goods which they must buy from the industrialised countries are at an all-time high.

In these circumstances, talk of "aid" to the developing countries is hypocrisy. It is now admitted even in official U.S. reports that increased interest payments have virtually cancelled out any increase in aid.

All this is taking place at a time when the United Nations, thanks to the manoeuvres of the Western Powers, has been reduced to virtual impotence.

It underlines the great significance of the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference which has this week been meeting at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba.

As Kwame Nkrumah noted in his address to the conference the peoples of the colonial and ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa do not need to be told that the military and political convulsions that threaten mankind spring from imperialism's determination to retain its grip.

"Wherever and whenever we seek the causes of war, we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism. We seek the causes of national and racial oppression, and we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism. We seek the causes of the continued undermining of emergent nations and we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism", Kwame Nkrumah declared.

Only a united anti-imperialist movement, embracing the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and allied with progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the imperialist countries themselves, can halt imperialism's offensive.

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# THE I.M.F. AND OUR D-PLAN

PERHAPS the most significant event in the economic development of Ghana since the launching of the 7-Year Development Plan last year is the current visit of a four-man mission of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to this country. The importance attached to this mission is underscored by the fact that it is led by Mr. Charles L. Mervin, deputy director of the IMF.

## 7-YEAR PLAN

The circumstances that surround this mission must be briefly recapitulated in order to help this country and all emergent nations assess what in fact is going on.

Ghana has launched a 7-Year Plan which departs from what is considered the pattern of development for emergent nation by the industrialised western nations. We have chosen to build a socialist economy; to draw primarily on our own resources to finance economic projects; to bring the directly productive sector of our economy under public control; to welcome foreign private investment but to regulate its inflow and its deployment.

From its inception last year, the opinion of western circles has been that our plan is too ambitious. Shorn of all its sophisticated arguments and subterfuges, the case of these business circles is that we have no right to pursue an economic policy that puts paid to Ghana's abject dependence on the industrialised economies of the West.

## INDEPENDENCE

Our reply to this is that economic independence is needed to complement and buttress our political independence; that our people need food, clothing, shelter, education and health services which an expanded economy alone can sustain; that we must create jobs for all in our efforts to build a prosperous nation.

We must fashion our economy to meet our needs. And this involves two things—full control over our economy; the development of our economy along lines that make us increasingly independent of foreign economies.

In sum, our economic strategy is in basic conflict with that of big business in the advanced western countries.

However, there are points at which we could co-operate

with these countries to our mutual advantage. We can provide a healthier and stable climate for foreign private investment, not out for control and exploitation, to earn fair returns. The western economies could provide fairer trading terms for our agricultural and mineral products. And mutual co-operation could help both sides tide over temporary balance of payments

By Julius Sago

difficulties—difficulties which are not peculiar to developing economies.

This is the context within which we have launched our development plan. Some in the West have come to see our plan as well-motivated, realis-

tically formulated and boldly executed. But others persistently refuse to appreciate our point of view. And their dream is to exploit every difficulty that comes our way to compel a radical change in our economic strategy. The aim is to make us abandon our socialist objectives.

The balance of payments difficulties we now experience

are due partly to our large investment programme (an investment programme basic to our development plan) and partly to the disastrous fall in cocoa prices (£350 per ton ten years ago to only £130 per ton last month). These difficulties have compelled us to appeal to the IMF for temporary financial accommodation.

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## A True Son of Africa

By Bankole Akpata

IT was with a sense of deep shock and sadness that the opening session of the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference now meeting at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, heard on Monday, 10th May, 1965, of the death of the veteran African revolutionary nationalist fighter and journalist, Mr. I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson following a car accident in which he was involved on Saturday, 8th May in Accra.

Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson was born 71 years ago in Freetown, Sierra Leone. After receiving his early education in both primary and secondary schools in Freetown, the young Wallace-Johnson first entered the then Colonial civil service in Sierra Leone as a Customs Officer.

It was in the Customs that he first saw the great disparity between the salary and service conditions of African employees and their European counterparts.

The African was of course paid a pittance as compared with the huge salaries received by the Europeans. When Wallace-Johnson protested at the obvious injustice of this facet of the colonial system, he

was promptly dismissed. From about the year 1928 Wallace-Johnson travelled abroad as a seaman. This voyage took him to India, China, Japan, the U.S.A., South America and finally ended in Britain.

During his sojourn in Britain he took a course of studies in political science and journalism. It was at this period that Wallace-Johnson met Mr. Jomo Kenyatta (now President of Kenya) and the late Mr. George Padmore.

The three men became firm friends and in 1931 they went to the Soviet Union where they studied first at the People's University of the East later finishing in Moscow University.

From being a rebel against the colonial system, Wallace-Johnson through his study and experience in the U.S.S.R. became a Marxist.

After their sojourn in the Soviet Union, Wallace-Johnson travelled back to England from where he returned to West Africa in 1933.

During a short stay in Lagos, Nigeria, he organised the first trade union in West Africa—Nigerian Workers' Union.

This Union also published a weekly newspaper—"The Nigerian

Worker". Within a few weeks of its appearance the colonial authorities became so scared of Wallace-Johnson's influence among the Nigerian masses that the governor deported him. By the end of 1933 Wallace-Johnson arrived in Accra.

With characteristic energy and drive Wallace-Johnson went about his political and trade-union work in Accra. In February 1934, he organised and founded the Gold Coast Motor Drivers' Union. In March, 1934, he founded the West African Youth League, a political organisation which later established branches in Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone.

It was during the same month i.e. March 1934 that Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe arrived in the then Gold Coast from the U.S.A. and took up the editorship of the "African Morning Post".

Wallace-Johnson was a regular contributor to the "African Morning Post" and through this association he and Dr. Azikiwe became firm friends.

It was through their work and collaboration on the "African Morning Post" that led to the now famous sedition case against both Wallace-Johnson and Dr.

Azikiwe following the publication of the article "Has the African a God" 7 in the issue of 3rd June 1935 of the "African Morning Post".

From the latter part of 1935 when Wallace-Johnson went back to England till his return home to Sierra Leone in the summer of 1939, he organised the "International African Service Bureau" with Mr. Jomo Kenyatta and the late Mr. George Padmore.

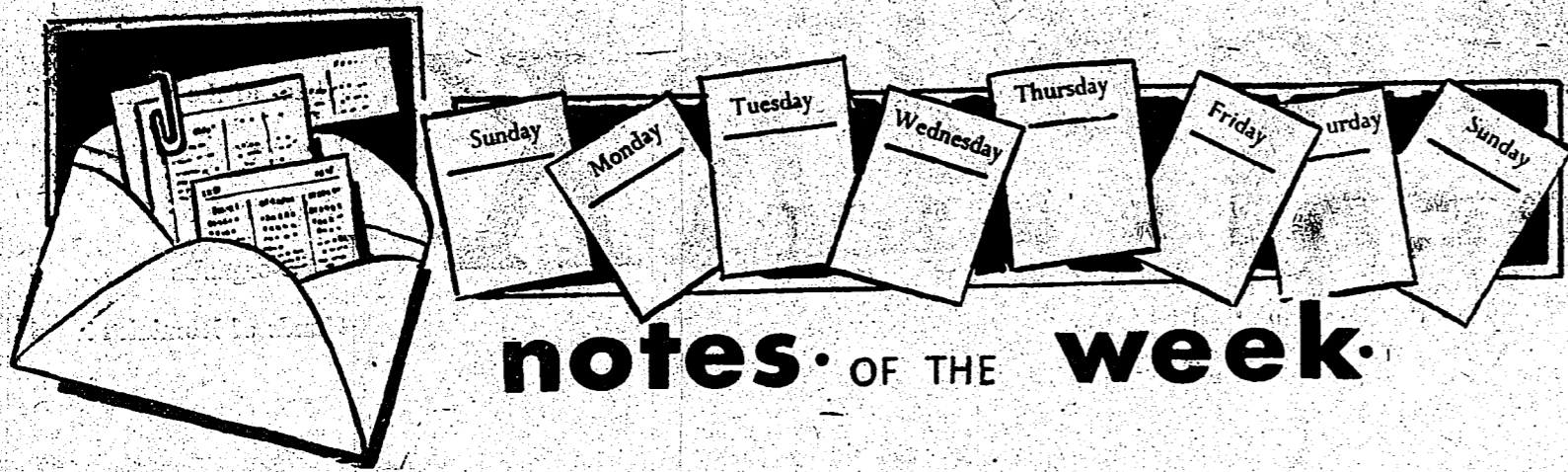
This organisation disseminated information to the British public about the inhuman conditions prevailing in the British Colonies and demanded reforms.

On his return home to Freetown in 1939 Wallace-Johnson founded the "African Standard" as the official organ of

of the West African League (Sierra Leone section). With his trenchant pen and incisive language Wallace-Johnson championed the rights of the African people and demanded freedom and independence for the colonies.

A former colonial governor of Sierra Leone was so openly sympathetic to Nazi Germany that he was recalled to London following startling disclosures Wallace-Johnson published in the "African Standard".

Continued on page 2



notes OF THE week

It is to be hoped that the sentences on Djaba, Asare and Quartey will serve as a stern warning to any other people in positions of trust who think they may be able to get away with cheating the people.

The poverty and insecurity of life in colonial conditions, the deliberate policy of colonial governments in bribing and dividing in order to rule, the capitalist principles of the drive for profit and the morality of every man pitting himself against society for his own gain, lead to a morality which encourages some people to try and "get rich quick". The hang-over of that kind of morality is still with us in Ghana.

\* \* \*

We are sure that this "get rich quick" morality is not confined to an insignificant number of people. The rapid changes in our society, the fluid social structure, the new opportunities in a growing economy, give openings for unscrupulous people to take advantage of their positions to make money for themselves.

The harm done to our economy is enormous. We can see evidence of this in the statements made to the Abrahams Commission, where deliberately created shortages, higher prices and unfair allocation of goods rob the workers and farmers of their hard earned money.

We know that this is the morality of capitalism. But we are not naive enough to imagine that automatically and simply, the building of socialism will eliminate this kind of racketeering and corruption.

We don't wait for even if it were so, because corruption holds back the building of a socialist society anywhere.

Do these racketeers, really appreciate the fact that they are not only cheating the people but that they are committing acts of political sabotage?

The establishment of socialism will certainly provide the

decisive material basis for overcoming this kind of unscrupulous racketeering, but as well as building the material basis we have to launch now a dual operation.

We must launch a campaign of explanation and persuasion, demanding the highest standards of conduct from members of the Government, Civil Service, state enterprises, and the Party.

We must argue for socialist morality, for concepts of service and devotion to the interests of the people. Alongside this we must bring the full weight of the law against those who lie and cheat and deceive the people. If the corrupt cannot be persuaded to be honest by argument and example, they must be prevented by fear of the consequences from being dishonest.

The fight against corruption is a challenge to socialist democracy. It is the people, in their day to day experience who encounter corruption and cheating and who suffer acutely from its effects. They must be encouraged to organise and campaign against it, in the market place, in the shops, in the factories, farms and offices.

The Party and the Trade Union branches have a vital part to play here in mobilising the confidence and the energies of the people to expose and challenge corrupt practices.

\* \* \*

It is a disgrace, that it is possible for a witness at the Abraham's Commission to be afraid to give further evidence of corruption which she says exists. We are not advocating the retailing of gossip and malicious slander, but we are advocating that the activity of the masses of the people should be harnessed in a nation wide campaign to expose cheats and racketeers.

We wish the Abraham's Commission every success in its work; its existence is proof that the Government and Party want to root out corruption; Let them mobilise the masses to help them.

Reluctant To Celebrate

FIFTY million people were slaughtered in the Second World War. On the 20th Anniversary of the ending of the war in Europe we should ponder a little on this terrible price the world paid for German Imperialism which created and used Hitler's Nazi movement for its purposes.

In their heart of hearts, the American, British and French imperialists were never eager totally to defeat Nazi Germany. They hoped to win the war against Germany without inflicting too much damage on her political system, but they also hoped to see the Soviet Union smashed completely.

\* \* \*

These hopes were never realised. Not only did many other countries set out to build socialism out of the ruins of war, but one half of Germany itself, turned its back on imperialism and militarism for ever.

Unlike their Governments, the people of the West wanted to ensure that German milita-

rism and big business (whose imperialist interests it served), would never again be allowed to revive.

In the German Democratic Republic with its socialist economy, the economic power of big business has been smashed and its political power abolished.

\* \* \*

This fulfils the hopes of all those who fought against fascism, including those German people who fought against the Nazis in their own country and were among the first victims of its terror and concentration camps.

In Western Germany the American, British and French occupation authorities never fulfilled their promises to dismantle the vast industrial and financial empires of the Krupps and the Farbens who are still in control of the economic and political life of Western Germany.

The 20th Anniversary of the liberation of Europe from German and Italian fascism, has presented the Imperialist Governments with an embarrassing dilemma. They appear to

be ashamed of their victories. The Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces in Western Germany has forbidden any celebrations. Western diplomats boycotted the celebrations held in Moscow to honour the armed forces who brought about this victory by "tearing the guts out of the German army" in Churchill's famous phrase.

In Bonn there has been a show of indignation because the Soviet Ambassador there, Mr. Smirnov held a celebration to mark his country's victory. Does this mean that West German politicians regret the defeat of the Nazis and that their only sorrow is that they lost the war?

\* \* \*

The reason for this reluctance to celebrate the victory of the peoples of the world over barbarism, degradation, racism and German imperialism is obvious. The imperialist powers have now recreated Western Germany as one of their main allies in their military and political alliances against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The West German imperialists, old henchmen of Hitler, are campaigning for German unity on their terms and for the return of the pre-1939 frontiers. They threaten the security of Poland and Czechoslovakia, as well as the Ger-

man Democratic Republic itself.

To give some kind of respectability to these demands, Western statesmen are beginning to raise the question of German re-unification. To give publicity to their policies, the Queen of England is being sent on a state visit to West Germany and West Berlin.

The existence of the German Democratic Republic, a peaceful, anti-imperialist and socialist state, in Germany itself, in the heart of Europe, is a symbol of the victory of the peoples everywhere against fascism. It is a pledge that howl as they may over their 'lost frontiers', scheme as they may with U.S. and British imperialism, German capitalist will never recover its former power.

The German Democratic Republic along with its socialist and anti-imperialist allies, peoples' and states, will continue to pursue its peaceful and socialist policy.

\* \* \*

Germany will, without doubt, be one day re-united. But that re-unification will not fulfil the dreams of Western imperialism. That unification will take place on the basis of a peaceful and anti-imperialist policy for Germany as a whole. When that day comes then the full fruits of the victory over fascism in 1945 will be truly harvested.

Time To Stop This Posturing

Will the British Labour Government be prepared to negotiate with Ian Smith on the pretext that he has won an election? Having defied world public opinion, having cynically betrayed the policies on which they were themselves elected of introducing new relationships with the African peoples, they have allowed Smith to hold his elections and to win his phoney victory.

We are afraid that the same passivity, or cynicism, they have shown up to now in allowing the elections to be held, will continue to operate until they have managed to supply Smith with a phoney constitution.

This General Election in Rhodesia excluded the African people, whose political leaders—6,000 of them—are in prison camps.

\* \* \*

To be able to vote for the 'A' roll for which there are 50 seats in Parliament a voter has to have income of £330 per annum. To vote on the 'B' roll for which there are 15 members the electors must have at least £132 per year.

On an average Europeans earn £1,127 a year while African workers earn an average of £114. African farmers earn much less. The system is designed to exclude the African population from voting.

The Government of India is to be congratulated on its decision to break-off diplomatic relations with the Rhodesian Government as a sign of its solidarity with the African majority.

This is the most important problem facing the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference. Not all Harold Wilson's statements in the British House of Commons, or Lord Caradon's statement to the Security Council of the U.N. will reassure us.

Neither statement makes even the slightest hint of a concession to the African peoples; their statements indicate that they are prepared to negotiate with the Rhodesian Government presumably this is how they regard the Smith regime.

\* \* \*

With all the talk about legality and constitutions and negotiation, there is not even a hint that Mr. Wilson is preparing to insist that the only basis for a constitution in Rhodesia and for independence will be on the principle of 'one man one vote'.

He says he will agree to a constitution which is acceptable to the majority of the Rhodesian people as a whole. Without conceding one man one vote how is he to know what is desired by the Rhodesian people?

He knows that the settler Government will go through motions of negotiations but refuse the one man one vote principle, yet he still allows a situation in which the leaders of the African people, who can challenge the Smith regime are imprisoned and in camps. It is time this posturing on the part of the British Government stopped, time they considered real legality the just demands of the African peoples and stopped sheltering behind the phoney legality which supports and encourages white racist regimes.



3rd APRIL : CONGO, (Leopoldville) : Three people have been reported killed and about 22 injured when a bomb was exploded in a party of about 800 people in Leopoldville at the week-end, it has been announced by Radio Congo today.

MALAWI : An amendment to the security regulations published in the Government Gazette in Blantyre today empowers some authorized officers in Malawi to order a person or persons to do any work or provide any service which in the opinion of the officers is necessary.

MALI : An announcement from Bamako has said that President Keita, who is currently on provincial tour of his country, will meet President Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast on a frontier village on Ivory Coast side for talks tomorrow.

SOUTH AFRICA : Malaysia plans to instruct three of its Federal States—Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah to ban South African goods, the Federal Prime Minister's office in Kuala Lumpur has announced.

BASUTOLAND : With 13 of the 60 seats still to be declared, the Basutoland Congress Party has won 23 seats, Basutoland National Party 21 seats and Marematlou Freedom Party 3.

KENYA : President Jomo Kenyatta has urged Kenya workers to end splits in the country's Trade Union Movement and form a single labour movement.

CONGO, (Brazzaville) : The Congo Government has categorically stated that she has no intention of joining the smear campaign to discredit "fraternal Ghana and her President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the passionate champion of African Unity," Radio Congo has announced.

GHANA : A fact finding mission from the International Monetary Fund has arrived in Accra today by air to conduct, a survey of the Ghana's development projects to enable it to assess and finance her future projects.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA : The white Opposition Rhodesian party has warned Ian Smith that any attempt to declare unilateral independence in Southern Rhodesia will jeopardise the country's economy.

4th APRIL : CONGO, (Leopoldville) : The death toll in Leopoldville bomb explosions in bars and dance halls has now risen to seven and about thirty others injured.

GHANA : Ghana Deputy High Commissioner to Tanzania Mr. E. A. Dzima, has presented 120 books gift to the Kwame Nkrumah Teachers' College in Zanzibar.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA : Ivory Coast's representative, Mr. Arsenal Usher, at the U.N. Security Council has called on all member-states of United Nations to refuse to recognise Southern Rhodesia if the white minority Government illegally declare the country independent.

UGANDA : Yugoslavia and China will assist Uganda in her development projects. Mr. Milton Obote, Premier of Uganda announcing this at press conference today in Kampala said, China has offered \$4 million grant free of interest and gift of £1 million, Yugoslavia, too, has offered \$4 million for the same purpose.

SOUTH AFRICA : The apartheid South Africa Republic fearing the imminent African armed uprising in the country is spending more than necessary of her revenue on security, Mr. Patrick Dancun of Pan-Africanist Congress has said.

5th APRIL : KENYA : Mr. Oginga Odinga, Kenya's Vice-President has said in Nairobi that the United States of America is beginning to realise that she cannot buy everything with her mighty dollar.

CAMEROON : Elections to legislative assembly of Eastern Cameroon scheduled to take

place on May 30, have been postponed to June 6, an announcement published in Yaounde has said.

SOUTH AFRICA : Following Britain's refusal to supply Buccaneer aircraft to the apartheid South African Republic, a United States' machine firm has now taken over the supplies, Mr. William Matha, Managing Director of the Head Wrightson Machine Company has said in London.

CONGO : Mr. Thomas Kanza, a leader of Congolese guerilla forces has said in Algiers, Algeria, that "next few weeks will see many events favourable to the Congo revolution and naturally, unpleasant to imperialists."

BASUTOLAND : The Basutoland Congress Party in a communique issued in Basutoland today has accused the Basutoland National Party of selling Basutoland secretly to the Apartheid South African Regime of Verwoerd.

CONGO, (Leopoldville) : Kapenda Moise Tshombe's CONACO Party is reported to have won 47 seats out of 73 seats already declared in the Congo's General Elections, 93 more results are yet to be declared.

GHANA : Mr. Kwaw Ampah National Secretary of Ghana T.U.C. has said at a dinner in honour of 28 foreign trade union officials currently visiting

Ghana that unless trades union movements in Africa unite the imperialists will always take them easy prey.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA : Mr. Radhakri Ramani, Malaysia's U.N. Representative currently presiding over the U.N. Security Council meeting has told the Council that British Labour Government can do more to correct the dangerous situation in Southern Rhodesia caused by the minority settler regime of Ian Smith if they really want to.

7th APRIL : TANZANIA : The 32 members of the Zanzibar's Revolutionary Council will be seated in an enlarged Tanzania National Assembly under a proposed amendment to Tanzania's Constitution, President Nyerere has announced in Dar-es-Salaam.

SOUTH AFRICA : The Security Council of United Nations will debate the apartheid South African problems next month, Mr. Achkar Marof, Chairman of the U.N. General Assembly, announced in New York today.

U.A.R. : The United Arab Republic and German Democratic Republic have concluded a pact in Cairo for technical and industrial co-operation.

SUDAN : Mr. Salih Mamoud Ismail, Sudanese Information Minister has warned that his country will break Diplomatic Relations with the Federal Republic of Germany of the latter recognises Israel.

MALAWI : Premier Hastings Banda will leave Blantyre on May 28 for Britain and Europe on a goodwill visit, it has been announced from the Prime Minister's Office in Blantyre.

Son of Africa

Continued from page 1

After the outbreak of the Second World War on 3rd September, 1939, the colonial authorities interned Wallace-Johnson as a dangerous agitator in Sherbro island (just off Sierra Leone mainland). From his internment camp Wallace-Johnson continued to write for his newspaper the "African Standard" at Number 7, Trelawney Street, Freetown. This office of his paper became the centre of nationalist activities even during his internment.

As he had done both in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Wallace-Johnson also organised the workers of Sierra Leone and established the Sierra Leone Trades Union Congress.

Towards the end of the war when workers' leaders from the allied countries and their colonies met in London in February, 1945 to lay the foundation for the formation of the World Federation of Trades Unions (W.F.T.U.) Wallace-Johnson as the leader of the Sierra Leone T.U.C. was invited by the organisers of the conference, and as a result of pressure by African organisations in Britain assisted by some progressive British organisations and people, the colonial office ordered the release of Wallace-Johnson who attended the conference.

The end of the war found Wallace-Johnson

still in England. He led the Sierra Leone delegation to the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in October, 1945.

In December 1945 when the West African delegates to the Fifth Pan-African Congress met and formed the West African National Secretariat, Wallace-Johnson was elected its Chairman and Kwame Nkrumah was elected the Secretary-General.

On his return home to Sierra Leone in 1946 Wallace-Johnson intensified his efforts in the struggle for freedom and independence for his beloved Sierra Leone. He was for many years a member of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council and later a member of the House of Representatives.

Wallace-Johnson was a man of many parts—author, journalist, poet, politician and a fearless fighter for African Unity. With his death Africa has lost a great son, a man whose integrity and dedication to the cause of African liberation and Unity was always a source of inspiration to the younger generation.

Wallace-Johnson like a soldier of the African Revolution died in the front-line of battle on his way to attend the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Winneba. The greatest monument we can erect to his memory is to work indefatigably for the early realisation of a Continental Union Government of AFRICA.

# MOBILISE ALL THE PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

## Solidarity More Important than Ever

AT this Conference of solidarity between the peoples of Africa and Asia, even more than in the preceding ones, grave and momentous decisions will have to be taken to meet new emergencies in the conflict between imperialism and the majority of mankind.

It cannot be otherwise: Afro-Asian solidarity, itself emerged from this conflict. It emerged from our common determination to destroy the remnants of colonialism, and our common need to repulse the assaults of neo-colonialism in its efforts to recover the ground lost by imperialism in the great socialist revolutions and world-wide struggles for national liberation which followed the Second World War.

### DECOLONISATION

Each new wave of national liberation and decolonisation has swept imperialism into ever-deepening economic and political crises. Its desperate measures to save itself from extinction have made all efforts at peaceful co-existence and a peaceful transition to a world freed from political, racial and economic oppression, harder and harder to attain.

We still hope for an end to the Cold War. We still hope that enslaved peoples, like those of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, will liberate themselves without an armed struggle.

We still hope that neo-colonialism's incessant search for military bases, puppet governments and regimes, hidden allies and disguised instruments of exploitation will be abandoned.

We still hope that the economic warfare which the industrialised Western nations wage against the developing world will end.

But we meet here as realists who must see things as they are, and not as we would like them to be.

### UNITED NATIONS

We meet at a time when bombs are falling on the people of Vietnam; when the bullets and bayonets of foreign mercenaries are being used to tyrannise the people of the Congo; when foreign marines and paratroopers have been interposed between the people of the Dominican Republic and their freedom.

We meet at a time when the United Nations has fallen into disarray, and seems incapable of fulfilling its supreme purpose, namely, the maintenance of peace in the world; when the conferences for nuclear disarmament have reached a stalemate which leaves mankind without hope.

We, from the colonial and ex-colonial countries of Africa and Asia, do not need to be told that the military and political convulsions and deadlocks which threaten the peace of mankind do not arise from the malignant influence of the stars, but from the determination of imperialism not to surrender its hold on those areas and peoples which it still holds in captivity, and on those which have gained their independence, but have not yet acquired the economic strength to make that independence a reality.

Not only the bombs, mercenaries and contingents of marines, but also the defiance

## Kwame Nkrumah's Speech to the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference

and obduracy of some industrialised nations at the Economic Conference of the United Nations at Geneva last year, must be considered in your deliberations upon the present world crisis.

### EXPLOITATION

Decolonisation, national liberation, the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of co-existence and even the possible outbreak of a nuclear conflict—none of these momentous developments in the modern world have caused imperialism to deviate from its course of economic exploitation or to desist from undermining the independence of nations to make this exploitation possible.

Wherever and whenever we seek the causes of war, we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism.

We seek the causes of national and racial oppression, and we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism.

We seek the causes of continued undermining of emergent nations and we find the answer in economic exploitation, the heart of imperialism.

If, then, in welcoming you here today, I spend some time dwelling on the economic problems of the Afro-Asian nations, you will readily understand that I am not merely concerned with our economic development but also with world peace and with universal freedom.

### INDEPENDENCE

In this conference of peoples of the Afro-Asian world, we are not only concerned with peoples who are seeking to defend their independence and to use their independence for social and economic development. We are also concerned with peoples still under the colonial yoke, still enslaved by foreign invaders.

We are not unmindful that for the peoples of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, and others, the problems of independence and of neo-colonialism, of economic development and equitable trade, do not arise in the same sharp form as for the independent peoples in this conference.

To them we say: *Brothers, we know your needs and will not forget them. You are entitled to your freedom at any cost and if you are only able to gain your freedom by an armed struggle, we will not only consider your wars against the foreign oppressor as just and holy, but we will be prepared to help you as if these were our own wars for our own liberation.*

### ADDIS ABABA

If we say less, and do less at this conference, we shall be making a mockery of the solidarity in whose cause we are here gathered. We shall be doing violence to all the instincts and moral principles which drove us, in the struggles for our own freedom. What is more, we shall be frustrating our own efforts to drive imperialism and neo-colonialism out of our own borders.

It is well known by now that

it was this overriding need to free the enslaved part of the African continent and to help our brothers to liberate themselves, which gave the independent nations of Africa the inspiration to achieve the first step towards unity at the Summit Conference in Addis Ababa.

It also cannot be unknown to you that I did not believe then, and do not believe now, that anything less than the unity which finds its expression in a Continental Government of a United Africa, will be an effective force to help in the liberation of the enslaved part of Africa.

It is also true that I do not believe that any of the fundamental problems of the independent states of Africa can be finally solved until a continental government of Africa comes into being. Africa can become a much more effective force in the struggle against imperialism when a continental government has been achieved.

### UNION GOVERNMENT

I do not believe that the economic development of Africa can reach an effective stage until Africa's human and material resources have been mobilised under a continental Union Government of Africa.

But I do believe (and nothing that has happened or can happen, will swerve me from my belief), that the emergence of a Continental Government of Africa will immediately make the independent states of Africa a mighty world influence.

We shall then be in a far better position to liberate our brothers in colonial bondage and rule, to drive out imperialism and neo-colonialism from our continent, to make us a powerful ally of the Asian peoples in their own struggles against imperialism, and to make us an effective force for world peace.

Whilst, for the peoples struggling against colonialism, the problems and principles of solidarity are comparatively simple, we must remember that there are complicating factors which we must face at this conference.

### FREEDOM FIGHTERS

We cannot but deplore divisions which spring up in the ranks of the freedom-fighters of the occupied parts of Africa and Asia. In the face of slavery and domination how can any divisions be allowed to cause dissensions which will prolong that slavery and domination?

If unity is essential for independent peoples in their struggle against imperialism, how much more must it be so far these peoples fighting to throw out a foreign invader and to throw off the chains of slavery?

Solidarity itself raises many problems. Not the least is the presence of political refugees in our independent States. This often causes misunderstandings and hard feelings which militate against our solidarity in the face of the common enemy, imperialism.

But the principle of giving refuge to political opponents of a ruling regime are clear and hallowed by custom and international law through the centuries. I have explained my

stand fully on at least two occasions, and this is a fitting occasion for me to do so again.

Every state has a right, even a duty, to give shelter to political refugees, provided a further duty is observed that this refuge shall not be used for activities against another State.

### ACCUSATIONS

We have observed both the duty of giving shelter and of preventing the abuse of that shelter. All the malicious accusations made against us in this respect are all fabrications employed to undermine our struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and to thwart our efforts to establish a continental Union Government for all Africa.

I would like to touch on a further problem which affects you as an organisation of the solidarity of peoples, rather than of governments.

It seems to me that provision should be made in your constitution for the admission of more than one political party or movement from each territory represented, provided that such parties of movements are by their programmes and activities, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and anti-racialist.

### INQUISITIONS

Beyond that, it seems to me, no good purpose can be served by elaborate inquisitions into the internal affairs of the freedom-fighters in colonial countries, and of the political movements in independent countries.

It cannot be in the interest of the solidarity of the peoples that any one party or movement should have a vested right to membership of your organisation merely because it was first in the field. In many countries, popular parties and movements ebb and flow.

We meet as a Conference of Afro-Asian solidarity. Let no one mistake this as a racial alignment. We are neither racists nor racialists although we happen to be non-white in overwhelming numbers on these two continents, and although imperialism today operates from countries where the peoples are predominantly white.

We are not here because we come from Africa and Asia, but because we belong to that part of the human race whose lands have been colonised and whose freedom was taken away by the imperialists.

### COMMON DIFFICULTIES

We do not forget that the peoples of Latin America, who suffer the same fate as we on the continents of Africa and Asia, are of European as well as of Indian and African origin. These peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean have not been deliberately excluded from our solidarity.

Our Organisation of Afro-Asian solidarity developed under circumstances which made the inclusion of the Latin American and the Caribbean peoples difficult. But these difficulties must be overcome, and our solidarity with

them must be cemented as rapidly as possible.

No other peoples have suffered as much from neo-colonialism as the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. Their solidarity with the peoples of Africa and Asia is as necessary for them as for us, if we are to achieve a final victory over world imperialism.

But Latin America apart, I must emphasise with all the seriousness at my command that we are here to wage a war against a system and not against a race.

*We are here because we are resolved that any system or regime which owes its existence of the exploitation of man by man, the humiliation of man by man, and the degradation of man by man, cannot and must not be permitted to continue its existence in the world.*

We are a part of the human race that is determined to free itself from the ravages of colonialism, from the machinations of neo-colonialism, and from the menace of imperialism, irrespective of their racial, national or geographical origins.

### NON-ALIGNMENT

We know that we have the support of the mass progressive opinion outside Africa and Asia. The non-aligned states have shown by their successful deliberations in Belgrade and Cairo that we have allies in Europe and on the American Continent.

We should therefore consolidate and reinforce our solidarity with the non-aligned states so that progressive people and organisations throughout the world irrespective of race, colour or creed are mobilised to fight for peace, prosperity and progress.

We are not here for racial prestige. We are here, first of all, to ensure freedom for all who live under colonial bondage or racial oppression.

We are here to ensure that the freedom which we have won, and which we will help our brothers to win, will have a true meaning, and not be merely a political facade.

For the peoples represented here who have won their freedom, the main struggle to be waged now is economic, always remembering that every economic struggle is carried on, not in a vacuum, but in a political and social context.

### DEVELOPMENT

Our independence means much more than merely being free to fly our own flag and to play our own national anthem. It becomes a reality only in a revolutionary framework when we create and sustain a level of economic development capable of ensuring a higher standard of living, proper education, good health and cultural development to all our citizens.

If the people are not clothed better, fed better, sheltered better, if the people are not ensured employment, personal dignity and cultural and spiritual advancement, what have they gained by independence?

What meaning can independence have for the people, if we throw off political bondage only, and remain in economic and mental subservience?

When we wage battle against imperialism, we in fact wage a political battle directed to an economic end. The im-



KWAME NKUMAH

perialists are not cruel or deceitful or destructive because they were born wicked. They are cruel, deceitful war-mongers because they find this the most effective means of economic exploitation.

For the imperialists human values count for nothing and are always subordinated to his quest for profit. When there is profit to be made from being cruel, the imperialist is a devil in human form.

*Our economic struggle against imperialism cannot be carried on without coming to grips with the forces of exploitation both at home and abroad. It cannot be waged unless the people themselves are mobilised for the struggle and have a direct interest in the struggle.*

Nor can it be carried on effectively without full political solidarity and economic co-operation between all the developing countries.

### NEW DEVICES

The emergence of African and Asian independence made it necessary for imperialism to invent and put into operation methods of exploitation which were almost unknown in the era of colonialism.

In the newly-independent countries, indigenous forces had to be found as secret partners and agents in the process of exploitation.

In trade with the new states, monopolistic and restrictive devices had to be found to bring down the prices of crops and materials from the developing countries, to raise the cost of their imports, limit their credits, devalue their currencies, undermine their confidence and teach them to live on doles and handouts.

The methods are involved and devious; the aims simple and transparent. The aim of imperialism is to inhibit or slow down the economic development of the ex-colonies, so that they will remain colonies in everything but name.

We call this latest phase of imperialism neo-colonialism. Our solidarity here will mean very little unless we understand neo-colonialism thoroughly, and plan to wage a struggle against it with the same spirit, courage and determination with which we fought for our political independence.

### COMMON STRUGGLE

It is useless thinking that solidarity on any other basis than a struggle against neo-colonialism will rid our continents of imperialism. But the struggle against neo-colonialism means putting our own

house in order before we can become loyal and effective allies in our common struggle against imperialism.

If a state in Africa or Asia is in the grip of neo-colonialism; if it allows the imperialists to retain their military bases and financial institutions; if it retains the agents of imperialism in its administration and armed forces; if it encourages its citizens to enter into partnerships with imperialist companies and corporations—how can that state wage a struggle against neo-colonialism, the new phase of imperialism?

The mass of the people can never become the agents or partners of neo-colonialism. The function of neo-colonialism is to exploit, not to share with, the people.

In like manner, imperialism, the father of neo-colonialism, does not share; it grabs and exploits the people. It is the people, therefore, and only the people, who can save an African or Asian state from neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Here, there is need to draw a line between foreign investments that grab and exploit, and those investments which help in the development of an emergent and developing nation.

### FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Foreign investments that co-operate with the development of an emergent nation, and without strings attached, must be seen as of a quite different nature from the known pattern of imperialist exploitation, even if in the process they earn normal returns.

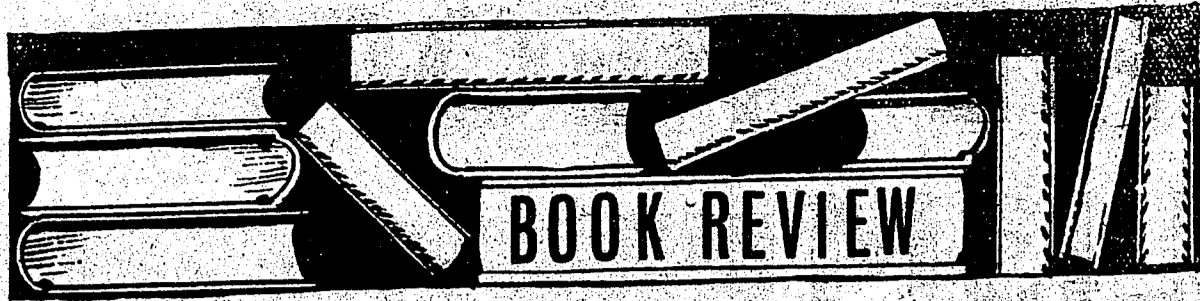
*Where and when the people are in control of their state, the waves of imperialism and neo-colonialism must recede. Where control of the state is not vested in the people, imperialism takes over, with the same effect for the people as in the days of colonial rule.*

Is it surprising, therefore, that the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism takes its sharpest form as a people's revolutionary struggle against puppet governments and regimes?

The Dominican Republic is not very large in size or population, but its name may still become symbolic of a new stage in open and indisguised aggression by imperialism against a national liberation movement.

There, the intervention to suppress a popular uprising has followed closely on pronouncements that wars of

Continued on Page 4



(R. Palme Dutt's, "The Internationale," Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. London. 36/-)

**A RICH and stimulating book by a great Marxist, paints a picture of a momentous century of political and human progress, with its incredible and yet insufficient victories over the evil forces of reaction, war, and colonialism.**

It is easier to feed on it and to enjoy it than it is to describe it clearly. The title refers not to the wonderful workers' song, but to the international political organisations of the Socialist and Communist movement (with which the song was of course closely linked); and Dutt tells us of all the Internationales, as well as of much else.

#### CENTURY'S SURVEY

In his Preface he calls the book a "brief survey of a century of development"—the century running from the formation of the First International in 1864 to the publication of the book in 1964—and disclaims any "original

or profound research". The book is no more, he says, than a "very rapid and elementary sketch for the new reader".

We shall see that it is clearly a continuous if brief history of the international Communist movement, but it is a book "for the new reader" in the sense that readers new to the Socialist movement and to working-class politics can read it without labour and with great advantage. But those who are or think they are more advanced students can also learn a great deal from it.

The main structure of the book, is built round the stories of the various Internationales, and I think that most readers will find it easier to draw full benefit from it if they begin with an outline in their own minds of the various Internationales, with their dates.

The first, perhaps the most famous, certainly the pioneer, was founded in London in 1864, and was called the "International working-men's Association"; it has long been called simply the First Inter-

national. It was a bold step; it embraced a surprisingly large number of countries, and it owed its birth and much of the success it achieved to the strong sense of international working-class brotherhood, overriding state frontiers, which the movement had already achieved.

#### VARIED OUTLOOKS

Inevitably, the members had varied outlooks and were in different stages of industrial development; but these were to some extent overridden, and the organisation was held together and made very effective by Marxist ideology—and by the labour of Karl Marx himself—until 1872, when internal divisions, somewhat like those which were to develop later and split the whole Socialist and working-class movement into two opposed sections, brought out such weaknesses in its Congresses in Europe that its Headquarters were transferred to New York, where it lived a rather

invalid life for four years, being wound up in 1876.

Twelve years then passed without any Internationale of the working-class, and then in 1889 the "Second Internationale" was established. It had to work in a world more developed and in some ways more complex than that of the First Internationale; and the divergencies between scientific or revolutionary Marxists on the one hand and reformist or revisionist elements on the other were growing clearer, but were not yet deep enough to cause a split.

The two groups continued to work in the same organisation, and to label themselves "Social Democrats", the revolutionary Marxists tolerating the label as at any rate a convenient one which could cover the whole of the movement; as we shall see, it was only later that the words "Social Democrat" came to mean specifically the reformist section, the other being called Communist.

#### THE PROBLEMS

So, for the quarter of a century that was to run up to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the work-

By D. N. PRITT

ing-class had once again one all-embracing organisation to fight its capitalist enemies.

Perhaps the most important of its tasks was to carry on the struggle against war, which it believed that the working-classes on the various countries had the strength to prevent, or at the least to bring to a swift revolutionary development if it should start; but an important subsidiary task lay in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

#### EFFECT OF WAR

In the light of those tasks, the Second Internationale in effect committed suicide in 1914, when the huge mass of its members in the great belligerent countries, whose rules were going to war with each other over the division of the spoils of colonial brigandry, swallowed the exhortations of those rulers to fight "for their king and country", and supported the war, in which they set about "patriotically" murdering their fellow-workers in other countries, who were fighting in their turn "for their kings and countries" (the kings anyhow being all cousins).

As R. Page Arnot, the British Socialist writer and historian put it, the sheep in the various countries bleated as one: "We must fight for these wolves; they are our wolves".

#### OCTOBER REVOLUTION

That was the end of the Second International, although we shall see after the end of the war a brief attempt to revive it; and when the world working-class in 1918 came to consider the problems of the new world, there had passed not merely over four years of bloody war but also the greatest single event in human history, the October Revolution of 1917, which established the first Socialist state; this had far greater effects in every field of world politics than even shrewd observers immediately realised.

By then the need for an international working-class organisation was plainly greater than ever before, and it was equally plain that the division between the true Marxists and the various reformist elements, who had their main strength in the West European countries and whose claims to regard themselves as Marxist were weak, hypocritical, and scarcely even plausible, was so deep that no single Internationale could have any clear policy, or work with any effect, if it attempted to embrace them both.

#### THE COMINTERN

The rest of the story of the Internationales thus necessarily becomes one of parallel bodies, one called Communist and the others using—in its now restricted sense—the name of Social Democrat.

The Internationale formed after the First World War was called the Third Internationale or Communist Internationale (sometimes, shortly, the Comintern). It was established in March, 1919, on the initiative of the Russian Party, the only Party in that period which was not in opposition to the government of its country.

This body was destined to work actively and effectively

until half-way through the Second World War, in 1943, when it decided to dissolve on the ground that the World Communist Movement had by then—with the help of the excellent work of the Comintern itself—developed to such responsibility and maturity that it no longer needed the tutelage of a central international organisation.

#### LABOUR UNIONS

For a time after the end of the Second World War, from 1947 to 1956, there existed a "Communist Information Bureau" (Cominform), but the Communist World has not since 1956 had any such organisation, and holds from time to time conferences of all the now numerous Communist Parties. (There was established in 1921 an Internationale of the Communist Trade Union movement called the Red Internationale of Labour Unions, which was replaced after the Second World War by the World Federation of Trade Unions).

Let me turn back to the Internationale of the Social Democrats. I have described how the Second International was brought to death by the election of practically all Social Democrats to join in mutual bloodshed in the First World War; and when the war was over attempts were nevertheless made to revive it in spite of all the national bitternesses and resentments that had been worked up by mutual bloodshed.

The revived body established headquarters in London in 1919, and held a Congress there in 1920. A little later, something of a "breakaway" was set up in Vienna, generally called the "Two and a half Internationale", which did not survive for long; and by 1923 the "Labour and Socialist Internationale" was founded to succeed the Second International also in London. Its scope was somewhat limited, but it lasted until 1945. (As in the case of the Communists, the Social Democrats also formed a Trade Union International under the name of "International Federation of Trade Unions").

#### UNITED FRONT

After the Second World War, the Communist International, as I have said, was no longer on the scene, and the place of the Labour and Socialist International was taken in 1945 by a "Committee of the International Socialist Conference" which was intended to develop into a more permanent body to be called the "Socialist International"; this came about in the end, but the operation took six years.

In the Trade Union field, there was for a brief moment a United Front, the World Federation of Trade Unions being founded to cover all the trade unions of the world; but it was only a matter of months before the Social Democrat elements in it walked out and set up a rival body, the "International Confederation of free trade unions", which is still in existence.

#### ECONOMIC POLICY

That is the end of the outline of a slightly complicated story of the various internationales; I think that any reader who studies Palme Dutt's book with that outline in his mind will not only find it much easier to follow the history of the Internationales, but will also see more clearly many interesting features, both good and bad, of that history.

And they will learn in any case far more from the book than that; they will get a brief

history of the Socialist and Communist movement from right back in the days of the famous *Communist Manifesto* eighteen years before the First Internationale, to the present time.

That history, so far as they have been able to study it, has brought them many puzzles and headaches, and Palme Dutt's book clears them all up.

If readers are still bewildered by the early "treat to capitalism" said to have been constituted by Lenin's famous "New Economic Policy", or by the long and malignant malady of Trotskyism; if they wonder why at intervals between the two World Wars the Communists strove so long and so earnestly to establish a United Front of all progressive forces in the face of the advance of Fascism and the ever increasing threat of war, the book will relieve their doubts and inform their minds.

#### FRANK ACCOUNTS

If they wonder why the accounts they read in the capitalist Press of one Socialist development after another appear to bear no relation whatever to what—as they learn later—actually happened, the book will help them to realise that their capitalist enemies have at every stage of history lied systematically about everything connected with the Communist world, and that if at any moment there has been some partial accuracy in any of their reports it has been the purest coincidence.

In the more important, the very important, field of things that have been seriously wrong or criminal in the course of the establishment and growth of the Socialist world in the course of nearly half a century, the reader will find very clear and frank accounts of matters that have disturbed them and others too, and driven many insufficiently grounded members out of the movement altogether.

For example, the errors and cruelties and crimes of the Stalin period, and the faults and also the virtues of that great man; are well described, false stories are rejected, the real evils frankly recounted, and innumerable deeds and misdeeds put in their historical perspective.

So, too, are the disquieting events in Hungary in 1956, and the long and still unresolved differences between the two largest Socialist powers, the U.S.S.R. and China.

#### SHINING CONTRAST

The reader will find equal enlightenment in relation to the evils worked by the capitalist powers, not only in their bloodstained colonialist history but in their building-up of Fascism in Europe, sensationally high-lighted at Munich, their almost complete failure to fight Hitler for a good many months, their attempts to go to war with the U.S.S.R. over Finland, and their hypocritical and murderous activities in Korea; and he can refresh himself with the shining contrast of the heroic efforts and endless endurance of grave hardships by the Soviet peoples during and immediately after the Second World War.

I doubt whether I have told my readers, even in this long review, of more than two-thirds of the rich treasures of knowledge and understanding that they can win by reading the book, full as it is of both the many factual statements and of the wealth of the author's great experience, study, and insight.

# Eliminate Imperialism

Continued from Page 3

national liberation will not be tolerated.

It is difficult to believe that this conference will not reject the contention of the imperialists that they are entitled to decide what form a struggle of national liberation must take.

If we were to accept their contention, we, the people of Africa and Asia, and the freedom fighters of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Zimbabwe, would have to abandon great parts of our continent and many millions of our people to perpetual slavery.

This we will never do. And even if we become so lost to honour and humanity as to do so, the peoples of these countries would ignore us and in spite of us continue their struggle for national liberation alone.

#### POLITICAL ORIGIN

The shadow of the struggle in South-East Asia must fall very deeply on a Conference of Afro-Asian solidarity. I know that this conference will spend many hours discussing the best means of using Afro-Asian solidarity to compel the imperialist aggressors to withdraw, so that the people of Vietnam can decide their own destiny.

The conflict in Vietnam, which daily threatens to escalate into wider war, has a political origin and can only be resolved by the Vietnamese people themselves; therefore, hands off Vietnam!

Any attempt to impose a military solution will be short-sighted and futile.

Recently various approaches have been made to create a favourable atmosphere for negotiations to resolve the conflict in Vietnam.

#### CATASTROPHIC WAR

These approaches have not been successful because one essential ingredient has been missing. For any appeal for negotiations to merit consideration, it must be preceded by the withdrawal of foreign military presence.

With the best will in the world, one finds it extremely difficult to understand the view held in some quarters

that air strikes on North Vietnam are calculated to put the North Vietnam Government into suitable frame of mind to enter into negotiations.

The bombing has not led to such a result so far, and it is unlikely to do so. What it is doing is to increase the risk of widening the conflict into a catastrophic war.

A situation in South-East Asia which has become a source of great embarrassment to all Afro-Asians and a threat to Afro-Asian solidarity, is the distressing conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia.

#### PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

I have on many occasions appealed for negotiated settlement. I have also on many occasions offered my good offices to assist in seeking settlements. I am convinced that all of us gathered here would earnestly like to see a speedy and peaceful settlement to these conflicts, from which none of the parties could benefit.

But the condition prior to a successful negotiation is the withdrawal of imperialist presence in this area.

Of even greater seriousness, neither Indonesia nor Malaysia could afford to divert resources sorely needed for development into a conflict so easily avoidable.

#### BORDER DISPUTE

I would therefore like to appeal once again to my friends, President Sukarno of Indonesia and Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia, to start talking around the conference table and bring these conflicts to an end without delay.

The conflict between India and Pakistan is of a different nature. It is a border dispute between two emergent and developing countries.

Even though I have on many occasions appealed for a negotiated settlement, and on many occasions offered my good services, I would like to appeal to Prime Minister Shastri of India and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan to make another effort at a peaceful settlement between their two sister States.

The point here to be borne in mind is that there is a fun-

damental difference between territorial dispute involving two emergent nations, and territorial dispute involving an emergent nation and imperialism, and a territorial dispute between two emergent nations teleguided by imperialism.

There is no doubt that the imperialist counter-attack against human freedom and progress is mounting in ferocity and volume throughout the world.

#### CAUSE OF CONFLICT

The imperialists are behind all the conflicts among the emergent and developing nations. They are set on a course which will spell disaster for themselves, but which can also work great havoc for humanity.

Our solidarity therefore has become more important than ever before. It must be widened and strengthened by established close links with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

It must gather new and greater strength by establishing close links amongst ourselves in our struggle against open imperialism and neo-colonialism.

A united Africa in solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Latin America, will constitute an invincible force which imperialism can neither subvert nor conquer.

The anti-imperialist world now embraces such an overwhelming majority of mankind that the imperialists will only continue with their campaigns of military and economic aggression and propaganda, if they are convinced that they can destroy the unity of the developing nations of Africa and Asia.

#### NUCLEAR WAR

As we meet here today with large portions of the African continent still enslaved, with South-East Asia in flames, with our economies under attack, with the majority of our peoples still in want, with nuclear armaments piling up, and with mounting imperialist aggression recklessly escalating conflicts which may lead to a nuclear world war, we are bound to ask ourselves: Who has the right today to jeopardise the unity of the anti-imperialist world?

Who stands to gain by dissensions amongst us? Who can withstand us, if we can make our solidarity a reality?

Our main preoccupation at this Conference should be to strengthen our solidarity. It seems to me that the main task is to find answers to the problems of organising our solidarity, of mobilizing our peoples and of giving impetus to the peoples' will to peace and social change.

#### FALSE HOMAGE

Just as disunity in our ranks retards the struggle against imperialism, so the agents of neo-colonialism who ride on our backs to influence and power, giving false homage to our solidarity, must be regarded as retarding the struggle against imperialism.

There is one test, and one test only for our solidarity: Do we mobilize and rely on the people in the struggle against imperialism in all its forms, or do we relegate the role of the mass of the people to a secondary place in this struggle?

I say that only the mass of the people can ensure victory in our struggle.

#### ACCRA SUMMIT

As you know, the people of Ghana are preparing to act as hosts to the next summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity. We have great hopes that the fruits of your deliberations and the messages of solidarity from this conference will pave the way for the deliberations and accomplishments of the African Summit Conference.

In the name of the people of Ghana, I greet you and welcome you to Ghana. I think I can speak in the name of humanity to beseech you to set aside everything that is not relevant to the task of organizing and consolidating our peoples' solidarity.

There was never greater need to exert ourselves to save the world from war and want, and to move forward to find final solutions for the total liberation and sustained progress of mankind.

I wish you successful deliberations.

# CUBA'S YOUNG PEOPLE RE-ORGANISE (I)

by A Special Correspondent

It is now more than a year since, on the instructions of the National Leadership of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, the re-organisation of Cuba's Union of Communist Youth was started. This new period has been characterised by a struggle to improve the quality of the organisation and the progressive attitude of its active members and their identification with the masses, in order to give a correct direction to our work.

In carrying out this task of re-organisation, we have organised 8,820 meetings to select progressive young people in factories, student centres, rural areas, etc. They were attended by 86 per cent of the young people working or studying, as well as by many older people.

## COMMITTEES

Up to May 31st last year we had organised 5,940 local committees of the U.C.Y. with 29,508 members and 4,795 candidate members; 144 Municipal and Sectional Committees had been formed, 213 were still in the process of formation or organisation. We have now started to organise the U.C.Y. within the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The period of U.C.Y.'s normal growth has already started and we hope that by the time our second congress is held, we shall have more than 100,000 members.

We have begun a vigorous campaign within the U.C.Y. against the type of errors which we committed in the past.

One of these basic errors, was lack of attention to important sections of young people, especially young students receiving grants from the Revolutionary Government, who are of decisive importance for the future of the Revolution.

So we proposed that the re-organisation process begin with the students and go on to the State sector of agriculture and industry, offices and the rural areas.

## STUDENTS' ROLE

However, although this has been the main line followed, there have been certain variations in the provinces and regions, according to local conditions. But why did we begin by the students?

The main reason was that the students play a fundamental role in the technical revolution being carried out in our country. As Comrade Fidel has said:

"When we speak about technical revolution we mean the revolution complementary to the social revolution, the revolution that, once the power has been taken by the workers and the peasants, brings the progress of technique to agriculture and to industry in order to achieve the abundance without which it would be impossible to reach socialism and communism."

It is necessary to pay special attention to the students to discover their natural vocation and be able to help them. At the same time we must train our students from the political and ideological point of view, in order, as our Comrade Raul Castro has said:

"To make them understand the basic tenets of scientific socialism, to raise in them a socialist awareness and to educate them in the class struggle against imperialism... to make a standard bearer from each student, against all forms

of exploitation and to make him understand fully the meaning of international workers' solidarity".

We must always start from the principle that we study to work better, to be more useful to our Revolution and to our country, and in order more quickly to achieve the planned objectives of abundance and happiness.

The Revolution considers education to be one of its most important tasks. We have concentrated a great amount of our efforts and resources on this front, as that can be seen by the mass education campaign, the teachers' training projects, the scholarship projects, etc. etc.

As a result, we have opened the doors of universities, institutes and secondary schools to the sons of workers and peasants. At the moment more than 200,000 young people the great majority of them sons of workers, are in secondary schools that is why it is so important for the U.C.Y. to concentrate its efforts amongst the students.

## QUALIFICATIONS

Comrade Fidel Castro, speaking during the First National Congress of the Association of Rebel Youth on April 4th, 1962, said:

"We have already adopted a name: Union of Communist Youth (UCY). However, to belong to it one must have special qualifications..."

"And what is going to be the rule for selection? Is it going to be a sectarian rule? No, the rule is going to be a simple one: the quality and the worth of each young person. This must not be influenced by false comradeship, and subjective criteria. To belong to this organisation one must prove truly and without any doubt that the young person is a modern youth, without any doubt deserving to be called a young Communist."

However, the first Congress at which he spoke was held only one week after March 26th, 1962, the date on which Fidel made his famous speech against sectarianism, the speech which began the reconstruction of the Party on the basis of the strict appli-

cation of the Leninist principle of selection. It was therefore necessary to leave the re-organisation to a later date.

The building and re-organisation of the U.C.Y. has been guided by the same general principles that have been followed in the re-organisation of the P.U.R.S. Our active members have been selected on the same basis as those of the Party.

First, the people have been consulted in order that they may propose from amongst themselves the best youth. Then by the application of the principle of selection, they pick from among the best young people and the old active members of the organisation, those young people who possess the required qualities to be members of the U.C.Y.

Finally, after those selected have expressed their wish to become members, they join.

What have been the results? We have been able to bring into our ranks the most selfless young people, those possessing the highest revolutionary awareness, those who have a communist attitude in their studies, in their work, in the country's struggle against imperialism and when tackling everyday problems. They are those who in the daily struggle and revolutionary action set an example to their comrades.

## DISCUSSIONS

We have been able to link our organisation with the broad masses of youth. We have started discussions about the basic tasks of each person at the present moment. We are sure that this has contributed to the campaign to educate our youth to love their work and studies, discipline and the ideologies of Marxism-Leninism. We have learnt a lot from these discussions.

The principles of selection

have been just, but sometimes they have not been applied rightly. The most common error has been to exaggerate from a sectarian point of view some of the faults of the young people proposed by our organisation.

We have forgotten the very positive attitude of these young people. Sometimes we had not taken into consideration that some faults are more easily eliminated within the U.C.Y. and are not an obstacle to membership.

It is necessary to bear in mind that in the campaign to maintain the purity of our membership we must not make sectarian errors.

selects its members very carefully, our organisation cannot impose on them such strict conditions as the Party imposes on its members.

A very important question is that of methods of work. Youth organisations achieve the greatest success when their methods of work are linked to the special characteristics of young people—their gaiety and their youthful vigour. Any youth organisation which does not understand this will become stiff-jointed.

The Union of Communist Youth is the Youth organisation of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution—but it cannot copy the methods of the Party. It must have its own methods, its own characteristics in line with the thinking and behaviour of the mass of young people.

So we have to insist that our cadres participate in sport and study activities, and have a youthful approach. It is quiet clear that this will not happen of itself; it requires a conscious effort. As Comrade Raul Castro has said:

"It is true that by the application of new methods allowing us to see clearly the task ahead, we had been able to increase the quality of work in some provinces more than in others; but there are still some deficiencies in some places. For instance, we need to improve and strengthen the organisation of the U.C.Y. at the University of Havana, giving it maximum attention."

To overcome the weakness still remaining, Comrade Raul proposed that

"the U.C.Y. requires the help of the Provincial Committees of the Party and the National Leadership, because any Party which does not care enough for its youth

is complementary to, not competitive with, western economy.

Until we understand this cardinal fact, our leaders and executives will never fathom the volume of economic advice, technical assistance and expert personnel being dumped upon developing nations by the western nations and by international agencies dominated by them.

The two fronts along which the economy of any country could be controlled are investment policy and fiscal policy. Even though some overlapping at times takes place, it can be stated that, broadly, the World Bank strives to direct the investments policies of developing economies while the IMF seeks to influence their financial and fiscal policies.

The IMF of late has made considerable improvements to its machinery to enable it the more effectively play its role as the international nerve centre from which the financial policies of developing economies could be manipulated.

It has set up an African

Department to cope with the sharp increase in the number of sovereign African states.

It has expanded its facilities for technical assistance and training. There is a new Fiscal Affairs Department to meet members demand for assistance in budget planning and control, tax policy and administration, analysis in field of public finance. Another new body—the Central Banking Service—is set up to advise and help in setting up Central Banks in many African and Asian countries. There is a third department—Exchange Restriction Department. One of its duties is to "study and evaluate the Fund's activities with regard to exchange reforms, stabilisation policies and standby arrangements".

Now a fourth department has been added—Fiscal Affairs Department. This is an international panel of fiscal experts to "supply resident technical advisers in the fields of statistics and the balance of payments" to the developing countries.

Clearly this vast network of experts and agencies that makes up the mechanism of the IMF puts the Fund in a

very strong position to shape and direct the fiscal policies (and hence the economic programmes) of developing economies. And the promise of financial assistance could be used as a *quid pro quo* for this opportunity to so direct the finances of these countries.

The Fund is in a strong position to do this because of the world wide balance of payments difficulties facing most countries, a situation that has compelled many countries to apply to the Fund for temporary accommodation. Even "The Financial Times" of London (April 28) has this to say under the pen of Lombard, a regular columnist:

"It is obvious that these new arrangements (within the administrative machinery of IMF—ed.) are bound to increase materially the influence the Fund exerts on the shaping of national economic policies in all senses—not least because member countries in need of external financial help will clearly be in a better position to get it from the Fund if they are making full use of the

enlarged advisory services it is providing"

The danger for Ghana here is real and great. The same Financial Times article lets the cat out of the bag when, discussing this new process of control by the IMF, it writes:

"Up to a point that may not be a bad thing. For the need for good advice grows steadily greater as more and more countries embark on ambitious development programmes that are clearly going to strain their available resources to the limit, if not to over-strain them."

THE TALK

In the light of all this, our economic and financial experts have got to be circumspect in their talks with the IMF mission now in the country. We find a basis for mutually beneficial co-operation. The Minister of Finance and the Director of the Bank of Ghana have struck the right key note—our economy is sound and our financial policies are realistic. There is no need to feel that the views of IMF technical experts are invariably sound and right. The Financial Times article quoted above

organisation could never be a great Party, because that organisation is the Party of tomorrow. Everyone of us must give them all our understanding and our help, and it is quite natural that once their difficulties and errors are overcome, their prestige will increase and the progress of the Organisation be still more rapid."

The U.C.Y. faces many tasks. Some of these are only in their early stages. There are not many cadres to carry them out. Besides, many of these cadres will become members of the Party and others will go to take up important posts within the state. It is therefore necessary to train, boldly and systematically, cadres within our organisation

## LEADERSHIP

Sometimes we underestimate the ability of our members to carry out tasks and to take charge of responsible jobs. We must objectively consider which of our members have the ability to be cadres, and then we must help them to develop as such, and we must give them leadership jobs.

On matters of cadres we must work on the understanding that within the branches the basic task of leadership must fall to voluntary cadres, and that within Regional organisations we must increasingly upgrade voluntary cadres.

This will help us to reinforce the organisation and help every member to play an active part. However, we must at the same time maintain active revolutionary vigilance to prevent opportunist and enemy agents infiltrating our ranks.

To make each young person, whether worker or peasant, a student, and to develop in each student a Communist attitude to life—these are the main objectives of the U.C.Y.

Although in a short period of time it is not going to be possible to make every young person a student, or to make Communists of all students, this objective remains our basic aim.

Why is this our main orientation?

The Cuban Revolution faces the great task of transforming Cuba from an underdeveloped country, into an economi-

cally advanced country. We must transform our economy.

But the desire is not enough; we must also train hundreds of thousands of technicians, scientists and qualified workers. At the moment the basic link in our economic advance is the transformation of our agriculture along two main lines—the production of sugar and the development of the cattle industry.

Furthermore, we must carry on with the power plans, the development of the fishing industry, etc. To do all this we need the combined efforts of our people.

## PRODUCTIVITY

How many veterinarians, fertiliser technicians, soil technicians and animal feed technicians do we need to carry out such an extraordinary transformation! How many qualified workers we need! What an enormous effort the mechanisation of the cultivation, cutting and gathering of sugar cane in our country involves! How many technicians and qualified workers do we need to carry out our power and fishing projects!

It is necessary to carry out a revolution in production and to increase our productivity on the basis of a greater technical ability, a greater discipline, a better organisation, and a greater revolutionary awareness.

The technical revolution must be explained to the students as a struggle for the following objectives:

(a) to develop amongst the students the spirit of scientific research, putting theory into practice, achieving not only a correct interpretation of the world, but also a great effort to transform it;

(b) to awaken in the students an interest in the type of professions necessary to our economic development;

(c) to achieve the greatest possible ratio both of students and passes with 60 per cent as a minimum;

(d) to increase study discipline in the studies; to struggle against the vices of the past amongst the students in order to convert our schools into "a territory free from cheating".

# Monetary Fund And Our Development Plan

Continued from page 1

To such assistance we are entitled as full-fledged members of the Fund. This is precisely what the Fund exists for. But certain big interests behind the IMF have used our balance of payments difficulties as the excuse to have a second look at our economy and economic programme.

No one can say for certain what line the IMF mission will take—to sympathise with our plan or to seek to recast it.

At this stage the people of this country (and of emergent nations generally) need to know a little bit more of the inner workings of the IMF itself.

The IMF must be seen as a complementary institution to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), known simply as the World Bank. Both institutions are dominated by western interests whose point of view is plainly capitalist.

These interests look upon the developing economies as a necessary complement to western economies, supplying raw materials, markets and investment fields for western industries and finance capital.

These western interests are not opposed to developments in the emergent countries; but they wish that such developments be controlled and regulated to follow a pattern that

stresses the point that the Fund must "ensure that the advice it is giving really is first class". It goes on: "The results of some of its activities in recent years suggest that this requirement has not always been satisfied".

Through its mission now in the country, the IMF has a golden opportunity to prove to the entire world, and particularly to the developing countries, that it can render financial assistance that meets the needs of the recipient country without seeking to impose the traditional solutions of international finance capital.

Above all, our experts must know that the perspective of our economic planning is not always shared by the experts of the IMF. All suggestions and proposals coming from the IMF experts must therefore be corrected for perspective.

Both sets of experts should know that our people have been solidly mobilised behind our 7-year Development Plan. And that they are prepared to make the sacrifices needed for the fulfilment of the Plan.

All negotiations ought therefore to be based on the clear understanding that the essentials of the Plan do not call for recast. Ghana wants financial assistance to fulfil its 7-Year Plan; she does not need expert opinion on re-drawing this Plan.

# HANDS OFF DOMINICA!

**AMERICAN intervention** in the Dominican Republic has been greeted by a storm of protest not only throughout Latin America, but throughout the world. Thousands of U.S. Marines and paratroops have poured into the Republic where the ruling military junta are trying to suppress a popular uprising aimed at restoring ex-President Juan Bosch to power.

The Dominican Republic occupies the eastern portion of the island of Santo Domingo, the Western division forming the Republic of Haiti. Its population is about 3 million—approximately half that of Ghana.

**PRINCIPAL INDUSTRY**

Agriculture is the chief source of wealth, sugar cultivation being the principal industry: cattle, coffee, gold, copper etc., are some of its primary products which have

attracted Western Big Business. What is the pretext for U.S. intervention in this small Republic?

This is how the whole thing started. Fighting started as a popular uprising in favour of ex-President Juan Bosch currently in exile in Puerto Rico.

**U.S. ATTACK**

But Brigadier General Elias Wessin Y. Wessin sensing his imminent fall, hurriedly called on the United States for help. And under the slogan of "I will not have another Cuba in the Caribbean," the American President launched U.S. intervention.

President Johnson explained that his Government action followed a request by U.S. so-called "military authorities in the Dominican Republic who claimed that American lives were in danger.

American Marines—about 1,800 strong—and thousands of paratroops were officially sent to the Republic for the protection of only 2,400 Ame-

by *Frank Essel-Cobbah*

rican citizens, but in fact to perpetuate U.S. suppression and aggression in Latin America.

In plain language it is aimed at holding back reform and progress in the Dominican Republic.

This is dramatic but not unexpected. Such policies have been the traditional U.S. role in Latin America—the birth-place of neo-colonialism.

**TRUJILLO**

Evidences abound for U.S. traditional neo-colonialist intrigues in the Latin America. First in the Dominican Republic itself. In their characteristic fashion the U.S. Government installed Refael Leonidas Trujillo who ruled with murder and torture and theft.

He, his family and a few cronies grabbed all the best land, moved in on all business and trade and set up monopolies of every consumer product, even including salt.

Trujillo's bloody hand reached out to foreign lands. At least three leading exiles were assassinated in New York. The U.S. police were never able to solve these crimes.

But, at the behest of the Dominican consulate, they were ever ready to arrest and persecute Dominican exiles. Other leaders were murdered in Batista's Cuba and Mexico.

The kidnapping of Columbia University Professor Dr. Jesus de Galindez from New York, the subsequent murder of a U.S. pilot on the island and the disappearance, "suicide" or murder of prominent Trujillo police and army officers followed in an effort to cover up.

**ATROCITIES**

American and Dominican witnesses mysteriously vanished or died. The case has never been cleared up. It is said that very high officials

were indirectly involved, that it would mean public disclosures of F.B.I. and C.I.A. activities on behalf of the dictator.

Trujillo's worst crime was to slaughter on October 2nd, 1937 some 10,000 Haitians. But this horror was kept out of U.S. press. Can one doubt that it was other than by official orders?

In the end, of course, Trujillo was merely slapped on the wrist, obliged to pay \$750,000 to the Haitian Government—and U.S. provided much of the money.

**MORAL PRINCIPLE**

In effect, Western Democracy established the great moral principle that the life of a Haitian is worth \$75. And so Trujillo's government was blessed and tucked back under U.S. protective wing until the day in 1961 when he was assassinated.

President Bosch won 63 per cent of the votes in elections held in December 1962. Washington, alarmed by his liberal policies, engineered an army coup which ousted him

less than seven months after his inauguration.

Another example can be cited in Guatemala. After the overthrow of Ubico by students and young military officers, Juan Jose Arevalo became president for a five-year term (1945-49).

But Washington found his liberal policies not to its taste and ultimately installed Jacob Arbenz for a four-year term in 1950. But U.S. enthusiasm for Arbenz began to wane in its turn when he became the favoured candidate of Arevalo and U.S. electoral assistance was switched to a rival military candidate.

Arbenz not only carried on Arevalo's programme but he pushed through an agrarian law, where-upon the charges of "Communism" began to be levelled at him. Yet it was a much needed and moderate law.

**PUPPET ARMAS**

Finding its business interests threatened U.S. prepared the overthrow of Arbenz.

Under the usual pretext of "protection" the U.S. ousted Arbenz and the puppet Carlos Castillo Armas installed in power.

Once again the official U.S. excuse for intervention in

Dominica is that it must "protect" U.S. citizens—but U.S. correspondents have pointed out that there are now more than two U.S. soldiers for every U.S. citizen in the Republic.

We in Africa are all too familiar with the Western Powers' "protection racket": We very well remember that it was to "protect" their citizens that Belgium and the United States, aided by Britain, launched the Stanleyville operation to make the Congo safe for Tshombe and Western Big Business.

It is a technique as old as imperialism itself. There is no place for it in the modern world. It can be resisted only by the united action of all nations determined to decide their own destiny.

That is why if Africa is not to share the fate of Latin America, she must unite for in Unity lies our strength and our only hope for resisting the encroachments of neo-colonialism. That is why the question of continental unity stands high on the agenda of the September Summit Conference in Accra.

Meanwhile, the friends of peace and national independence demand an end to U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and the withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

# Continental Union Government—

## A Solution to the Continental Crisis

**KWAME Nkrumah** has repeatedly stressed the need for a Union Government for Continental Africa. Addressing the National Assembly in Accra recently, he again emphasised that a Union Government for Africa, which alone can save Africa from the clutches of the imperialists, must be formed at the September O.A.U. Summit meeting in Accra.

Many in the West have opposed this clarion call. But as Africans in whose hands rests the destiny of mother Africa, we know that never before in the history of Africa has the quest for unity, peace and freedom been so urgent. Given peace, freedom and unity, Africa can achieve the greatest of both material and spiritual satisfaction.

**CLARION CALL**

In his address to the National Assembly on March 22nd, Kwame Nkrumah said: "the spectre of sufferings and privations unleashed upon our continent by the imperialist powers threatens

everything for which we have struggled and wish to live for. The cruel domination and the gruelling tragedy imposed on the Congo present a challenge to the sovereignty and, indeed, the survival of all independent and free African States. Nominal independence gives way to foreign domination if the economic life of the nation concerned remains subservient. Let us never imagine that indirect control of African States through economic penetration is less cruel and destructive than naked colonialism itself. No cruelty has been spared the Congo by those who seek only to promote foreign economic and financial interests there."

**WHY UNITY**

If we fail to replace misunderstanding and conceit with reason, if we cannot eliminate the oppression, domination and exploitation which limit universal freedom, Africa will remain divided and a prey to her exploiters.

The Organisation of African Unity was born on May, 25th 1963 at the historic Summit

by *Max Addo*

Conference of the Independent African States held in the ancient city of Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia.

The Organisation had been first conceived during the Conference of Heads of Independent African States held in Accra in 1958, five years before.

**OUA'S ACHIEVEMENT**

Having experienced the horrors of oppression and all forms of colonialist and imperialist machinations, the time has come for Africa to take her rightful place in the world.

How can Africa achieve this end? There is only one answer: Continental Union Government.

The border disputes between various African states, the still-unsettled Congo, the brutal treatment of those still under colonial rule—all point to the need for a Union Government of Africa.

The O.A.U. has achieved something. It has proved to the world that Africa will one day come into her own. It has made Africans conscious of the fact that they have one common destiny.

**WRONG ASSUMPTION**

But it would be wrong to imagine that it has done everything possible to promote the unity and solidarity which are so necessary in the struggle for the liberation of our continent.

It would be wrong to imagine that it has overcome the divisions which African States have inherited from their former colonial masters, or that it has enforced the policy of non-alignment and positive neutralism which alone can

steer Africa clear of the cold war.

These are but a few of the tasks still facing the Organization of African Unity.

A new world is emerging in Africa, under the impact of present-day industrialization and mass communication, deep and historical forces have been set in motion in this continent of over 250 million people.

Everywhere these forces, though not readily appreciated, are cracking the foundations of the African traditional society and spasmodically breaking to the surface in volcanic outbursts, they will topple the entire structure of political and other institutions.

**HISTORIC FORCES**

This process of political revolution has not only affected the fundamental nature of African institutions. It has also struck at the very foundations of inter-African relations.

This calls for a broad and penetrating review of the policy objectives, strategy and tactics of African States. Such an examination is inevitably spotlighted the role and performance of the Organization of African Unity.

Is the Organization of African Unity capable of coping with the contemporary problems that beset our Continent? Can the deficiencies in the Organization be remedied to enable it to play the role we wish it to play?

**OUA CHARTER**

Only a Continental Union Government can provide a real solution to these problems.

According to the Preamble of the Charter of the organization, the Heads of State and Government were "inspired by a common de-

termination to promote understanding among our peoples and co-operation among our states in response to the aspirations of our peoples brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences".

They were determined to safeguard and consolidate the hardwon independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms and "convinced that in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions of peace and security must be established and maintained".

**AFRICA'S HOPE**

The Organization of African Unity should serve as the main institutional manifestation of something much higher. That larger and much more meaningful entity is a "Continental Union Government" which can perhaps conveniently be referred to as the "Inter-African System".

This Union Government or Inter-African System will embrace many aspects, including common political and military defence, the maintenance of continental peace and security, and collective economic, social and cultural action.

Now that the two year's existence of the Organization of African Unity has brought to light the problems, the way must be opened for the formation of a Continental Government.

The hope of all Africa is that the fire that drives and sustains the heroes of this troubled and disturbed continent in their fight for freedom will continue to rage on until the whole of Mother Africa is free, until she has risen to and achieved her full stature, until our lost glories have been restored.

## Anti-Imperialist Fight Backed by GDR

**THE German Democratic Republic's firm support** for the people's anti-imperialist struggle was voiced by Mr. Karl-Heinz Kern, Head of the Trade Representative of the G.D.R., when he addressed a meeting at Commonwealth Hall, University of Ghana, this week.

**LIBERATION**

Mr. Kern's theme was Germany's liberation from fascism and the anti-imperialist struggle of the G.D.R. The meeting, organised by the University Branch of the Party, was chaired by Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., Visiting Professor of Law at the University and a veteran anti-imperialist fighter.

"Like Ghana and the other African states, the German Democratic Republic calls for the final liquidation of colonialism and particularly supports the peoples of the African continent still suffering under the colonial yoke", declared Mr. Kern.

Replying to questions which called attention to the military and other assistance that Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid regime in South Africa is receiving from West Germany, Mr. Kern underlined the German Democratic Republic's resolute opposition to the apartheid regime.

**1964 CONFERENCE**

Recalling that today, according to the Declaration of the 1964 Non-Alignment Conference, self-determination means liberation from imperialist rule, Mr. Kern underlined that just as Ghana and other African states are fighting for African unity on an anti-imperialist basis, so the G.D.R. is fighting for the anti-imperialist re-unification of Germany.

"Such a unification will be a hard and complicated thing to achieve. Recognising the historic fact of the existence of two German states and the special territory of West Berlin and respecting the *status quo* are pre-conditions for

overcoming division which can be brought about only by way of rapprochement and understanding between the German states", he said.

Mr. Kern recalled that the G.D.R. had made more than 150 proposals to the West German Government in an attempt to bring about understanding between the two German states.

"These are proposals which are clear and acceptable to all people of goodwill and are intended to contribute to a decrease in tension and to rapprochement.

"We are convinced that this is the only policy which corresponds to the interests of the German people, serves peace and, in the end, brings us nearer to re-unification.

"Concerning the question of German unification, we declare, however, unmistakably that we are striving for a national unification of Germany which will never threaten peace, we are striving for a unification on an anti-imperialist basis.

**HISTORIC EVIDENCE**

"To make this more understandable, one has to cast a glance at history. From 1871 to 1945 Germany was a unified state, Germany was unified when the Emperor (the Kaiser) was in power. The rule of imperialism in that unified Germany led to the outbreak of the First World War.

"Germany was unified when Hitler set up his regime of terror. The rule of imperialism in Germany plunged the world into the most horrible of all wars—the Second World War.

"Never could such an imperialist unity be our aim. That means that the re-unification of Germany under the rule of imperialism would bring peoples of the world only misfortune.

"It is for that reason that the German Democratic Republic in the interests of the German nation and in the interests of all the other peoples is struggling for a national re-unification that excludes the re-establishment of imperialist rule over the whole of Germany once and for all".