

IN THIS ISSUE

**Kwame
Nkrumah
Speaks
See page 4**

THE SPARK



ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Notes of the Week 2
New Banks Tie-Up 3
Soviet Spacemen 6
Assembly Debate 7
Timely Aide Memoire 8

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 119 2d.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1965

The Crisis of the ICFTU

New symptom of Anglo-U.S. Rivalry

From A Spark Correspondent

THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) founded in 1949 as a result of a Western-inspired break-away from the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) and a bitter enemy of African trade union unity, faces a new and potentially fatal crisis.

This latest in the series of crises which have racked the I.C.F.T.U. was sparked off by statements made by the U.S. trade union boss Mr. George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (A.F.L.-C.I.O.) at a press conference in Miami, Florida.

He described the I.C.F.T.U. as an ineffective bureaucratic organisation. He declared that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. (which together with right-wing unions in Canada and western Europe provides the bulk of the I.C.F.T.U.'s cash) was thinking of stopping its contributions—a step it has now taken.

Mr. Meany went so far as to declare that it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. will withdraw from the Confederation.

INEFFECTIVE

Finally, just for good measure, Mr. Meany is reported to have added that the I.C.F.T.U. was infiltrated by homosexuals—a report which predictably aroused a storm of protest from the staff of the I.C.F.T.U. No less predictably, Mr. Meany claimed he had been misquoted.

Behind this latest flare-up lies a long history of bitter antagonism within the I.C.F.T.U. between the British and American union leaders regarding policy in the developing countries in general and Africa in particular.

This antagonism was an expression of contradictions between British and American imperialism, particularly as regards the colonial and newly-independent countries.

Very soon after the formation of the I.C.F.T.U. the world was treated to the spectacle of the U.S. union bosses publicly inciting the representatives

of certain African trade union centres to attack their British opposite numbers as agents of British imperialism.

That certain of the top British trade unions speak with the voice of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office cannot of course be questioned—but the American union bosses were not attacking British colonialism because they were anti-imperialist.

They were doing so because American imperialism saw the difficulties of its rival British imperialism, weakened as a result of World War Two and by the post-war upsurge of the national liberation movement, as an opportunity to oust its rival and replace British financial and economic control by that of the United States.

CONTRADICTIONS

The U.S. union bosses were in fact acting as the tools of U.S. Big Business and the State Department, seeking to extend U.S. neo-colonialist domination. One of the main issues around which this battle between the American A.F.L.-C.I.O. on the one hand and the British Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.) on the other has been fought is the use of the I.C.F.T.U.'s "International Solidarity Fund" and the "independent" activities of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Africa.

At various times we have seen the American unions stop paying their affiliation fees, cease attending meetings of the I.C.F.T.U. Executive and refuse to



Kwame Nkrumah met leaders of the All-African Trade Union Federation in Accra. The formation of the A.A.T.U.F. marked an important step on the road to the unity of African trade union movement in the struggle against neo-colonialism.

subscribe to the "Solidarity Fund".

Then as T.U.C. influence inside the I.C.F.T.U. weakened, it was the turn of the British union bosses to protest and refuse to pay up. The latest row marks the end of a brief uneasy truce.

But it has long been clear that the dominant influence in the use of I.C.F.T.U. funds has been American. After all, it is the American unions that provide the larger part of the I.C.F.T.U.'s funds, and he who pays the piper usually calls the tune. Mr. Meany is in fact the Chairman of the committee that distributes the money.

In addition, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is spending enormous sums on its own, outside I.C.F.T.U. channels, particularly in Africa and Latin America.

AN OPPORTUNITY

Mr. Meany recently told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Congress that nearly a quarter—23 per cent—of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s income was being spent abroad, in what he termed the "front lines" of the cold war. The sums involved run into many millions of dollars.

The aim has been to impose so-called "moderate" leaders on African trade unions—in other words, leaders who are content to work within the existing economic system—and to transform African workers—the vanguard of the African revolution—into tame defenders of the existing economic system.

But in most parts of Africa the existing economic system is basically imperialist and neo-colonial-

ist in character, and African workers rightly see it as an obstacle to improvements in their standards of living, the economic independence of their countries and the eventual unity of Africa.

They see the activities of the I.C.F.T.U. and the American union bosses as a threat, as a weapon in the neo-colonialist offensive against the African continent.

A THREAT

The game was given away nearly three years ago by Leonard Woodcock, Vice-President of the United Automobile Workers of America: "If the State Department gave the money it would be branded imperialist money, but if it comes from a trade union they can't say that," he told his union's convention.

A great many American dollars have been spent on efforts to disrupt the All-African Trade Union Federation whose purpose since its very inception has been to weld all trade unions on the African continent into one powerful body with an African leadership dedicated to the total liberation and complete independence of our continent.

Immediately after the November, 1959 preparatory meeting of the A.A.T.U.F. in Accra, the I.C.F.T.U., true to its splitting tradition (for, as we have noted, it itself was born of an attempt to split the world trade union movement) the I.C.F.T.U. sponsored a conference in Lagos in an effort to dissuade African trade union centres from joining the

A.A.T.U.F.

Immediately after the launching of the A.A.T.U.F. at Casablanca, the I.C.F.T.U. sponsored a splinter "regroupment" in Dakar, and strengthened its Regional Organisation for Africa. It has been estimated to spend nearly 500,000 dollars a year on travelling organisers alone.

In contrast, the W.F.T.U., from which the Western leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. broke away in 1949 in furtherance of the cold war aims of Washington and London, has throughout given full support to moves to establish a strong, united and anti-imperialist African trade union movement.

"The W.F.T.U. considers the creation of the All-African Trade Union Federation as a great victory of the forces fighting for unity of the African trade union movement," declared a resolution on solidarity with the trade unions in the fight to eradicate colonialism adopted at its Fifth World Congress in Moscow in 1961.

The W.F.T.U., whose Sixth World Congress is due this October, stands for the closest co-operation between the workers of Africa and those of the European countries, capitalist and socialist, in the joint struggle against their common enemy—imperialism.

It is this unity, despite all the efforts of those who would divide the workers along artificial lines, which will ultimately ensure full independence, rising prosperity, democracy and soaring cultural standards in a world at peace.

EDITORIAL

PUBLIC IMAGE OF SOCIALISM

TWO facts have emerged from the two-day debate earlier this week in the Ghana National Assembly on the trade in essential commodities. The first is that the G.N.T.C. retail machinery has a long way to go to cope with the needs of the public. The other fact is that public opinion is strongly against the meddling in retail trade by Ministers, Board and Corporation Chairmen and members and high Party functionaries using their wives, domestic servants and next of kin.

This salutary debate has exposed ugly facts. A responsible section of Party membership is using its position in the Party and state machinery to amass wealth at the expense of the people. The misdeeds of this section is being twisted to look like service to the nation. These facts add up to one thing—the inability of some leading activists to see and appreciate the pressing needs of the socialist revolution.

The three main elements of socialist leadership are its composition, its quality and its public image. While the first two elements are generally recognised, the third—public image—is often little attended to. But this element is one of the utmost importance in our society where the people in their generality are guided less by polemics and more by the force of example of those cadres in the chain of socialist command who are in day-to-day contact with them.

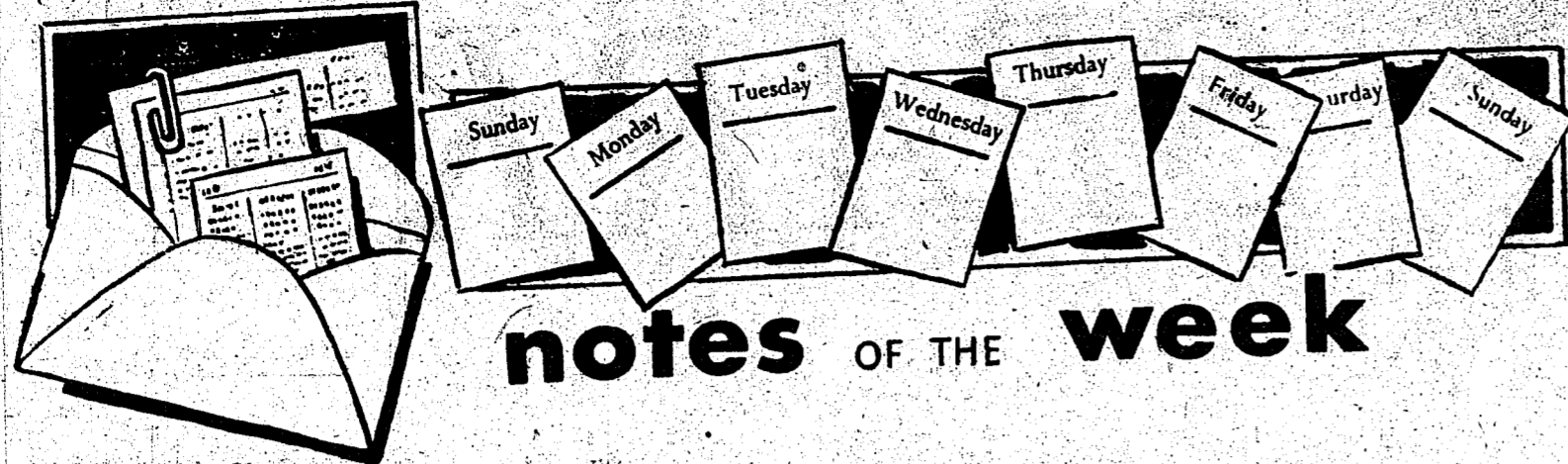
Cadres of the socialist movement have it as a duty to make absolutely certain that their mode of living squares with their socialist preachings and protestations. There must be no conflict between what we preach and how we live. If a conflict arises, the public image is blurred and the movement is endangered.

The masses cannot understand, let alone heed, the call for austerity if those who call for this sacrifice engage in extravagance and in what Veblen calls "conspicuous consumption." Nor can they place reliance on our sense of justice and fairplay when we manifest nepotism and corruption in our everyday actions.

The common man sees much more than we seem to realise. If his enthusiasm is to be aroused and sustained in our fight for socialism, then the actions of those of us in positions of trust must be in consonance with our socialist slogans and humanist declarations.



They want fighting unions that will help them build a better life in a genuinely free and united Africa, not stooge unions which are merely the mouth-pieces of neo-colonialism.



Climb down

WE HAVE frequently had occasion to deplore the crude and prejudiced attacks against Ghana which the British DAILY TELEGRAPH mounts from time to time. We had always thought that they were merely prejudiced about our aims and policy and belief in socialism, (we still think so) but we had not in our innocence suspected them of simply not knowing the facts.

Now out of their own mouths we learn that this is the case. On March 6th an article virtually calling for armed rebellion against our country appeared in the paper. Among many other inaccuracies was to be found the allegation that the Kwame Nkrumah steelworks were an utter fiasco. One of the reasons given for this was that the Ghana Government had withdrawn from "the partnership agreement" and that there was insufficient steel scrap to support the works.

JEREMIAHS

Of course all those really familiar with the facts will know that the Steel Works is not based on a partnership but is the property of the Ghana Government, that there is adequate scrap steel and that contrary to the articles' allegations the plant will be able to use electricity from the Volta Dam once it is available.

We are pleased to see that the Daily Telegraph has retracted these foolish allegations in an item printed in their issue of March 12th. It is not unusual for the political Jeremiahs to attack Ghana's progress, plans and aspirations, what is important here is that for once their lies have been exposed and admitted.

Commonwealth Meeting

JUNE 17th is the date arranged by the British Government for the meeting of the Prime Ministers of Commonwealth countries. In case the British Government thinks that its 'Labour' label will help to make imperialist policies more palatable, the warning from the President, Kwame Nkrumah, in his speech to the Ghana Parliament will come as a sobering reminder of the real position.

The Commonwealth could become an important forum in world affairs but only if it plays a progressive role. Whenever it is seen as another form through which pressure can be exerted by the British Government in pursuance of its imperialist policies, then increasingly the African states will withdraw from it.

Ghana played the leading role in getting South Africa expelled from the Commonwealth. That was a first step which still needs to be followed by a full and immediate arms embargo, irrespective of existing contracts and by a full trade boycott.

Of course that will touch British investors and capitalists where it hurts most... their

Now we would like to make a further suggestion, that the other pieces of false information especially relating to the Volta Dam should also be acknowledged by them too as false.

Everybody knows that the bauxite to be used at the Kaiser works is to be imported by that company from Guinea; Ghana is short of electric power at present and will be able in the course of the plan to utilise it and because it is available will be able to plan new industries, throughout the country.

The assertion that the President seldom goes out, has as little foundation as the other inaccurate and wilfully prejudiced statements in the whole article.

RETRACTION

Perhaps the Daily Telegraph does not feel inclined to accept our assertions about the success of the Volta Dam and its vitally important significance to us in building a new prosperous life. We therefore suggest that the editor and the author of the March 6th article has a look at 'Progress' a journal published by Unilever (who can hardly be said to favour socialism or revolution) at the end of 1964 which contains an article dealing in some detail and with facts, with the Volta Dam by Sir Robert Jackson, Senior Consultant to the United Nations Special Fund.

Now we have had a partial, rather minor retraction of a few false statements. It might be a good thing if all the allegations were properly investigated by a responsible correspondent of the Daily Telegraph; if they were we are confident the whole of the article would be repudiated by them. We look forward to the apologies in an early issue of the cils of the Commonwealth paper.

pocket, but we see no reason why the Labour Party, claiming to be anti-Tory and for a new just society should draw back from a basic challenge to interests which draw their money and profits from the hell that South Africa represents for the African people and all those who fight apartheid.

Southern Rhodesia's white racist Government, South Africa's ally, is hoping to manoeuvre itself into the councils of the Commonwealth.

Do they think that the newly independent African states are as devoid of principle as themselves and that Ghana would consent to sit alongside a representative of the white supremacists while they continue to oppress the African majority by the denial of the most elementary demand of 'One Man, One Vote'.

If the Labour Government of Britain is not politically sensitive enough to realise that Ian Smith would be an unwelcome member of the Commonwealth gathering, then the President's warning that Ghana will not be represented will come as a timely warning.

The Commonwealth, let us face it, is an hangover from the old colonialist days. We have won our freedom, we recognise our responsibilities to

our brothers still fighting for theirs, if Britain wants the Commonwealth to serve neo-colonialist interests, she can count us out.

Steps taken before the Conference to make it plain that the British Government is now prepared to introduce the

application of the 'one man, one vote' principle, the release of the African leaders and the end of this flirtation with Smith and his gang, would be most welcome and could help to ensure that a real Commonwealth of nations might begin to come into being.

The Hallstein Doctrine

THE Hallstein Doctrine is in tatters. West German attempts to blackmail those states who wish to recognise the German Democratic Republic was embodied in the threat that those who did so would have diplomatic recognition and forms of aid withdrawn from them by the West German Government.

The Western powers are caught in a net of their own making. So afraid are they of the existence of a socialist state of Germany and so determined to try and smash it that they pretend it doesn't exist.

The ludicrous situation is reached that this "non-existent state" which has recently held the 800th Leipzig Trade Fair acted as host, "non-existent", to thousands of West German businessmen, who presumably "don't exist" either.

Out of these "non-existent" contacts millions of pounds worth of trade will be developed. This non-existent state has now become one of the strongest industrial powers in Europe.

The Hallstein Doctrine reflected the arrogance of the West German Government who thought that threats and blackmail and economic sabotage would indefinitely create diplomatic and economic isolation. For a time it created problems but the strength and flexibility of the German Democratic Republic is such that she can now break through.

The Arab states have made the challenge as part of their

struggle to prevent neo-colonialist interference in the Middle East. For a century German capitalism now prevailing only in West Germany, has tried to build itself an Empire in the Middle East.

Perhaps memories in Bonn are short, though any student of politics is in a position to learn that threats against President Nasser are not very successful. The British, the French and the Israelis are still licking their wounds from their fiasco at Suez in 1956.

Then the resistance of the Egyptian people the support of the socialist world and the upsurge of popular support throughout the world turned this desperate threat to their independence into a complete victory and consolidation of their independence. To challenge this again and to expect them to take threats from West Germany when the combined force of Britain and France and Israel failed its optimism of the most puerile kind.

The unity of the Arab states behind the U.A.R.'s stand in receiving President Walter Ulbricht on a state visit, is an important lesson to all whose interests in the fight against neo-colonialism are constantly enhanced and strengthened by unity.

This is now the time to smash the Hallstein Doctrine once and for all and refuse to allow West Germany, or anyone else to dictate to independent states, whom they should recognise.

Selma to Montgomery

PRESIDENT Johnson faces one of the severest challenges. He must now make good his pretensions to be a promoter of Civil Rights. Thousands of demonstrators converging on Montgomery are threatened with violence from the Ku Klux Klan and other racist hooligans.

Will Johnson now make good his boasts by offering protection to the Civil Rights demonstrators and stop the arrival of racists into the town? Will he use Federal Troops to smash any attempt to attack the marchers, will he take active measures to enforce the rights of Afro-Americans to register as voters? Not unless the political storm at home and internationally rises to yet greater heights to force him.

Who remembers Harry Truman any more, ex-U.S. President, cold war architect, red-baiter. It is a sign of their political bankruptcy that the racists publicise this ghost from the dead past putting in his word to attack the Selma-Montgomery march. He should return like the ghost he is to the political grave to which he was consigned years ago and take the racists with him.

Civil Rights is becoming an international issue. So long as the American ruling class feels that it affects them only within the boundaries of the United States, they will go on stalling and compromising, serving the interests of the Southern racists

and the monopoly capitalists who draw their super profits from Afro-American labour.

It is almost now a truism to say that the Civil Rights movement gained inspiration and new impetus from the winning of Independence by millions of Africans. Now then, is the time for this new state power to be used to take the fight a stage further to victory. The Organisation of African Unity has the responsibility to fight against neo-colonialism everywhere and to fight on the Civil Rights issue is to carry the struggle right into the heart of the enemy's camp.

THE SAME ENEMY

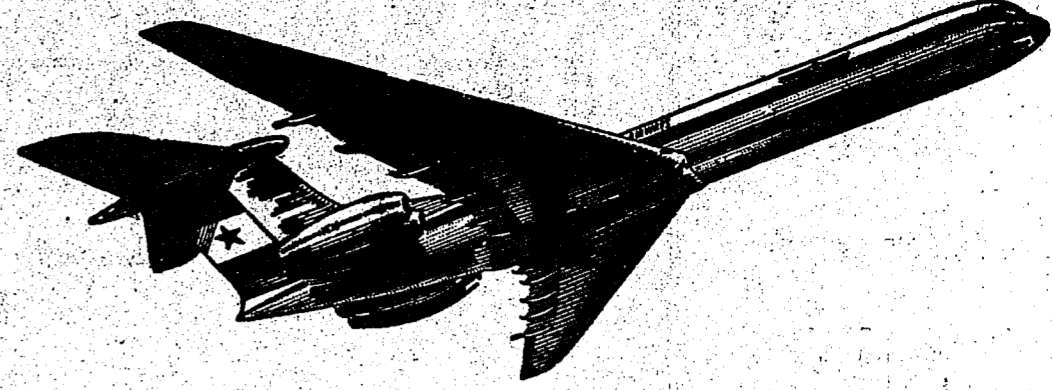
The oppression of the Afro-Americans springs from the same basis as the aggression of neo-colonialist United States against North Vietnam and the Congo. The control of American life by monopoly capitalism leads to the use of the state apparatus to suppress the Afro-American at home and to the use of the diplomatic and military power of the United States abroad to intervene in the affairs of other peoples and wage war against them.

The same people who kill, maim and threaten the Freedom Fighters in the United States are allowed to do so for the same reasons that mercenaries are encouraged and allowed to slaughter innocent Congolese and North Vietnamese schoolchildren.

From Hanoi, through Leo-

poldville to Montgomery the fight is on against the same enemy. The fight in the United Nations to raise the Civil Rights question is just as much a fight against imperialism as the attempt to force the United Nations to prevent Tshombe being recognised or to force the Americans to stop the war in Vietnam. The struggle is world wide and indivisible.

The Spark greets the Selma marchers pledging its support to all those who fight in this great cause of democratic rights for the Afro-American peoples. Our struggles are indivisible.



PROGRESS IN THE AIR IN GHANA



From February 15th you can fly direct to London and Europe in daylight and in the world's most powerful, most comfortable jet airliner, the incomparable VC.10. The superiority of this sleek giant is matched by the excellent service for which GHANA AIRWAYS is renowned. Instant attention to your every need by Ghanaian hostesses, superb international cuisine, and a hand-picked, fully experienced crew to guide you smoothly across three continents. Always keep handy a GHANA AIRWAYS timetable. Copies are obtainable from your local travel agent or from: GHANA AIRWAYS



THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

Ghana Airways Corporation
P.O. Box 1636
Ghana House, Accra.
Telephone: 64850 (10 lines)

World Youth Festival

THIS year sees the World Youth Festival taking place for the first time on the African continent. At the end of July, thousands of young people from all over the world will come together in the beautiful city of Algiers to demonstrate their desire for peace, and international friendship.

Youth from countries already building socialism, from those still fighting for their liberation, from the newly independent states and from capitalist countries will talk, dance, sing, take part in ath-

letics competitions, discuss their mutual hopes, and aspirations for the future and their present struggles.

Here in personal meetings life-long friendships will spring up which will be the true expression of the desire of all young people to identify themselves with the best and finest aspirations of their peoples.

Formed at the end of the Second World War the World Federation of Democratic Youth has campaigned consistently for peace and for colo-

Continued on page 8

NEW BANKS TIE-UP

A New Financial Consortium to Bolster Imperialism in Africa

THE biggest bank in Africa is about to be created by a link-up of British, United States, and West European capital. The "Standard Bank", with interests in Southern, Central and East Africa, is to merge with "Bank of West Africa". Both of them are British, the Standard being by far the larger. They will be joined by the "Chase Manhattan Bank" of New York, the world's second biggest bank, associated with the Rockefellers. All three have European offices.

In addition, three of the British "Big Five"—National Provincial, Westminster, and Midland, will retain their present interest in the Bank of West Africa and assist the new bank with their European connections.

EXPLOITATION

The new bank will have at its birth eleven hundred offices in seventeen African countries, and assets of more than £600 million.

It will outstrip the present largest bank, Barclays D.C.O. which is established in eighteen African countries, but which is less concentrated than the Standard Bank, the latter having more than 600 offices in South Africa alone. The new bank will be able to draw on reserves of capital in the U.S.A. and Western Europe, particularly from West Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium.

The aim of this new banking

organisation is the intensified exploitation of African natural resources for the capitalist industry of the West. With huge amounts of money, for loans, as well as for investment in transport, industry, agriculture, and for trade financing, it will not only receive loan-interest, but be able to bargain for an influential foothold in the receiving countries.

NEW VENTURES

This is obvious even from the official statement about the merger: "A banking organisation with strong international support can collaborate with important long-term development organisations in endeavouring to arrange finance for the development of the natural re-

By
Arthur James

sources of Africa and of existing industries and new ventures."

These "long-term development organisations" are the giant consortiums already exploiting minerals, like iron ore in Liberia and Swaziland. *The Times* (2.3.65) said the merger "makes good commercial sense".

The "Standard Bank" is already a power in Africa, with more than 950 offices in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South Africa, South West Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

standard Bank". He is a director of twelve companies, including Ghana's biggest gold mine, and is chairman of the Institute of Directors.

The "Standard Bank" has offices also in France, Italy, West Germany, Japan and U.S.A. When it began business in 1862 it was known as the Standard Bank of British South Africa; and until 1962 as Standard Bank of South Africa when it became the Standard Bank. "The value of the Standard's change of name in 1962 can be seen in this merger, for under the old title such a link would have aroused much distrust among the African states," remarked *the Economist* (6.3.65) on the news of the link-up.

Standard's issued share capital is £11 million, assets £509 million, and profit last year was £1,906,000. The fourteen Standard directors, headed by Sir Cyril Hawker, hold 164 company directorships between them, the record being H. C. Drayton's 36, and Sir Keith Acutt's 32.

THE DIRECTOR

Drayton's interests are worldwide: Latin-American railways, South African gold, Ethiopian cotton, European investment, and British

insurance, newspapers and transport. Acutt's board seats read like a gazetteer of imperialism, from *African & European Investment Co.* to *Wankie Colliery*, taking in Canadian mining, Congo electricity, and Zambian copper.

Standard has a Rhodesian local board on which sits Viscount Malvern, a vehement supporter of settler rule. One man, W. A. Acton, is on both Standard Bank and *Bank of West Africa* (B.W.A.) He is also on *Bank of London & Montreal*, *Bank of London & South America*, and the *National Bank*.

B.W.A.'s eight directors are headed by S. Govett-Gates, who is in shipping, insurance and engineering, as well as banking; and include Field-Marshal Lord Harding; Lord Milverton, who is on *Tate & Lyle's* two big West Indies sugar producing companies, as well as a rubber and tin company in Malaya; and Sir Eric Tansley, who is on the *Cocoa Association*, the *Colonial Development Corporation*, and *Plantation and Colonial Products*. (Cocoa is West Africa's most important export crop).

Another sugar man is the Standard's director, W. M. Robson of Booker Bros.,

the West Indies sugar, rum, stores and trading giant.

B.W.A. has fifty-nine branches in Nigeria, forty-one in Ghana, and others in Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Cameroun. It has operated in West Africa for sixty-eight years, has issued share capital of £4 million, assets of £97 million, and increased its net profit from £290,000 in 1954-55, to £535,000 in 1963-64.

The Chase Manhattan Bank states that it has branches and representatives in "Africa, Asia, Far East and Oceania, Middle East, South America, Central America and Caribbean, and North America". Its assets total 11,960 million dollars.

DEVELOPMENT

Also much interested in the new bank are three London merchant banks: J. Henry Schroder Wagg, and Lazard Bros., advisers to Standard, and Baring Bros., advisers to B.W.A. They agreed to the merger proposals drawn up by *Cooper Bros.*

The Statist (5.3.65) called the new bank "a heavy-weight", which it certainly will be, and the weekly added that in "promoting development" in Africa it will be able to "see that such help is put to the best use".

THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST AFRICA

The hands behind the trail of murder

ON February 19th the Paris journal "Tribune des Nations" wrote that the landing of Belgian paratroops in Stanleyville was only part of NATO's strategic plan which would enable "a much vaster intervention which would transcend the frontiers of the Congo."

Certainly all the events that have taken place in Africa in the last few months indicate only too clearly that the imperialist aggression against the people of Congo, which followed on the foisting of the puppet Tshombe on to the throne at Leopoldville, was a preliminary to a colossal new offensive against the peoples of Africa.

by
Jack Woddis

Republic, and the Director of the Information Agency were kidnapped last month and shortly afterwards their corpses were found, mutilated almost beyond recognition.

In the same week U.S. planes attached to the Tshombe forces in the Congo attacked neighbouring Uganda strafing three villages on two different occasions. In a statement to the Uganda Parliament, Dr. Obote, the Prime Minister, openly accused the U.S. for their responsibility in the matter, pointing out that the planes were American and that they had been supplied by the U.S.

At the same time, a special Cabinet meeting of the Government of Kenya announced that it had warned the U.S. Government concerning her policy on the Congo and added significantly that the Kenya Government was ready to give "every support to the Uganda Government in defence of her territorial integrity and sovereignty".

GENERAL CONSPIRACY

In Tanzania, a little while earlier, an anti-government plot was uncovered involving U.S. Embassy employees. In Malawi all the progressive Ministers have been cleared out or forced to flee, and the country is now openly being run under British control, with Dr. Banda as the official Head of State but with British officers running the Army, the Police Force and the Intelligence Services, and with British officials in all key Departments of State.

Moves for a coup have developed in Sudan, resulting in the forced withdrawal of the progressive Ministers in the Government; this has been followed by violations over the Sudanese frontier, by aircraft of the Congo (Leopoldville) Government. In Kenya one of the most outstanding of the national leaders, Pio Pinto, was recently shot dead outside his home. And now last week comes the news of an invasion of the Republic

of Guinea by Portuguese colonialist forces.

All these attacks on the forces of revolution in Africa are part of a new overall offensive which imperialism has launched. No one can easily show that there is a direct connection between each of these events, but when once they are examined *in toto*, one cannot help forming the conclusion that they are part of a general conspiracy.

It has long been clear that central to the aims of imperialism in Africa has been the maintenance of Congo (Leopoldville) as an imperialist base right in the heart of the African continent. Linked to this is the plan to form an alliance of the reactionary European Governments still existing in Africa—namely those of Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa.

FULLY IMPLICATED

In recent months a number of steps have been taken by the Governments of these territories, in collusion with U.S. imperialism and Western Germany and no doubt with British imperialism too, to strengthen the economic, political and military links with one another, in order to form an imperialist bastion right across the southern part of Africa, not simply to defend imperialist investments in that region, but also to provide a base for a new onslaught against the national liberation movement.

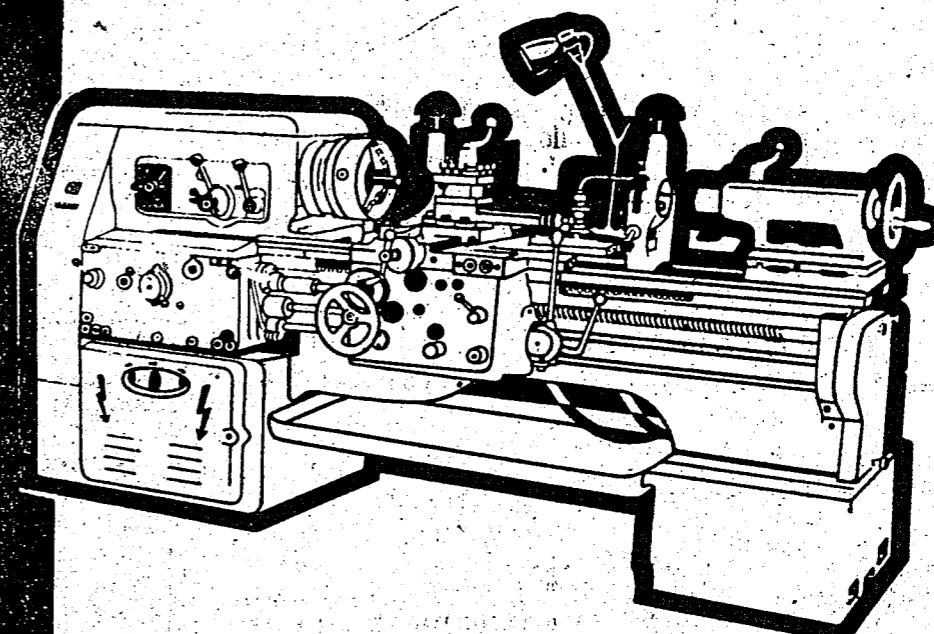
This makes all the more reprehensible the actions of the British Government in leaving the Smith Government free in Rhodesia to hold down the African peoples, as well as its refusal to stop sending military spare parts to South Africa, training South African pilots in Britain, and providing other forms of military aid.

These actions, coming on top of the placing by Britain of Ascension Island at the disposal of the Belgian paratroops for their attack last year on Stanleyville, show only too clearly that British imperialism is fully implicated in the new plots against Africa. The policy of the British Labour Government in Africa is becoming more clear every day. To its shame it is acting in the same way as it has in Vietnam on the side of imperialism and against the people. It must be urged by the pressure of the Labour Movement to change its policy in Africa, in order that the new offensive against the people can be halted.

THEIR BRANCHES

Some branches are inside factories, some at mineheads. There is one at the Bata shoe factory at Gwelo, Rhodesia, and one of the Usutu pulp mill site in Swaziland. The Gwelo branch is a nice example of interlocking directorial interests: Maj-Gen. Sir Edward Spears is a director of *Bank of West Africa*, and President of British Bata Shoe, although not (Yet) a director of the "Stan-

MODERN ACCURATE! STURDY! RUMANIAN-MADE MACHINE TOOLS



- Universal lathes
- Vertical lathes
- Drilling machines
- Shaping machines
- Universal milling machines
- Ball-grinding and lapping machines
- Hack saws and circular saws
- Power presses, pneumatic power hammers, etc.

Advantageous delivery terms
EXPORTERS
MASINEXPORT
1001 BULEZARD TRAIAN V. BUCHAREST, ROMANIA

Bucharest — Rumania 7, Magheru Blvd.
Cables: MASEXPORT — Bucharest Telex: 216; POB: 113
For information apply to the Commercial Office of the Rumanian P.R.

THE YEAR OF DECISION IN AFRICA

Mr. Speaker, Members of National Assembly,

I HAVE come here today to address you on a matter of grave importance to Africa. As I warned this House a few months ago, 1965 is a year of decision for Africa. As you know, the O.A.U. Conference of Foreign Ministers in Nairobi was unable to reach a definite decision on the Congo and has referred the whole Congo problem to the Heads of State and Government of the Independent African States at the next Summit Conference in Accra.

By this unhappy impasse or stalemate, we have at the moment between now and the meeting of the Heads of State in Accra abandoned the very heart of Africa to mercenary soldiers fighting not in the interest of the Congolese people but of foreign interests and powers.

The spectre of suffering and privation 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 grueling tragedy imposed on the Congo present a challenge to the sovereignty and, indeed, the survival of all independent and free African States.

WE KNOW WHY

We know why the imperialist intrigues and neo-colonialist machinations have been contrived. 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.

Mark Twain, an American writer, described King Leopold II of Belgium's rule in the Congo as follows:—

"If the blood of the innocent victims shed by King Leopold in the State of the Congo were to be poured into buckets, and if these buckets were placed in a row, they would stretch for 2,000 miles. If the skeletons of the ten million who were killed or who died of starva-

tion could rise and walk in single file, it would take seven months and four days for all of them to pass through one point."

What Mark Twain said is as true today as it was yesterday with regard to Congo of today. The population of the Congo was halved under King Leopold's reign.

SORDID CATALOGUE

In 1954 the Colonial Minister of Belgium said:

"For us Christianity is synonymous with civilization. We are confident that the Congo will become the great Catholic state of the Central Africa of tomorrow."

What is it that so commends the Congo? Why has the Congo been such a centre of attraction to foreign interests for so long? The story is a long and sordid catalogue of exploitation, subjugation and subjection. But let me review it briefly to you now. H. M. Stanley having discovered the mouth of the Congo in 1874 wrote a report in London in 1876 in these terms:

"The river is and will be a great highway of commerce in West Central Africa. I feel convinced that the question of this mighty waterway will become a political one in time."

In the same year it is recorded that King Leopold II of the Belgians summoned a conference in Brussels for the setting up of an "International African Association", the participants of which were from Europe and America. Leopold represented himself to the conference as a great humanitarian seeking to open to civilization "the only part of the globe where it has not yet penetrated, to pierce the darkness shrouding entire populations; if I may venture to say so, a crusade worthy of this century of progress."

This adventure excited the interest of British, French and Portuguese who agreed to meet in Berlin in 1884 with Belgium and other interested powers to carve out their "spheres of influence in Africa".

The Free State of the Congo, as it was so called, with an area of 900,000 square miles fell to the King of the Belgians and received exclusive powers for its sole administration and governance.

ABSOLUTE RIGHTS

Stanley was immediately commissioned by the Belgian King to sign treaties with Chiefs of Congolese tribes which granted absolute rights over their lands to the King. The Chiefs were forced to surrender their rights over tolls and taxation and provided forced labour when necessary as well as troops to fight with the Belgians against all foreign invaders, African or European.

This is the chapter of Congolese history marked by indisputable horror, destruction and pillage. King Leopold had invested £1,200,000 in the Congo and he was not going to see it destroyed overnight.

The Congo has caught the eyes and imagination of the industrialised nations of the world because of its great mineral, agricultural and animal

resources. It produces 8 per cent of the world copper demands, 69 per cent of its cobalt and 75 per cent of its industrial diamonds. Cobalt is essential for the manufacture of jet engines and metal alloys.

Without this supply of cobalt from the Congo, the armament industry of the Western powers would collapse. The Congo also possesses vast supplies of Uranium for making atomic weapons. The Hiroshima Bomb which destroyed that famous city of Japan was manufactured with uranium from the mines of Katanga in the Congo.

IMMENSE WEALTH

However, the immense wealth of this vast territory is concentrated in the hands of a few interlocking European-South African-American Combines and financial interests.

Leopold's so-called "crusade" will not end voluntarily. Societe Generale, the parent company of Union Miniere controlled 90 per cent of Congo business.

THE EXPLOITERS

UNTIL 1952 the Congo was a family affair for a handful of European controllers of Societe Generale. The Societe Generale was a Central Bank for Congo and bank of issue. Majority of shares were owned, as you might guess, by Union Miniere.

One of its first moves after independence in 1960 was to deprive the Lumumba Government of any control over the economic life of the Congo. The Katanga Empire was to be kept. By 1960, the Rockefeller Group allied with Societe Generale bringing therewith American financial interests into the Congo as an added guarantee against any threat to Western control over Congo's wealth. The price paid by the European controllers for Rockefeller's involvement is the increasing dominance of U.S. financial groups in the Congo.

Other financial groups have interests in the Congo:

Unilever controls Congo's cocoa, coffee, palm oil and rubber. Reynolds Metals and allied groups control aluminium.

BANK OF ENGLAND

It must be noted with care that Tanganyika Concessions, the Special Committee of Katanga, Societe Generale, Regale Belge are all participants in Union Miniere.

But Societe Generale is the main company owned by Tanganyika Concessions.

The Tanganyika Concessions is deeply involved in Southern Rhodesia. Over £1,000,000 shares of Tanganyika Concessions are from Southern Rhodesia. At one point the Bank of England held two-and-a-half million pounds of Tanganyika Concessions. Participants now include Rhodesian Anglo-American, Hopkins and McIntyre of Salisbury, Barclays Rhodesian Nominees.

It is perfectly clear that the forces which have martyred the Congo are the same which rule in Rhodesia and in South Africa, and which have their base in the citadels and cen-

tres of world economic imperialism.

This is why we cannot separate the question of Congo's freedom from our own. The exploiter is the same everywhere, and we are all considered to be porters of his domain. If we cannot unite to destroy imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Congo, Congo's fate shall be ours.

ROCKEFELLER

Immediately after Congo's independence, the Rockefeller group began the process of taking over the Anglo-American Union-Miniere monopoly. The Morgan group is now taking over the Bank of the Congo through which all foreign firms operate in the Congo.

Societe Generale controls 70 per cent of the Congolese economy but Morgan's New York Guarantee Trust invasion of the Bank of Congo paved the way for the United States monopolies control of the Monetary Council. The Monetary Council allots foreign exchange for import of all materials and equipment.

The newly established control by United States monopolies has led to restricted allocation for Belgian firms and full financial underwriting for American and West German firms.

Let us examine what this pattern of exploitation has meant to the Congo. Belgian firms alone reaped £2,500 million. This is from retained profits. Virtually, no new money has been put in the Congo. In the five years preceding independence, the net outflow of capital to Belgium alone was £464 million.

When Lumumba assumed power, so much capital was taken out of the Congo that there was a national deficit of £40 million.

Tshombe is now told the Congo has an external debt of 900 million dollars. This is a completely arbitrary figure—it amounts to open exploitation based on naked colonialism. 900 million dollars is supposed to be owed to United



Kwame Nkrumah addresses Ghana's National Assembly.

States and Belgian monopolies after they have raped the Congo of sums of £2,500 million, £464 million and £40 million. Imagine what this would have meant to the prosperity and well-being of the Congo.

But the tragi-comedy continues. There is more to tell. To prop up Tshombe the monopolies decided that of this invented debt of 900 million dollars to be paid. How generous indeed!!

Bonds valued in 1959 at £267 million, representing wealth extracted from the Congo are to be returned to Congo after ratification by both parliaments. But the monopolies have decided that the value of the bonds is now only £107 million. So the profit to these monopolies is a net £160 million.

FRAUDULENT PLAN

The monopolies further announce a fraudulent programme to liquidate so-called Congolese external debts of £100 million.

Upon announcing this they declare Congo is to be responsible for a further internal debt of £200 million.

In plain words, they are depriving the Congolese people of another £100 million. And they call this generosity!

Recently Union Miniere gave Tshombe a cheque for £650,000. This gratuity is the payment to Tshombe for the fictitious external debt of 250 million dollars supposedly owed to the monopolies.

Furthermore, Tshombe has said he has exclusive right to appoint the Head of Union Miniere. But even if this were so, this post is completely nominal as all powers are reserved for an Executive President outside any Congolese jurisdiction.

What do the Monopolists and their Tshombe take us for; do they expect us to be de-

ceived by this impudent nonsense?

We learn that the monopolies have declared a further burden for the suffering people of the Congo: an internal debt of £200 million on which the Congo must pay additional compensation of £12.5 million to Belgian private interests.

Beyond this, a joint Congolese Belgian Organisation has been formed. It is withdrawing old bonds and replacing them with Forty-year issues valued at £100 million. These will pay interest of 3½ per cent per annum.

ENRICH MONOPOLISTS

Note this: As the old bonds are worthless the new Organisation must pay all interest on the old bonds from 1960-1965 to the monopolists and each holder of the worthless old bonds must be given a new bond for every old one. In short, the organisation is a device to take more, to enrich the monopolists further and to defraud the suffering people of the Congo.

Tshombe has promised not to nationalise investments valued at £150 million and to retain 8,000 Belgians in the Congo.

He has set up an Investment Bank to manage all portfolios. The value is placed at £240 million. It is controlled by

Belgians. This is the record. How much misery is endured to enrich these men. This is an insult to our dignity. This is a blot on all Africa. And Tshombe is responsible for all this.

In one year Union Miniere's profits were £27 million. But while national production in Congo increased 60 per cent between 1950-1957, African buying power decreased by 13 per cent from 1950-1957.

The Congolese were taxed 280 million francs to pay for European civil servants, 440 million francs for special funds of Belgium, 1,329 million francs for the army. They were taxed even for the Brussels Exhibition.

Despite political independence, the Congo remains a victim of imperialism and neo-colonialism. We know that the cobalt of the Congo is irreplaceable for American and European armament industries. We know that the West takes nearly 70 per cent of its cobalt from the Congo and 75 per cent of its industrial diamonds.

Nothing but determined African effort will stop the exploitation and interference of the foreign interest in the Congo and prevent them from plunging this continent into Cold and consequent Hot War.

BETTER WAYS

Mr. Speaker,

THE economic and financial control of the Congo by foreign interests is not limited to the Congo alone. The developing countries of Africa are all subject to this unhealthy influence in one way or another. Must our relationship with European and American financiers be based forever on such exploitation of our resources and ourselves? Surely, there are more fruitful

and mutually beneficial ways and means than the heartless exploitation and subjugation of Africa and its resources such as is now being practised throughout our continent.

As I said at Tema last year when I opened the Soap Factory, which is a joint-enterprise between the Ghana Government and private foreign enterprise, and I quote:—

"The history of colonial Africa is a lesson we must all take to heart. It is an



Patrice Lumumba, first Congolese Premier

experience worth always remembering.

"When external capital is merely applied for the purpose of obtaining a quick profit, it more often impoverishes rather than enriches the country in which it is invested.

"For example, the extraction and exploitation of mineral ores through the use of imported machinery and by the employment of low-paid labour is of no material benefit to the people of the country concerned.

"Ultimately, the mineral resources of the colonial country are exhausted and the imported machinery is removed elsewhere, or scrapped. The labour that was employed, having been paid only a subsistence wage, will have accumulated no savings.

"Thus nothing remains upon which future development can be based. This was one of the commonest types of capital investment in colonial Africa and it is still to be found, unfortunately, in some independent African States. It is a type of investment we are not prepared to tolerate."

GHANA'S POLICY

What we in Africa want now for an economic development is how to obtain capital investment and still keep it under sufficient control to prevent undue exploitation; and how to preserve integrity and sovereignty without sacrificing our economic or political independence.

Ghana has followed a basic and definite policy in the Congo before and after the time of our murdered brother, Patrice Lumumba. We stand for the territorial integrity and the economic and political independence of the Congo. This has always dictated our attitude to events there. But what has happened?

The national leader of the Congo was wantonly murdered. The man who intrigued to break up the Congo in the interest of foreign powers has been imposed by these same foreign powers on the whole nation. A national rebellion which shares the aspirations of all true African nationalist movement has been attacked by foreign mercenary soldiers.

When the mercenaries proved insufficient the Cold War was added to the burden of the Congo and American and Belgian interests invaded African territory. The landing in Stanleyville was planned over a long time. Other such plans are being made.

MOCK DISMAY

But the imperialists cry in mock dismay that this is an unjust description of their role. Let me quote their record out of the very mouth of one of these mercenary soldiers. And I quote:—

"I was a hired killer. And now I was sick of killing. So sick that I was prepared to do almost anything to avoid taking even one more life. On the way to Stanleyville one of our vehicles broke down. We took our gear off it and retreated into the bush. Late in the afternoon we went back to the vehicle, but found it completely wrecked. . .

"The young English lieutenant was furious. 'We will give the bastards a real lesson'. He ordered us to move at once on the nearest village and take it apart.

"It was a familiar enough command. It seemed to me we had been taking villages apart, innocent villages of peaceful farming folk who did not want any part of this war, all the way along the track from far down in the south.

"We would turn up unexpectedly, open fire without warning, race through the place, burning every pathetic shanty and shack to the ground regardless of who might be inside. The idea was to spread the image of our determination and ruthlessness; to terrorise the

whole area; to give the rebels the examples of what they were in for.

"It seemed almost certain that the villagers knew nothing about the activities of the rebels. I doubted they even knew the lorry had been destroyed.

"It was just before dusk when we came. Unsuspecting women were hustling around, carrying water and going about the last of their day's chores. Children were playing in the dust, laughing and shouting to one another.

"We paused for a few minutes, and then came the order to fire. There was a great crackle of shots from machine guns and our deadly new Belgian rifles. Women screamed and fell. Little children just stood there, dazed, or cartwheeled hideously as bullets slammed into them.

"Then, as usual, we raced into the place, still firing as we went. Some of us pitched cans of petrol on to the homes, before putting a match to them. Others threw phosphorous hand grenades, which turned human being into blazing, indistinguishable torches of fire.

"For a while, as we reached along, there was bedlam. Shrieks, moans, shrill cries for mercy. And above all, the throaty, half-crazed bellowing of those commandoes among us who quite obviously utterly loved this sort of thing.

"Then as we moved away beyond the village, the comparative silence, the distant, hardly distinguishable cries of the wounded, the acrid smell of burning flesh.

"Many (of the mercenaries) I quickly realised had learnt to hate all black people as heartily that one of their main rewards for being with the outfit, I realised, would be the opportunity to knock hell out of the natives. . .

"They were obviously overjoyed to learn the main point of our training, which we were soon to put into practice; it was that never, in any circumstances, should prisoners be taken. 'Even if men, women and children come running to you', I was told 'even if they fall on their knees before you, begging for mercy, don't hesitate. Just shoot. To kill.

"Time and again in the week that followed I had to mow down Africans at point-blank range, and we were not even allowed to stay around to make sure that all were dead. Hundreds were left, terribly wounded, to die slowly, agonisingly, with the merciless tropical sun beating down on them and the birds of prey wheeling overhead, just waiting.

"There were Africans around now. Villagers who some-

how had been passed unharmd by the rebels and had too little warning of our approach for them to run away into the bush.

"Our orders were to shoot at sight. And that was what we did—with a vengeance. We would thunder into villages in our lorries and armoured cars, blazing away wildly with our guns, tossing petrol into the little native homes and setting them alight.

"We heard the screams of men, women and children trapped in the flames. And we just headed on our way. We watched the wounded squirming and moaning by the roadside. And we left them to the vultures and cruel consuming sunshine.

"We saw our colleagues catch up with the village girls, rape them and shoot them between their terrified beseeching eyes.

"We shrugged it off. Sometimes, we killed coldly. Some of our column killed for kicks; killed for fun. We all seemed to have turned into wild rampaging animals. This was the truth, the reality of this Congo war, of the race to the relief of Stanleyville."

Again he writes:

"Women, children, old folk, it was all the same to us. For didn't we know that even a seven-year-old can be a trained killer?

"One of the worst massacres on the road to Stanleyville was at the town of Kindu. It was probably even more hideous than this dreadful slaughter a few days ago of which every one now knows.

Criminal Record

WHAT I have quoted comes from a London newspaper. 'The News of the World' of 22nd November, 1964. Those tragic incidents could happen to any of the Independent African States, unless we unite and form a Continental Union Government which can protect us with the greater force of unity.

This criminal record continues this very moment in the Congo. The mercenaries are killing Africans, rounding up patriots and persisting in their work of torture and death. But who are the masters? Who bears the responsibility for this cruelty without parallel since fascist crimes in Eastern Europe were disclosed?

It is the United States and Belgium who have created Tshombe, who arm him, finance him and use him to serve their ends. And Tshombe is aiding and abetting these crimes against the Congolese people.

Today bombers and phosphorous weapons are supplied

"We opened up at once with everything we had. Rifles, machine guns, rockets, the lot. As we thundered into the town, there was a wild scramble by the Africans to get from our side of the river to the other. Few made it. Scores were mown down. They did not put up any fight. We just killed until by the time it was dark there was not one person left alive, and as we tried to settle down for the night by the river bank, we stumbled and tripped over bodies. Some of us, tired out, lay down to sleep alongside corpses.

In the morning we realised a lot of rebels were hiding. We went along in an extended line, flushing them out. Most of them were kids. We rounded up the unarmed ones for questioning, killing the wounded where they lay. We made the survivors help us pitch the bodies into the river.

"We herded the living Africans into canoes and made them squat down to die. They did not make a sound. They just gazed at us with their huge brown eyes as we mowed them down one boat-load after another.

"Some of the troops from the tail of our column became very excited. They begged to be allowed to have a go. So we stood back and watched them finish the job for us. Bodies became wedged in the water between the river bank and old-barges moored there. For hours we watched the great river fish tearing at their unexpected meal."

by the United States to mercenaries in the Congo. They are still being recruited. To our shame even Africans are still being recruited to the mercenary forces as the Government of Sudan revealed recently in Nairobi.

I see a period of great danger ahead for Africa. The next few months will be crucial and decisive, for the imperialists and neo-colonialists are serious. They know what they want from us, and we know that they are past masters in the art of safe-guarding their vested interests.

NOT YET READY

My own regret is that we of the Independent African States do not appear ready yet to match our unity and undoubted power against the gathering storm.

It seems ironic that those of us who have pledged our will and resolution towards the safe-guarding of the security of Africa and its genuine independence should become

targets for the assault of the imperialist and colonialist nations. As I speak to you now, we have reports that Portugal has aggressive intentions against our sister State of Guinea.

I would however like to inform the House that I have already given firm assurances to my Brother President Sekou Toure of Guinea that any Portuguese attacks on Guinea will be considered as an attack on Ghana.

SYSTEMATIC

I can see even now systematic weakening of the progressive states of Burundi, Congo Brazzaville, Uganda, Tanzania and Sudan which have been traditional neighbours of Congo Leopoldville. I see the reinforcement of the mercenary groups through the feverish recruitment activities of the Congo Mining Companies.

I see the frantic efforts being made in the Congo for the implementation of bogus constitutional formulas for maintaining a post-election regime in Leopoldville which will agree to safeguard the interests of Belgium and her Nato allies in the Congo.

These enemies of Africa will not even hesitate to break up the Congo into autonomous State, including the creation of a new State of Ba-Congo through the integration of the Brazzaville and Leopoldville regions of the Congo.

There can be no more tragic instance of the consequences of a divided Africa than events in the Congo. The imperialists and neo-colonialists are taking full advantage of our weakness. The helplessness of the Organisation of African Unity is clear. No decisive action has been taken.

Not one step to halt the killing by mercenaries has been found possible because there is no Union or Federal Government to speak for Africa as a whole. This is not a moment for recrimination. If I mention our weakness it is only to guide us to a new strength. I have sought and fought for years to warn of the consequences of failure to unite now.

The most powerful argument for a Union Government is the inability of the O.A.U. to act. The most compelling grounds for us to unite are indecision, confusion and inaction among us even where our vital interests are threatened, as in the Congo at present. Do we wish to invite another Vietnam?

ALL OVER AFRICA

If we do not act together to stop imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Congo, the same technique will be used all over Africa. Uganda has been bombed and we are unable to act. Congo Brazzaville is in danger of attack and we dilly dally. The Sudan is



Antoine Gizenga, a Congolese nationalist leader now languishing behind prison bars.

similarly threatened.

Plots to overthrow free African States are disclosed and still we are unable to do anything about it. Instead of working towards the political unification of Africa, we find ourselves making unfounded allegations and counter-allegations against one another.

Here, I would assure my brothers who met at Nouakchott that it is not from Ghana that they should expect the subversion of their regimes and threats to their sovereignty. From the very eve of independence, we struggled ardently for the liberation of Africa.

The subversion and threats to sovereignty in Africa come rather from those who fear the example of our dedication to African Unity which they see as a threat to their vested interests. We made a pledge

for the liberation and unity of Africa at our independence.

"We have worked faithfully, tirelessly and jealously for the fulfillment of that pledge. We are indeed proud to see the giant strides that have been taken on the road to the complete emancipation and unity of our continent. In other words, the cause of the independent African States is therefore our cause in Ghana, and Ghana's cause is theirs.

What does Ghana gain therefore from subverting any of the Independent African States? When we have actively and effectively helped almost all of them to secure their independence? As we struggled together for the common cause of our liberation so shall we stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the safeguarding of their sovereignty.

Fruitful Talks

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly: AS YOU already know, Presidents Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Ben Bella and I met a few days ago in Bamako, and held very useful and fruitful discussions which I am confident will have far-reaching consequences for Africa.

We renewed our faith in the future of Africa, and made a fresh resolve in our determination to maintain our struggle, not only for the solidarity and progress of our States, but also for the reinforcement of understanding, unity and progress among the Independent States of Africa within the framework of the O.A.U. We also agreed that it is imperative for the peace and welfare of Africa that we should continue to maintain great vigilance against the increasing penetration of the imperialists and neo-colonialists in Africa.

In pursuit of our policy of friendship and understanding with our sister independent States of Africa, I am happy to announce that agreement has been reached for the re-opening of the Ghana-Togo border as from tomorrow, Tuesday, 23rd March, 1965. The following arrangements for crossing the border have accordingly been made by the Government of Ghana:—

- 1 With effect from 23rd March, 1965, the border between Ghana and Togo will be opened. This will strengthen the brotherly relations between Ghana and Togo and lead to the abolition of the artificial boundary between the two sister States.
- 2 Persons wishing to cross the frontier will be required to follow approved routes. Such persons will also be required to fulfil the normal requirements of the Immigration

Authorities as regards passports, visas, exit permits, etc., but persons living in the immediate vicinity of the border and who are in possession of approved identification cards may cross the border at any point except areas closed for military, security or other purposes. Meanwhile offices for the issue of exit permits are being set up at the approved routes along the border.

3 The normal exchange control regulations as to the export and import of Ghana pounds will apply. The limit to the amount of Ghana pounds that can be brought in or taken out should be ten pounds (£10).

4 Any amount in excess of this limit should be declared to the Immigration Authorities at the border. The owner will then be permitted to import such excess into Ghana.

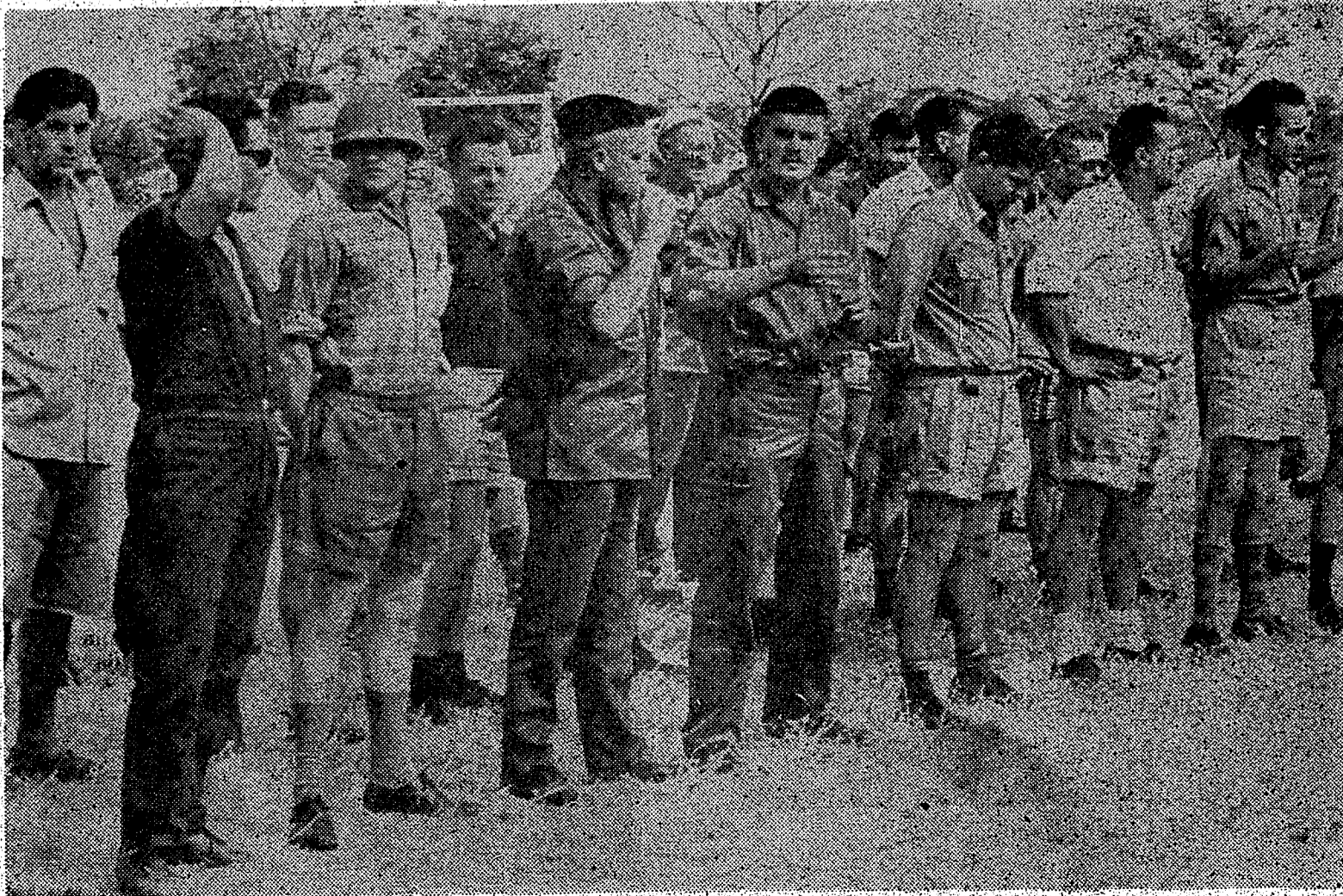
5 Importation into Ghana of CFA francs is now permitted. The exchange of CFA francs for Ghana pounds and of Ghana pounds for CFA francs should be done only through the Bank of Ghana or through authorised registered dealers. Authorised and registered dealers will be required to surrender all their holdings of CFA francs to the Central bank.

6 Persons and hawkers crossing the border with head-loads of foodstuffs for personal use or sale should be allowed to do so free of Ghana Customs duties.

7 Cattle, other livestock and fish crossing the border into Ghana will be subject to Ghana customs duty. No import licences will be required.

8 The re-export of goods imported into Ghana will attract export tax, details of which will be published shortly.

Continued on page 7



The Tshombe mercenary soldiers receiving instructions to murder the innocent Congolese. They are drawn from the imperialist countries of Western Europe, U.S.A. and the South African Republic.

THEIR LAUNCHING PAD WAS SOCIALISM

THE first steps of a baby herald the walking man. Soviet cosmonaut Alexei Leonov's first step into space foretells man's conquest of a new, limitless, three-dimensional world.

Wearing a specially insulated space suit, Alexei Leonov spent twenty minutes outside the spacecraft VOSKHOD (Sunrise) 2 as it travelled at 5 miles a second some 300 miles above the earth.

Commenting on this latest space achievement, Professor Parin, Soviet expert in space medicine, said: "Above all, it shows that man is becoming the complete master of his spaceship. He can inspect his ship from the outside, see to its repair when necessary, and transfer to another spaceship nearby. Alexei Leonov showed that work can be carried out in space outside a spaceship's cabin.

"This means that the assembly of ships in orbit, the building of space stations, research in outer space and landings on the surface of celestial bodies are no long-

er mere science fiction."

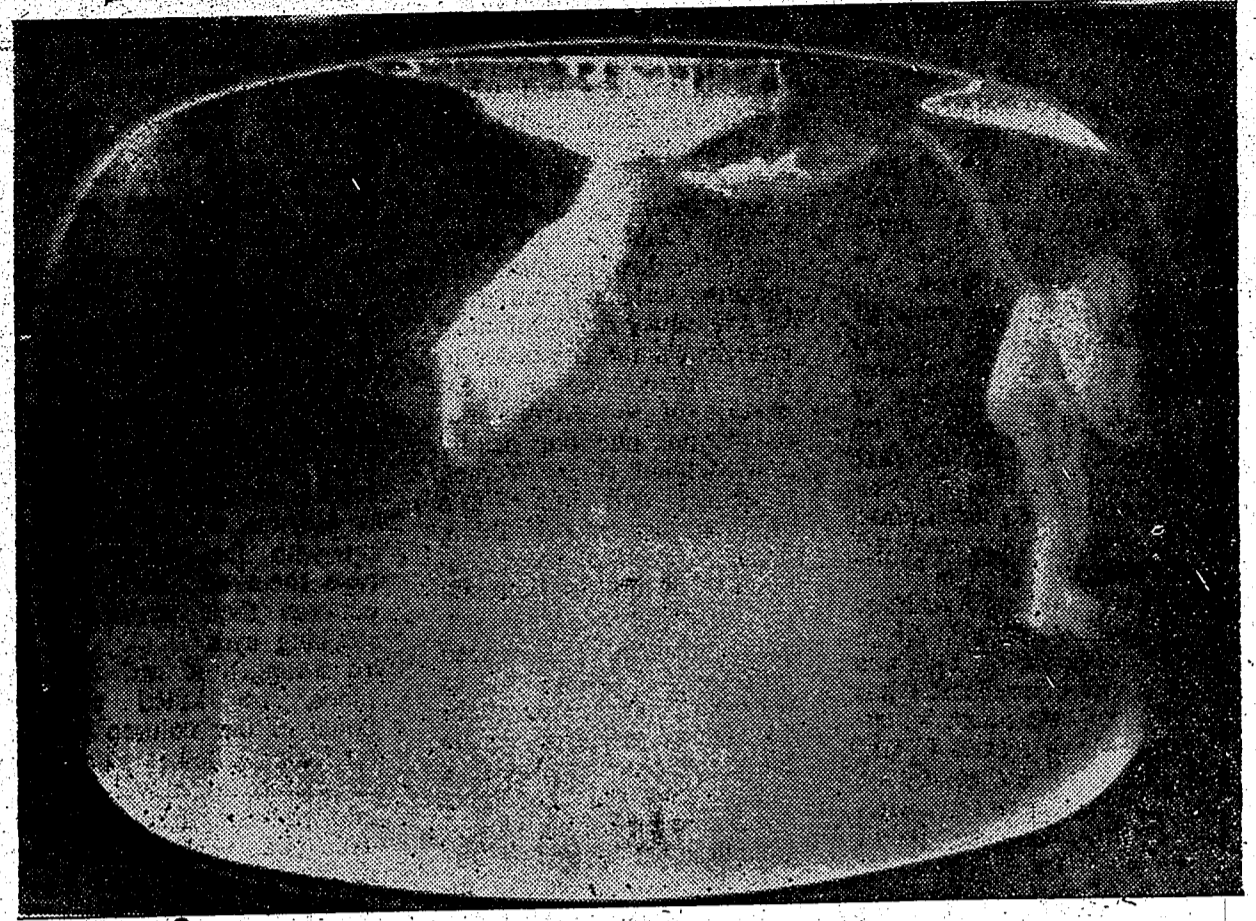
This has been achieved by Socialist scientists backed by Socialist engineering and technology. Alexei Leonov is himself a socialist man, a member of the Soviet Communist Party.

He is a citizen of a country which less than fifty years ago was one of the most under-developed and backward in the world. Today, thanks to socialist planning and industrialisation, and despite the devastation caused first by foreign intervention and then by World War Two, it leads the world in the conquest of space.

In the socialist Soviet Union, scientists can organise their work unhampered by the rivalries of profit-hungry Big Business. It is the people, not the monopolists, who profit from modernisation and new advances.

Socialism is in fact the launching pad for Soviet space achievements. Capitalism developed in the 19th century, the age of the steam engine; socialism is the way of life for the new space age.

Photos by Novosti



Cosmonaut Alexei Leonov in space-walking rig with oxygen cylinders on his back floats away from the spacecraft from which this picture was taken. The projection in the centre is a T.V. camera attached to the outside of the spacecraft.

Soviet Space Girl

You up there in a rocket spaceship
Orbiting suicides and prophets
May you come down happy, you little
Red spacegirl
May you come down happy you dear
little girl;
May you marry a spaceman and live
for ever
May your sons grow beards on the
plains of Mars
May the peasants and the planners
Get Orders of Lenin
And Uzbeks grow cotton in 90 colours!
(I know a street where you'd put your

name up
'Model' for a Copper at fifty bob,
And a laundry with a steamer, and a
piece-rate schemer
And a drunken sailor who'd hit you in
the gob)

May you come down happy, you little
red spacegirl
May you hit the deck like thistedown
May the birch trees glisten down by the
Yenesel
May Yeutshenko write you into 2,000 a.d.—
That'll be a year.

Song of Cosmonaut

Climb, Rockets climb;
Our domain is the sky
Let angels, if they will deny;

Soar, rockets soar;
A million shimmering
Skyward-potating
Fingers
Old Babel's tower
A million times believe;

Roar, rockets roar;
Sew lightning in the clouds
Plough thunder in your path
The stars are ours
Let gods inhabit earth!

by Hugh Skinner

U. S. And Russian Records Compared

Soviet Union		United States	
April 12, 1961	Maj. Gagarin 1 Orbit	May 5, 1961	Com. Shepard Up & down
Aug. 6, 1961	Maj. Titov 17 Orbits		
Aug. 11, 1962	Maj. Nikolayev 64 Orbits	July 22, 1961	Capt. Grissom Up & down
Aug. 12, 1962	Col. Popovich 48 Orbits		
June 14, 1963	Col. Bykovsky 81 Orbits	Feb. 20, 1962	Col. Glenn 3 Orbits
June 16, 1963	Valentina Tereshkova (first woman) 48 Orbits	May 24, 1962	Com. Carpenter 3 Orbits
Oct. 12, 1964	Col. Komarov	Oct. 3, 1962	Com. Schirra 5 Orbits
	Mr. K. Foektistov and Lieut. Yegoroy (in one space craft) 16 Orbits	May 15, 1963	Maj. Cooper 22 Orbits



Flowers for Alexei Leonov and the commander of Voskhod 2 on their safe return to earth after completing over 17 orbits and covering some 447,430 miles in space, landing near Perm, a large industrial city in the Urals.



Col. Pavel Belyaev, at 39 the oldest of the Soviet team of cosmonauts, during a pre-flight training session. Col. Belyaev is an ex-naval fighter pilot who served in the Far East during the closing days of World War 2.



An exclusive photograph of the nine earlier Soviet cosmonauts, specially autographed for "Spark". Standing (left to right) Lieut. Col. Valery Bykovsky, Lieut. Col. Gherman Titov, Col. Yuri Gagarin (the first man to fly in orbit round the world), Lieut. Col. Andrian Nikolayev and Dr. Boris Yegorov. Sitting (left to right) are scientist Konstantin Feoktistov, Col. Vladimir Komarov, Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova (the world's first space woman) and Lieut. Col. Pavel Popovich.

A Year of Decision

Locally produced goods will, however, not be subject to export duty.

We are also about to undertake further negotiations with our neighbours in Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast for the re-opening of our common frontiers.

With regard to the political refugees staying in Ghana, I have already stated the policy of the Government of Ghana in this very House nearly two years ago. I stated then that all political refugees could only remain in Ghana on the clear understanding that they do not undertake any subversive activities whatsoever against our sister States.

I consider that such problems confronting not only Ghana but other independent

States who have political refugees can best be solved by adhering to the long-established rules of public international law, namely, that no state should allow anyone within its borders to carry out acts inimical to the interests of any other state and secondly, that every state has the right to decide who may be permitted to reside within its territories.

If all Independent African States adhere to these principles, the difficulties which we have previously experienced will, I am sure, cease to exist, and we shall be conforming to the long established practice among nations. If there were ONE AFRICA based on a Continental Union Government, this problem would cease to exist.

Belgium for the support he gets to maintain his regime, knowing that without such foreign support the Congolese people would throw him out any day, the American and Belgian Governments cannot escape the charge of interference in the affairs of the Congo. It should be seen, therefore that the present United States policy in the Congo will defeat itself, and unless it is abandoned, the United States must not expect to escape the hatred of the African people.

NON-ALIGNMENT

Non-alignment is contrary to subservience to the policy of any foreign power. We have declared over and over again that the interest of Africa depends in our ability to pursue policies which are primarily in the interest of African Governments and peoples. That is the reason why Ghana endorses and supports the Arab cause and the struggle of our Arab brothers against imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Middle East.

Like them, we refuse to accept the neo-colonialist device of demanding subservience to their policies. The right to free and equal relations with the East as well as with the West is a touchstone

of an independent policy. Although we welcome sympathetic and reasonable interest in our progress and development, we shall not have our policy and our lives run from Bonn, Washington, London, Brussels, Paris or Moscow.

Mr. Speaker,
South Vietnam is a case in point. The nationalists have struggled for two decades seeking true independence and political freedom and unity without success.

In one year alone, fifty thousand (50,000) villages were destroyed by napalm bombings. This terrible war continues despite the fact that a large section of American opinion have expressed support for a negotiated settlement.

WARNING TO ALL

The war in Vietnam is a terrible warning to us all. This is what we risk on African soil if we do not unite now. The failure to unite in a Union Government will mean the transference from South-East Asia to Africa of the Cold War cruelties I have mentioned. Ghana is dedicated to the proposition that Africa must be free to develop in the interest of our people, free from domination and strong

in our support of peace in the world.

Let us take a further example close to our heart. In Southern Rhodesia the racists continue in their scheming. There is no effective action on our part. The O.A.U. appears helpless and so no progress occurs. Here again African Unity based upon a Union Government is the only way to win freedom and avoid disaster. If we act together with determination, the imperialists and neo-colonialists must give way.

FIRM STAND

Ghana must take a firm stand as in the case of the Congo. The Government of Ghana in conformity with the O.A.U. Resolution on this issue has therefore decided to recognise any majority Government of Zimbabwe should racist minority of Southern Rhodesia usurp power. The Government of Ghana will not be represented at any Commonwealth or other Conference, which is attended by the racist minority Government of Southern Rhodesia.

It is vital that African States should make it clear to Britain and the white settlers that we are not prepared to tolerate the further subjugation of our brothers. I know that these

steps by Ghana will find a response in the hearts of African patriots and lovers of freedom everywhere.

The situation in the Congo and in Southern Rhodesia makes the forthcoming Conference of the Organisation of African Unity in Accra one of crucial importance in African history. Every effort is being made by the imperialists and neo-colonialists and those who serve them to sabotage and disrupt the O.A.U. Conference and African Unity this year.

This is the clearest proof of the importance to our future of the Accra Conference. We are determined that nothing shall prevent the historic meeting of the O.A.U. from taking place in Accra this year.

MUST UNITE

Africa must unite. We have before us not only an opportunity but a historic duty. It is in our hands to join our strength, taking sustenance from our diversity, honouring our rich and varied traditions and culture but acting together for the protection and benefit of us all. A Continental Union Government will certainly accelerate the massive industrial revolution which is taking place in Africa. The struggle for indepen-

dence and the demand that the vast majority of mankind no longer live in poverty and exploitation are the dynamic facts of world affairs. The anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle is the key to world peace. Without the successful and victorious waging of this struggle, the world will not be safe for any of us.

Mr. Speaker and Members of the National Assembly,

In this connection, I support the World Peace Conference proposed by my friend Bertrand Russell and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. The aims of this proposed Conference are in accord with my own views expressed at the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations at Belgrade, and at the Conference of World Without The Bomb held in Accra.

A permanent solution for the problems and difficulties, economic and political, of the Independent African States lies only on a Continental Union Government of Africa. Let us not miss this opportunity given us by Providence to create and establish in our time a Union Government of Africa.

Mr. Speaker and Members of the National Assembly,

I now leave you to your deliberations.

Permanent Solution

Mr. Speaker and Members of the National Assembly,

As I have mentioned already, we have been devoted to the cause of the Congo to its progress, welfare and stability long before its independence. In the critical days of the revolt of the Force Publique in Leopoldville Ghanakan men and women were detailed for emergency service to the Congo in conditions of severe hardship and suffering. Doctors, nurses, administrators and other technical personnel, apart from our military contingents serving under the United Nations helped to maintain essential services throughout the Congo.

Our army suffered the greatest casualties in the Congo operation. Our troops actually disarmed the Belgians and prevented the bombing of Leopoldville. We ask for no reward or praise for such sacrifices except to know that the Congolese people are left free to manage their own affairs.

MISREPRESENTED

In spite of all this, our motives have been abused and misrepresented. The imperialists and neo-colonialists and their agents in Africa have called names so that they can divert attention from the woful wrongs that they have perpetrated and continue to perpetrate against the interests of the Congolese people.

I must also remark that the *Loi Fondamentale* which was the basic constitutional framework for the Government of the Congo was consistently violated by the Governments that succeeded Lumumba's regime until it was replaced by the Luluaborg Constitution. It is interesting to note that Mr. Ileo who was the Chairman of the Constitutional Commission which drew up that Constitution has made a public declaration accusing Tshombe of violating the constitution in several instances.

HOW LONG?

This indicates that Tshombe's much-advertised elections will reflect nothing but his neo-colonialist-sponsored guns and mercenaries.

Mr. Speaker,
These mercenaries from the racist regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia who are the inveterate and sworn enemies of Africans have become Tshombe's agents for the butchery and slaughter of his own people. How long must we endure this insult to Africa's dignity? How long must we tolerate this wanton destruction of life and limb in Africa?

If Tshombe does not honour his word to the Council of Ministers at the Conference of O.A.U. Foreign Ministers held in Addis Ababa and in Nairobi by withdrawing all mercenaries now employed by Tshombe, the Government of

Ghana will have no alternative but to reconsider her position in regard to her relations with the regime of Tshombe in Congo Leopoldville and his supporters.

Mr. Speaker,
All our lives have been spent in a struggle to end the cruel injustice of foreign domination in Africa. How many generations have suffered the mental wound of humiliation and have borne the contempt of the despoilers of Africa? How many Africans who suffered the pain and humiliation of foreign rule harboured the hope that one day Africa would emerge triumphant, that we would no longer supplicate for our rights in our own country.

GRAND PLAN

Those who enslaved Africa have a grand plan which is symbolic of Tshombe's regime in the Congo.

If we act together now firmly and effectively we may spare Africa a ten-year war of devastation and spare the world a nuclear holocaust. I hold that only a United Africa can compel the imperialists and neo-colonialists to recognise the disastrous consequences of their actions. Only by such determined action can we hope to succeed.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

It is perhaps appropriate for me to mention here that the Government of Ghana has unmistakable evidence that plans are in an advanced state of preparation for the overthrow of the progressive Government of Congo Brazzaville and other States by certain powers. Ghana will go to the assistance of the Government and people of Congo Brazzaville, Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya and others in the event of aggression.

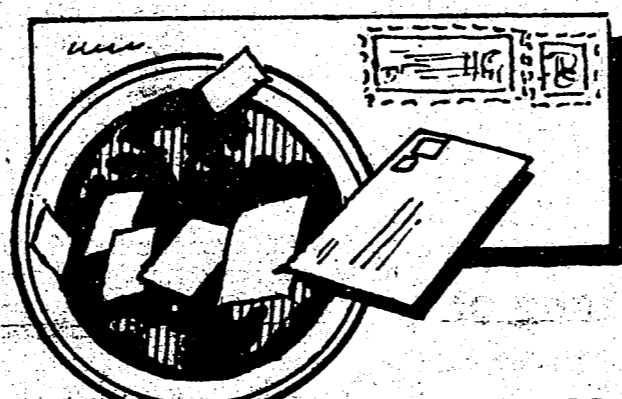
UNDERTAKING

This is a solemn undertaking, and my Government will in consequence accept help from any quarter in support of our Sister States in the event of aggression.

Only an African settlement of the Congolese problem will bring a permanent solution to the Congo. As long as Tshombe continues to engage mercenaries without whom his regime cannot survive, it will be difficult and even senseless for the African States genuinely concerned about the welfare and stability of the African Continent to give Tshombe support for his activities.

Since those mercenaries are recruited mainly from the racist regimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa with American funds, it will be difficult to convince Africans that the United States itself is not interested in the pursuit of racist policies in Africa.

So long as Tshombe depends on the United States and



Letters to the editor ASSEMBLY DEBATE

Sir,

I have followed the debate in the National Assembly on the problem of the distribution of essential commodities with disgust. I am appalled by the defence put up by some of our Ministers for their wives' disgraceful indulgence in retail trade.

A Minister who should have hidden his face in shame blunted out that he is "not prepared to advise the closing of the store which serves the area until the G.N.T.C. provides a storekeeper to serve the area". I wish he had been so adamant with the supply of pipeborne water for villages in his constituency.

Another Minister claims he was doing "national service" in his residential area by allowing his wife to run a kiosk for retailing consumer goods. He forgets that such service should have been better rendered by someone other than a Minister. He consented to forget to tell the House that prices charged in his kiosk are above the control price.

I must soundly condemn these post hoc attempts to defend the indefensible. The public does not complain of the farness of the shops. The

complaint is that goods are not available at these shops. If the big guns would leave the goods where they belong, the general public would not complain of empty shelves in the shops.

Secondly, we are in duty bound to remind our leading activists of the code of conduct laid down for us all in the historic Dawn Broadcast. We were expressly requested not to mix politics with business. By trying to combine the two we deny opportunities to our Ghanaian who, not being Ministers, M.P.s. and Corporation Chairmen and members, decrease the chance to make a living in business. In addition, we introduce political pressure into business activity to the detriment of the general public and the benefit of a small privilege class.

Our view is that those Party activists involved in this retail trade racket have betrayed an alarming disregard for the moral code of conduct demanded by the revolution. And such self-seeking must not be lost sight of when the time comes for the reconstitution of parliament. The revolution demands a National Assembly that is an embodiment of the finest qualities that sustain the revolution.

B. B. C. Akwei,
Accra.

CORRECTION

DEAR Sir,

I refer you to page 4 of "The Spark" of the 19th March—Independent African States. Please note that Zambia's date of Independence is the 24th October, 1964, and NOT, October 10th, 1964, and her population (as at June, 1964) is 3,610,000 and NOT 2,460,000 as you have stated.

Please find enclosed copies of the map of Africa on which is given the latest information on the geography, population, main towns etc. on the Republic of Zambia.

C. J. A. Banda
for Zambia High Comms.
We apologise for the mistake and are pleased to publish this correction—Ed.

BOOK REVIEW:

Essential Features of Nkrumaism

by Pat Sloan
(Articles from "The Spark")
Lawrence & Wishart. 56 pp. 2s. 6d.

THIS Book is a reproduction of a series of articles in which the Ghanaian newspaper THE SPARK outlined the main features of Kwame Nkrumah's contribution to Ghanaian and African thought.

Nkrumah stresses the need for a scientific revolutionary theory (p. 1 based on 'Marxist analysis' and embracing the aim of 'African Unity' (p.2). He described the work of Marx and Lenin as 'the most searching and penetrating analysis of economic imperialism' (p.5) and makes use of his analysis in his own work and thought.

Nkrumah sees the need for the independence movement to 'root itself and secure its basis and strength in the labour movement, the farmers (the workers and peasantry) and the youth' (p.7). He is fully aware of the corruption by imperialism of part of the intelligentsia, 'the kind of intelligentsia who have become the very architects of colonial enslavement' (p.8) though in education the intellectuals can play a positive role, which must be 'to clear the way for the upsurge of a powerful labour movement' (ibid). Hence the struggle becomes one for 'the total reconstruction of society' conducted by 'workers, peasants and youth' (p.9).

In the national movements of Africa, Nkrumah sees two main trends, 'the moderates of the professional and "aristocratic" class and the so-called extremists of the mass movement' (p.11). He sees a one party system as playing a positive role when the so-called 'extremist' wing is in power, with the aim of 'social reconstruction and the creation of a socialist society'. But if the 'moderates' of the intellectual and aristocratic class get into power, a neo-colonialist regime comes into being to push the national liberation movement to complete victory'

(p.18).

In Ghana the Convention People's Party was formed as a party of national unity against imperialism. Today, with the turn towards socialism, Nkrumah is striving to take along with him as large a part as possible of this national movement. Scientific socialism is now stated to be the social doctrine of the Party, and in its application to African conditions Nkrumah is striving to unite the majority of the Ghanaian people.

One of the legacies of colonialism in Africa is the network of 'national' frontiers which in origin were no more than a matter of convenience to the rival imperialism. But in the world of today only a re-united Africa will be capable of defending itself against neo-colonialism. Hence Nkrumah's dictum that 'the independence of Ghana is mean-

ingless until it is linked with the total liberation of Africa' (p.29) and the conception of a united continent in which the separate governments accept 'overall economic planning, unified military and defence strategy, and unified foreign policy and diplomacy' (p.33).

Nkrumah thus visualises a dual task; the creation of a socialist Ghana and the forging of African unity which 'will create some of the necessary objective conditions for the rapid advance towards socialism not only in a single African state but throughout the African continent' (p.35).

The creation of a united socialist-orientated Africa is a tremendous task. In his book *Consciencism* Nkrumah endeavours to provide a philosophical basis for such unity. The book *Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism* is mainly based on Nkrumah's *Consciencism* (reviewed in "Labour Monthly", June, 1964). For the fullest understanding of Nkrumah's policy and outlook, his book *Consciencism* should be read, in addition to the popular exposition of his views contained in the book reviewed here.

On African Socialism

by Idris Cox
(From *Labour Monthly*)

SOCIALIST ideas are becoming extremely popular in all the independent African states, but among African leaders there is a great variety of socialist concepts. Though marxist ideas are spreading, many African leaders are loth to apply a marxist analysis to the actual situation in Africa, and try to argue that marxism may be applicable to Europe but not to Africa.

This has given rise to various brands of socialist ideas—African socialism, Arab socialism, Muslim socialism, Neo-Destour socialism, and pragmatic socialism. The most advanced African leaders (notably Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Keita, etc.) have grown out of this early phase, and stress there can be only scientific socialism, but applied in rela-

tion to specific African conditions.

Leopold Sedar Senghor still adheres to his own special brand of socialism, sometimes called 'African socialism', and sometimes 'Negritude'. The European influence on this division between Negroes and Arabs cannot be concealed: "Today, our Negritude no longer expresses itself as opposition to European values, but as a complement to them". The practical outcome of this is made clear in the Introduction: 'Co-operation with the former coloniser must be maintained on a egalitarian basis to the advantage of both countries'.

The practical expression of this outlook is the increasing grip of imperialism on the economy of Senegal—and in striking contrast to Ghana where the concept of 'African socialism' and 'Negritude' is being sharply criticised, and increasing emphasis is being made on scientific socialism, the application of marxist ideas to the problems of Africa.

TIMELY AIDE MEMOIRE

KWAME Nkrumah on Monday addressed a meeting of the National Assembly to which members of the diplomatic corps were specially invited. The speech was a clarion call, in clear ringing tones, for a union government of Africa as the only effective formula for the solution of Africa's basic problems.

In the process, Kwame Nkrumah threw a powerful searchlight on the forces working against Africa's aspirations. And, a revolutionary that he is, Kwame Nkrumah called for determined attack on all such forces. In short Kwame Nkrumah's speech was a call for renewed revolutionary approach to all of Africa's problems.

The speech did not come as a surprise. At least to those who know the main springs of Nkrumah's thought. Every position in it is either a restatement of the declared stand of Dr. Nkrumah or a logical deduction from such a stand.

Nonetheless, the speech is significant in three regards. Firstly, it is a warning to "the imperialists and neo-colonialists and those who serve them" that progressive Africa is fully aware of their machinations against the O.A.U.

CONGO PROBLEM

Secondly by stating Ghana's position with forceful clarity, the speech brings fresh hope to all progressive and anti-imperialist forces on the African continent and beyond.

Thirdly, the speech has put paid to all diplomatic activities that aim to portray Ghana as negotiating with the forces of exploitation and reaction.

This is why we consider the speech a timely aide memoire.

The heart of President Nkrumah's speech is the Congo problem. Congo Leopoldville is today the focus of U.S. penetration into Africa. As such it has become the great catalyst of contemporary African politics. The question posed in the Congo for all Africa is that of the path of development before independent African

states. Should we seek development on the basis of our own initiative (the principle of self-induced development) or should we depend on the initiative of extra-African interests (the principle of so-called partnership)? The first formula leads inescapably to the political union of African states. The second formula postulates neo-colonialism.

President Nkrumah's obvious choice is the path of self-induced development. But once this choice is made, certain consequences flow from it. In the first place, we have to understand the forces against which Africa must necessarily fight in order to safeguard her independence and progress. These forces are the various echelons of world finance capital.

The Monday speech contains a catalogue, still incomplete, of these finance oligarchies—Rockefeller Group, Morgan Group, Unilever, Reynolds Metal, Societe General, Union Miniere, Tanganyika Concessions, Bank of England, Regale Belge, etc.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah:

"It is perfectly clear that the forces which have martyred the Congo are the same which rule in Rhodesia and in South Africa, and which have their base in the citadels and centres of world economic imperia-

by
Julius Sago

lism. This is why we cannot separate the question of Congo's freedom from our own. The exploiter is the same everywhere, and we are all considered porters of his domain.

In the second place, we have to understand that Africa's only chance of winning out in this fight against international finance capital is the highest possible degree of unity. And this can manifest itself only in a political union. Such a union will compel respect for Africa. Respect that comes, and can come, only from strength. And out of such strength, Africa can achieve the vital aim of her economic development which is "to obtain capital investment and still keep it under sufficient control to prevent undue exploitation".

FITTING REPLY

Kwame Nkrumah's political recipe of unity and struggle is also reflected in his handling of South Rhodesian and Middle East problems. He gave a fitting reply to the antics of Harold Wilson's Labour Government by reaffirming Ghana's readiness to recognise a Zimbabwe government in exile should the minority white settlers of Southern Rhodesia declare the independence of that territory. He went further. Ghana will take no part in any conference to which Ian Smith's white racist government is invited.

Just as united, uncompromising action against Tshombe and his U.S. and Belgian mentors is the way out of the Congo impasse, so firm action by the O.A.U. is the remedy for the Southern Rhodesia problem.

In the Middle East, Kwame Nkrumah has taken up the position of full support for the Arab states in their struggle against all manifestations of imperialism. Put alongside his other statements on the Palestine problem, it is clear that Dr. Nkrumah sees African political union as the condition precedent both to Africa's emancipation and to the freeing of the Middle East from imperialist domination.

It follows from this that the Arab states must have a stake in African unity, for geographical and demographic considerations have made the peoples of the two areas (Africa and Middle East) natural allies in the common struggle against world imperialism.

On the world scene, Kwame Nkrumah sees the need for world peace. But here again his formula is that of struggle. He declares: "The anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle is the key to world peace. Without the successful and victorious waging of this struggle the world will not be safe for any of us."

But who are the contestants on the world scene? Here again, it is struggle against the hegemony of finance capital; the struggle of the enslaved peoples of the world and of progressive mankind against the empires of the Morgans, the Rockefellers, Reynolds, Du Pont, Oppenheims etc.

In this struggle the newly emergent nations, the colonial peoples, the socialist countries and the progressive forces in the capitalist states need one another. Unity and solidarity in struggle is the battle for-

mula against imperialism, be it on the African continent or in the world at large.

There is a diplomatic aspect to President Nkrumah's Monday speech which must not go unevaluated. The grand design of imperialism is "to sabotage and disrupt the O.A.U. Conference this year." In the pursuit of this objective, several diplomatic moves have been made. In the first place, Nigeria (whose Foreign Minister was the only African spokesman to declare his government's support for the Tshombe-Kasavubu government in Leopoldville in open contradiction to the stand of the O.A.U.) and a few English-speaking African states are being made to take the side of U.S. imperialism in the Congo affair. Aid and promise of aid are being used to clinch the deal.

The second move has been to rally some French-speaking African states on the side of Nigeria and the pro-U.S. African states. This move led to

the Nouakchott Conference last month.

The third move has been to misrepresent Ghana to other African states. Efforts are made to portray us as engaged in subversion against other African states; as vacillating and ready to compromise on the Congo issue. The idea here is to sow distrust among leaders of the client states and to sow doubts in the minds of other African leaders who look up to Ghana for a radical stand on all issues affecting the continent.

FALSE ALLEGATIONS

The fourth move has been an attempt to estrange Kwame Nkrumah with the militant African leaders, more especially with men like Modibo Keita, Abdel Nasser and Ben Bella. The issues of Palestine and the problem of political refugees have been exploited in this diplomatic game.

By coming out forcefully to restate and further develop

Ghana's stand on African and world affairs, Dr. Nkrumah has outflanked the diplomatic positions of the external and internal enemies of Ghana's African policy. He has made it clear that the charge of vacillation and compromise is a mere invention of the imperialists and their minions; that subversion of African sovereignty and independence can come only from the traditional enemies of African emancipation; viz imperialism.

By conferring at Bamako with Presidents Modibo Keita, Sékou Toure and Ben Bella Nkrumah has again underlined the fact that he is at one with the militant leaders of Africa. And by pledging Ghana's support to all states menaced by U.S. intervention in the Congo and by Portuguese design on Guinea, the President has reiterated Ghana's resolve to shoulder the responsibilities of a positive approach to Africa's anti-imperialist struggle.

For the edification of those

who may think that Ghana is merely bluffing, Dr. Nkrumah had this to say: "Ghana will go to the assistance of the Government and people of Congo, Brazzaville, Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya and others in the event of aggression. This is a solemn undertaking, and my government will in consequence accept help from any quarter in support of our sister states in the event of aggression."

The Monday speech at the National Assembly is a veritable aide memoire addressed to the diplomatic chanceries of Africa and the world. It is (and must be seen) as the lucid statement of a position on which there can be no bargaining. And what is this position?

"Ghana is dedicated to the proposition that Africa must be free to develop in the interest of our people, free from domination and strong in our support of peace in the world". And this is the position of the New Africa.

World Youth Festival

(Continued from page 2)

nial freedom and for the democratic rights of young people. Its Festivals have grown in scope and significance as more and more young people have joined in the struggle for progress.

The first Festivals were held in socialist countries because the Western European Governments, intent on pursuing cold war policies would not give permission for them to be held in their capitals. They actively tried to prevent their young people from travelling to take part in the Festivals. It is sign of the growing influence of the Peace and Democratic Youth

Movement that the last two Festivals have in fact been held in capitalist states, Finland and Austria.

The holding of the Festival this year in a newly democratic state of Africa symbolises the tremendous sweep of national liberation throughout the world. For thousands of young people it will be a revelation to see how this new nation is reconstructing itself out of the ruins of colonial war.

All over the world youngsters are campaigning for the Festival. In youth organisations, sports clubs, factories, schools and colleges, delegates are being elected, money is

being gathered to send the finest representatives. In other countries young people are saving hard to play their own way.

Ghana's youth is also making its preparations. A committee drawing representatives from many public organisations is planning activities here in Ghana which will publicise the Festival and it is preparing to campaign for the formation of a really representative delegation.

Next month, a national youth seminar will be held to discuss youth questions, which will conclude with the public mock trial of Verwoerd. In this way the fight against ra-

cial discrimination will be seen as an outstanding issue which will find expression at the Festival itself.

The young people of our continent will derive enormous benefit from their experiences in meeting so many young people from other lands. In their turn they will be able to teach others about our achievements and problems.

Time is now short and the preparations to ensure the Festival's success are now under way. Every African State, every African democratic organisation, should ensure that its young people are well represented to play their part in this inspiring international event dedicated to the finest ideals of peace, friendship and freedom.



ONLY a few days after his re-election as President of Rumania, Mr. Gheorghiu-Dej, the man who led his country to Socialism, died in Bucharest last week at the age of 63 following a long illness.

Mr. Gheorghiu-Dej, who was also First Secretary of the Rumanian Workers' Party, was an electrician by trade, the son of poor family. He was born plain Gheorghiu Gheorghiu, and added "Dej" to his name after the town where he was imprisoned after leading a strike of railway and oil workers in 1933.

He joined the Communist Party of Rumania in 1930, at a time when it was working underground. Elected its General Secretary in 1945, after Rumania's liberation, he directed the effort which led to the formation of a united workers' party in February, 1949.

He was a leading exponent of the plan for the industrialisation of his country. He did more than anybody else to pull Rumania out of its feudal backwardness, making it one of the most rapidly developing industrial countries of Europe.

UP-TO-DATE EXECUTION !
ADVANTAGEOUS DELIVERY TERMS !
RUMANIAN-MADE HARDWARE

for household, commercial and industrial purposes

- Bicycles for men and women
- Sewing machines for household and industrial purposes
- Alba Lux electric washing machines
- Natural and liquefied gas cooking stoves
- Liquefied gas cylinders
- Household and commercial scales
- Radial and axial water meters
- Welding outfits with oxygen pressure reducer
- Needles for sewing and knitting machines
- Enamelled pig iron bath tubs
- Pig iron radiators for central heating
- Pig iron draining tubes and fittings for sanitary installations etc.
- Sparking plugs for thermic motors

EXPORTERS :
MASINEXPORT
FOREIGN TRADE STATE COMPANY - BUCHAREST - RUMANIA
Bucharest - Rumania 7, Magheru Blvd.
Cables: MASINEXPORT Bucharest
Telex: 216; POB: 113
For prompt information apply to the Rumanian Commercial Office