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# Socialist Progress and the Judiciary

**EDITORIAL**

## THE JUDICIARY

THE theory that the law and those who administer it are "neutral", "independent" or "above politics" is a capitalist theory designed to conceal the harsh realities of a class-divided society.

The law and those who administer it are a vital part of the machinery of government, and government is government in the interests of the ruling class.

In the capitalist countries that ruling class is the capitalist class—that small minority of the population which owns the lion's share of the wealth of society.

In a capitalist society, the ultimate aim of the law and, with few exceptions, those who administer it, is the protection of capitalist property and the capitalist social system.

It was that great English Socialist William Morris who declared that "the magistrate, the judge, the policeman and the soldier are the sword and pistol of this modern highwayman, the capitalist."

And it is in the memoirs of Sergeant A. M. Sullivan, Q.C., in his day a leading figure on the British legal scene, that we read that the English Bench "is exclusively composed of men who have grown up in the artificial atmosphere of the ruling class, the public school, the university, the well-provided apprenticeship to the Inns of Court, lucrative practice and the accumulation of wealth."

"None have ever suffered that excellent corrective of theoretical opinion, hunger for the price of a meal."

\* \* \*

Far from being "independent", the machinery of justice has in a capitalist society usually shown itself to be a reliable instrument of the ruling class. The ruling class has been able to maintain the facade of its "independence" because it has rarely felt any need to interfere.

We in Ghana are building a new society, a Socialist society, a society in which the ruling class will be not a small minority but the people as a whole.

But we are having to do so using a state machine inherited from a society with quite different aims, a state machine which was shaped to defend the interests of capitalism and colonialism.

These survivals of our colonial past frequently obstruct our advance. This is especially so in the case of the administration of justice.

There is a disquieting tendency in some of our higher courts to display an old-fashioned attitude to the very important task of administering the law of our nascent Socialist state.

In particular, there is a tendency to apply rules in such a way that guilty men escape conviction on the basis of purely technical irregularities in their trials. At the same time, enactments designed to remedy this state of affairs are not applied.

One gets the impression that some members of the judiciary see no distinction between the functions and duties of judges in the application of the law of a capitalist-colonialist ruling class to the anti-social activities of commercial men, and their functions and duties when applying to similar cases the law of our new, Socialist-orientated Ghana.

Among many illustrations of an indifferent and not-too-progressive attitude, one of the most striking, if not the most important, is the practice of the

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WE in Ghana are building a new Socialist society; this is a noble task, but it is no light one, for it involves among other things the re-moulding of every piece of our state apparatus to fit it for the swift development of our new work.

It involves, too, much re-moulding of our own minds, of the minds of all of us, so that we can both face our new tasks with a high Socialist morale and fill ourselves with a sense of urgency, a revolutionary elan, each single one of us understanding that he has an active part to play in the transformation of our society, to which he must devote every ounce of his vigour, his conscience, and his understanding.

**THE TASK**

Our task is rendered no easier by the circumstance that the old apparatus which we have to remould is not merely profoundly non-Socialist, but is also non-Ghanaian; what we inherited at independence was a purely British colonialist apparatus, created and maintained through all the colonial years in the interests of colonial exploitation.

To use clumsy words, we have not only to de-capitalise but also to de-colonialise the apparatus of the State.

One of the most important among many important component parts of the apparatus is the judicial system; and its remoulding is particularly difficult.

by A Spark Correspondent

Law and lawyers, including judges, are clearly a vital part of the machinery of government; and government is the government of the people in the interests of the ruling-class, whether that be, as hitherto, a small minority or, as we have now determined, the whole people.

Lawyers are too often conservative and "establishment-minded"; and judges tend to be a little more so than lawyers in general; it is not easy for them to accustom themselves to the idea of a new majority ruling-class of the whole people, or to the new Socialist conceptions of the principles they must follow, the justice they must administer, and the "law and order" they must maintain, in the new world into which they have been moved.

And for many of them the new tasks and principles are made more difficult to understand because their capitalist upbringing, especially their British capitalist upbringing, has imbued them both with the plausible but wholly erroneous concept that lawyers and judges are non-political, acting with complete impartiality as arbitrators between one litigant and another, including criminal litigation in which one of the parties is the State, acting as accuser of one or more of its citizens charged with crime, and with the equally baseless concept that justice is something abstract and

static and immutable, detached from the society in which it operates, and from that society's ideology.

The only justice they have hitherto known is in truth that of the capitalist (and indeed of the capitalist-colonialist) world; that is, it is the justice which capitalists, looking at the world through the spectacles of their own economic interests, hold to be just (and known to be extremely convenient to themselves).

They have passed most of their lives under capitalist ideology, with its "get-rich-quick" "morality", its acceptance of that "freedom", available "equally" to all who have the necessary resources and power to exploit and dominate their fellow-beings, and indeed to exploit and dominate—and to twist and swindle—the State itself and the law to their own anti-social purposes.

This has inevitably accustomed them to standards of conduct inadmissible to the cleaner morality of Socialism—and has accustomed them, too, to hearing the cut-throat doctrines of capitalist industry and commerce, wrapped up in fine if cloudy—and hypocritical—phrases about "even-handed justice" and the "rule of law", proclaimed as matters meriting general acceptance and approval.

Lawyers and judges have been persuaded, too, that the "independence of the judges"—in essence their



Chief Justice Sarkodee-Adoo

irremovability from their posts, (something of which the colonialist rulers boasted as a virtue whilst taking good care that it did not exist in reality) forms part of the safeguards of popular rights and liberties.

In truth, so long as the judges remain under the influence of the capitalist conceptions under which they have been brought up, the degree of independence which they possess serves mainly to strengthen them in their (perhaps unconscious) tendency to apply fully many of the old capitalist technicalities which lead to the upsetting

of convictions of obviously guilty men on technical grounds which have in earlier cases commended themselves to judges who, with their capitalist backgrounds, were but little shocked by the predatory and anti-social activities of "smart" commercial operators.

One can sympathise with the judges, who have a tremendous task of adjustment to undergo to make themselves harmonious and consistent parts of the new morality.

One cannot believe that they will wish to continue to serve a State which has definitely embarked on Socialist reconstruction unless they themselves renounce the old discarded principles of colonialist-flavoured capitalism.

Surely they sincerely desire to serve the new State and its principle effectively; and for that they have to re-orientate their thoughts and conceptions in every aspect of their work of administering the law.



Justice Nii Amaa Ollenu



Justice Acolatse



Justice Azu Crabbe



Justice Mills-Odoi

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# Birth of Alphabet

FOR nearly 110 years May 24th has been celebrated as the day of Bulgaria's education and culture, the birthday of the Cyrillic alphabet, created eleven centuries ago by two monks, the brothers Cyril and Methodius.

The Cyrillic alphabet marked a turning point in the development of Slav culture. It became a decisive factor in the promotion and consolidation by Slav unity.

With its help, the people of the Slav countries were able to record their traditions, move rapidly along the road of progress, and take a firm stand

against foreign influences, political and ideological, whose harmful effect had been felt for centuries.

In those early days many in Europe sincerely believed that a nation could build up its culture only through one of three languages: Latin, Greek or Hebrew.

For this reason those who created the new Slav alphabet were denounced as the apostles of something potentially dangerous to the world of learning.

But the new Slav alphabet found fertile soil for development in Bulgaria. It was here that it flourished and bore its first fruits. The 9th century is known as "the golden age of

Bulgarian culture".

Once firmly established in Bulgaria, what is known as the Cyrillic alphabet quickly spread and was adopted in other Slav countries, especially Russia.

This year, the people of Bulgaria—a country which for centuries languished under foreign rule—celebrate the cultural achievements won since they took the socialist road after the Second World War.

Take education. Primary education is now compulsory for all under the age of 15, and they are expected to finish 8 classes, and almost all who finish the 8th grade now go on to secondary schools.

Vocational training is widespread. Bulgaria's education system has been arranged to give opportunities to two-thirds of all secondary school pupils, both boys and girls, or some training which will fit them for some definite jobs or profession.

## UNIVERSITIES

University students always take a prominent part in the May 24th celebrations.

Bulgaria has 26 educational institutions of university standing and a student body totalling 80,000. This gives her third place in the world with respect to university enrolment relative to population, after the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. with 100 university students per 10,000 of the population.

More than 50 per cent of the university students study some branch of engineering, and more than half have state, municipal, factory, co-operative farm or other scholarships. University education in Bulgaria is entirely free.

More than 1,400 students from many countries have come to Bulgaria for their university training, representing peoples and nations from the most distant parts of the world.

During the past few years literature, science and the arts have made unprecedented progress. Our singers and musicians have taken successful part in international contests, and Bulgaria's name has come high up on the list of the musical and operatic world.

These encouraging successes are above all due to the fact that amateur art and local factory, folk song and dance, theatrical and other ensembles give thousands of industrial workers, civil servants, young people serving in the army and co-operative farmers, the opportunity to show and develop their natural talents. These amateur art groups tour the countryside and meet in district, regional and national festivals.

These groups are the most eloquent illustration of the democratic trends in the development of Bulgaria's national culture. It stems for the people in every walk of life and is at the same time made to serve the interests of the people in town and country.

## SOCIALISM AND THE JUDICIARY

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Nor must anyone think for a moment that the task of the judges in the new society is rendered simple because the interpretation and application of the law, and the decision of question of facts, are so firmly hedged about by law and precedents that any outlook or subconscious desires or prejudices of the judges will have little scope for operation.

The truth is quite different; the judges are not like engineers who drive a train without having to worry about the politics of their passengers or their motives for travelling.

On the contrary, day by day and case by case, they have to make rulings, and to follow—or find reasons for not following—precedents, and to interpret enactments and every time they do so they are helping or hindering the steering of the law in one direction or another, towards progress or against the stream of progress, towards the acquittal of the guilty on technical grounds, or towards the full application of legislation designed to secure the conviction of the guilty in spite of technical irregularities in the proceedings.

There is so much that judges not merely can do, but in fact cannot help doing, that has a profound effect on

the growth of that living organism, the law.

For example, there is the extent to which they will go in "legislation by case-law", the attitude they may adopt to trade union practices and principles and to the impact of the law thereon—something which their English colleagues in particular have never appeared to understand—the sympathy which they may or may not show towards the innumerable devices of tax-evasion by people of approximately their own income levels, and the degree of abhorrence which they will show towards traders, large or small, who have carried the principles of "free enterprise" and of "all's fair in commerce and profit-seeking" too far.

All this can cumulatively have a tremendous effect in determining how the law is to develop and to be applied, and thus in how the rich and the unscrupulous are to get ahead, or fail to get ahead of the ordinary run of people in the activities of daily life.

How are the judges shaping up to their new tasks in the new era? It is of course not easy to generalise, but certainly a certain number of decisions in the Supreme Court have given the impression that the law has been applied much too strictly, in accordance with

old capitalist attitudes, with the result that plainly guilty men have escaped punishment on purely technical grounds more appropriate to capitalist life in the early twentieth century than to a modern Socialist country desiring that justice should be sincerely served by the conviction of the guilty.

Indeed, there have been cases in which the no-doubt unconscious zeal of the judges for old-fashioned technicalities has led to their interpreting enactments expressly passed for the purpose of preventing acquittals on technical grounds with such restrictive effect as to destroy the whole purpose of the legislation—leaving the legislature with no option but to make further enactments which shall be even more unmistakable and inescapable.

There have been cases, too, in which the Courts have shown an apparent readiness to apply not merely old-fashioned English capitalist conceptions but even English decisions to the law of Ghana, even when its express provisions are manifestly different from the English.

Certainly, the task of re-adjusting the apparatus of the law, and those who man it, to the new society, has some way to go yet.

## AGGRESSION CONTINUES

THE whole world welcomes the decision of the Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity, to hold from July 14 to 20, 1965 a "Week of support for the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the safeguarding of national independence and peace".

U.S. imperialism has violated the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam and launched a war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, air and naval raids against the Demo-

cratic Republic of Vietnam, and massacres of the Vietnamese people by bombing peaceful towns and villages and the use of napalm bombs and toxic gas.

The Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity at the Winneba Ideological Institute resolved that:

1. While Vietnam is still divided into two zones, military dispositions of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 should be respected to the letter; neither zone should join any military alliance with foreign States nor accept bases, troops and foreign military personnel on their territories.

2. The affairs of South Vietnam should be settled only by the people of South Vietnam themselves, according to the programme of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, without any foreign intervention. The peaceful reunification of Vietnam must be accomplished by the people of the two zones, without any foreign interference.

The Conference warned U.S. imperialism that every act designed to extend the war will be met by the resolute resistance of the Afro-Asian peoples and all peoples of the world, and that the path of escalation of war, chosen by U.S. imperialism, can only lead to suicide.

Reports of the successes of

the Front of National Liberation of South Vietnam were given by the Vietnam delegates to the Winneba Conference. They announced that the F.N.L. now controls four-fifths of the territory and has liberated 10 million South Vietnamese.

In spite of the cruel war and continual raids and bombing, the F.N.L. has taken important measures to improve the living conditions of the people in the liberated areas.

For example under the agrarian reform, about two million hectares of land have been distributed to the poor peasants.

People in many countries of the world are responding to the Front's emergency appeal for donations for first-aid and medical supplies. These supplies are urgently needed to deal with the effects of weapons using jagged steel fragments and gas, napalm, phosphorus and other chemicals, which the Americans are employing against the Vietnamese people.

A typical first-aid pack containing dressing, scissors, a torch with batteries and safety pins costs 25s. while organisations or groups can collect about £30 to a complete outfit; £20 would buy an anaesthetist's pack.

All peace loving people of the world demand an end to U.S. intervention in Vietnam and an unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces.



10th May: GHANA: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has opened the fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba.

\* The All-African Trade Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.) and the International Confederation of the Arab Trade Unions (ICATU) have signed an agreement of co-operation between the two organisations.

\* The All-African Trade Union Federation has strongly condemned the wicked acts of aggression committed by the United States against the people of the Dominican Republic and called for immediate effective steps for the withdrawal of American troops.

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has said he would send a mediation mission to West Africa to discuss the threatened boycott of the September Accra Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) with African Heads of State and Government.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: A teenage African Emerson Dambudzo, has been sentenced to ten years jail at racist court in Salisbury for allegedly dynamiting a railway engine at Fort Victoria last August.

NOUAKCHOTT: Former Congo (Leopoldville) Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, has said at Nouakchott, Mauritania, that he does not think that the admission of Leopoldville into the 14-Nation Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (O.C.A.M.) is the way to restore peace in the Congo.

SUDAN: Sirr EL Khatim Kalifa, Sudan's Prime Minister, has agreed to become Speaker of the Sudanese Constituent Assembly.

SENEGAL: The Senegal Chief delegate at the United Nations, Mr. Diop, has called for an immediate meeting of the Security Council to discuss the recent violations of his country's territory and airspace by Portugal.

11th MAY. GHANA: The deputy Clerk of

the National Assembly has said that, the National Assembly is to hold its last Session next Tuesday the 18th before the proposed general election in July.

SIERRA-LEONE: Mr. I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson, a veteran Pan-Africanist, author and journalist who was on Sierra Leone delegation to the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at Winneba, Accra, is reported to have died in a car accident in Ghana.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda has announced that his Government will not recognise Ian Smith's regime because the regime has refused to recognise principle of majority rule.

NIGERIA: The Nigeria Federal Supreme Court will give judgment in Lagos today in the appeal of Chief Anthony Enahoro against his 15 years sentence in 1963 for plotting the overthrow of the Nigerian Government.

BURUNDI: Voting starts today in Burundi under compulsion or face a fine of 100 francs (about seven shillings) prescribed for registered electors who fail to cast their votes in the two-day general elections.

CAMEROUN: A trade agreement between Algeria and Cameroun has been signed in Yaounde by Mr. Jazairi, head of the Economic Affairs of the Algerian Foreign Ministry and Mr. Rostand, Cameroun's Ambassador to Algeria.

ALGERIA: President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan will visit Algeria and probably some other African countries during a four-week tour next month, it has been announced in Karachi.

GHANA: The Ghana High Commission in Lagos has said the people of Ghana have long memory and are not likely to forget soon the suffering perpetuated by Dr. K. A. Busia's defunct and reactionary National Liberation Movement.

SOUTH AFRICA: British aircraft engineers have been asked to boycott job offers from fascist South Africa because of the Republic's apartheid policy. Mr. Clive Jenkins, General Secretary

of the Association of Supervisory staffs, executives and technicians has announced.

12th MAY. GHANA: Material is been collected for the first three volumes of the Encyclopaedia Africana to be published by 1970. Mr. L. W. Hesse, research officer at the Encyclopaedia Africana Secretariat, has said in Accra today.

NIGERIA: A Nigerian daily has said that if Nigeria accuses Ghana that its capital, Accra is a city of "Wanted persons" why should Nigeria allow people like K. A. Busia, the most wanted man in Ghana to make political statements on Nigerian soil.

\*It has been announced in Lagos today that several people were injured when the Nigerian police opened fire after being attacked by rioters armed with bows and arrows in a village in the Northern Region at the weekend.

SOUTH AFRICA: Leeds University in Britain has decided to boycott a ceremony to honour South African Settler multi-Millionaire, Mr. Harry F. Oppenheimer, who is to receive the university's honorary degree on May 20.

CONGO: The Lumumbist National Congolese Movement (M.N.C.L.) has appealed against Leopoldville's controversial election results declared in three provinces of the Congo (Leopoldville) Kwiku, North Katanga and East Katanga.

MOROCCO: President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria has met King Hassan of Morocco for talks which officials hope will help settle remaining differences between their two countries.

CAMEROUN: The Vice-President of the Cameroun Federal Republic Mr. John Foncha has resigned his post as premier of the country's Western Region.

13th MAY. KENYA: The Kenya Government has called on Britain to intervene in Southern Rhodesia to prevent any unilateral declaration of independence. A Government statement broadcast said today.

TANZANIA: Tanzania has told the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees (U.N.H.C.R.) in Geneva that she would permit a further 1,700 Rwanda refugees to be transferred from Congo (Leopoldville) to Tanzania.

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## EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

Supreme Court (which has enough judges to staff three divisions sitting simultaneously) of seldom sitting in more than one division at a time.

Meanwhile delays in bringing cases to hearing—delays which entail innumerable defects and disadvantages for litigants and the State alike—are piling up.

This easy-going attitude shows a regrettable indifference to the public interest which would be natural enough in an old capitalist state, but is wholly unfitted to the urgency and devotion to duty called for by Socialist morality.

Every part of the inherited machinery of our state is to a certain extent on probation before a critical public, and none of those who man it can afford to be complacent or indifferent. In particular, those who man the judiciary, a most important and a most sensitive branch of our machinery, should be "on their toes" to serve the new state zealously and in full accordance with its Socialist morality.



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# Declaration and Resolutions from Afro-Asian Conference

**THE** Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, meeting in Winneba, Ghana, from May 9th to 16th, 1965, and attended by delegates representing 70 countries, including political parties organisations and observers, speaks for the overwhelming majority of mankind.

The Fourth Conference expresses its grateful appreciation for the manner in which the President and the People of Ghana have extended their hospitality and resources to ensure the success of this Conference.

It expresses its thanks for the inspiring address with which President Nkrumah opened the Conference, and pre-

which will be acceptable to the majority of mankind. Continued armed aggression and armed intervention by the imperialists as in the case of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo are completely at variance with their claims that they are prepared to abide by the principles of co-existence.

On any other conditions, peaceful co-existence is meaningless, and can only hinder the struggles of oppressed peoples for national

aggression calculated to consolidate the neo-colonialist exploitation of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the Congo and to establish a neo-colonialist bastion against the liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique.

The intervention by the imperialists in the Congo constitutes a threat to the peace of Africa, and therefore, to the peace of the world, which will continue until the downfall of this Tsho-

The maintenance of these bases requires political control of the countries where they are established. Imperialism must therefore impose and support reactionary and corrupt regimes in those areas where it maintains its military bases. The struggle to dismantle imperialist bases is directly linked, and cannot be divorced from the struggles for national liberation. In the case of Taiwan, it must be regarded as a struggle against the reactionary regimes of

corrupt regimes like Tshombe's in Africa, like those of the military juntas in Latin America, like those of governments which encourage the exploitation of their own people by giving control of their economies to imperialist interests, can only be ended by ending economic exploitation as neo-colonialism has become the main instrument of economic exploitation.

The Conference asserts that, the catastrophic consequences and perhaps total extinction of humanity as a result of nuclear warfare demands an immediate undertaking by all nations to destroy all their nuclear weapons and to dismantle and abandon all the means of producing nuclear weapons.

The Conference considers that there is no way to lift the threat of humanity's extinction through nuclear war except by complete general nuclear disarmament.

The Fourth Conference wholeheartedly supports all Conferences and meetings which aim at closing the ranks of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist forces in the world. We hail the non-aligned Conference of Cairo and the forthcoming Conference of Heads of African and Asian States to be held in Algeria in July. We fully support the International Youth Festival to be organised in Algeria in July and the meeting of the Heads of African States scheduled in Accra in September. The imperialists and their agents are sparing no effort to undermine the September Conference and Ghana has been the subject of virulent attacks and accusations. The imperialists are against the unity of the Africans, just as they are against the unity of the Afro-Asian and of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world. In the face of these continuing imperialist plots and manoeuvres the Conference pledges its support to the efforts of the O.A.U. for the establishment of a Union Government of Africa.

This is why the Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity finds it vital to strengthen and consolidate the unity of Afro-Asian peoples and of all progressive forces. In order to promote unity, we deem it desirable that all Afro-Asian peoples struggling against imperialism should be duly represented at every Afro-Asian gathering. This call for unity should be given the widest possible coverage. We are aware that the road is strewn with difficulties, but we are convinced that our cause will triumph; we know that it is only with the consolidation of our ranks and the unification of our struggle that we can succeed.

We are fully convinced and aware that ours is a wide popular Movement closely linked with all national revolutionary and progressive anti-imperialist forces the world over, fully aware that this is the natural state of things as dictated by history, by the common aims of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, for full national liberation and independence, the safeguarding and establishment of world peace and economic, social and cultural development.

We are deeply convinced that solidarity between the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is a historical

necessity dictated by the common heritage and common aspirations. Since our meeting in 1961 in Bandung we have always called for constructive action towards Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity.

The Fourth Conference has now taken a decisive positive step in concretising this broad mass movement of solidarity. The Conference decided to hold the First Conference of Peoples' Solidarity between the Three Continents in Havana, Cuba, on the anniversary of the Independence of Cuba, 6th January 1966. The meeting of the preparatory committee for this Conference will be held in Cairo, on 1st of September to take final measures of preparations to the Conference.

**LONG LIVE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY  
LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE.**

**O.A.U.**

**THE** IVth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, convened in Winneba from May 9 to 16, 1965.

The Fourth Conference welcomes the next summit of the O.A.U. in Accra. In spite of all manoeuvres of subversion and diversion of the enemies of African Freedom and Unity, we are confident in the spirit of the responsibility and of the sense of dignity of every African to make this great African meeting a big success.

**CONTINENTAL UNION GOVERNMENT**

**THE** IVth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, Conference convened in Winneba, Ghana, from May 9 to 16, 1965.

CONSIDERING the necessity for the mobilisation of the entire human and material resources of Africa to enable Africa's economic development to reach an effective stage;

CONSCIOUS that there is a need for all the fundamental problems facing independent African States to be solved if African States should move together as one force to drive out imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonial bondage and rule;

CONSIDERING that a united Africa will be in a better position to make Africa a more powerful ally of the Asian peoples in their own struggles against imperialism and make Africa an effective force for world peace, and considering that the O.A.U. is the most effective means of combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

PLEDGES its support to the Organisation of African Unity and to efforts being made to establish Continental Union Government for Africa and that O.A.U. Summit Conference in Accra in September, 1965 will establish a Continental Union Government for Africa.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)**

**THE** IVth Conference calls for:

I. Support the South Rhodesian people in their just struggle against the racist minority;

2. All the Afro-Asian country members of the British Commonwealth to withdraw from that body unless Britain takes definite steps to bring the White minority to senses and to assure a Government by the majority.

3. In case of Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the White racist minority, the Conference calls for:

— Immediate recognition of an African Government in Exile.

— Severing of diplomatic and trade relations with the White Minority Government of Southern Rhodesia;

— Immediate supply of war equipment and finance to the said Government—in Exile;

— The Afro-Asian countries to render any assistance necessary to the countries neighbouring to Zimbabwe in order to assure their security and national independence, and especially the country from where the said Government-in-Exile will be operating.

**BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA**

I. Considering that the United Nations resolutions regarding the application of total boycott and economic sanctions on South Africa have not been wholeheartedly implemented by all Afro-Asian countries, and

2. Realising that the South African Apartheid regime is consolidating its grip on the legitimate people of the land.

3. Do hereby resolve that all Afro-Asian countries should apply and intensify the boycott of goods of South African origin and economic sanctions against South Africa.

**"FRENCH" SOMALILAND**

**THE** IVth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, convened in Winneba from May 9 to 16, 1965.

**THE CONFERENCE,**

After examining the facts and the conditions under which the Somali people in Djibouti are suffering oppression, subjugation, domination and the hold of French Colonialism and its allies,

DENOUNCES and condemns imperialist presence in Djibouti and staunchly supports and backs the Somali people in Djibouti who aspire to freedom, independence and Somali unity.

IS INDIGNANT & PROTESTS against the arrests and imprisonment of freemen on false charges that are nothing but their quest to recover dignity, and national sovereignty.

DECLARES its solidarity with freemen in Djibouti and supports them with all possible means till they realise their aims and demands their immediate release.

The Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' fully supports the right of the Somali territories to self-determination so that they could realise their national aims for freedom and over-all Somali unity.

The Conference condemns the Collusion between reactionary imperialism, and

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*A Section of the delegates to the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held at Winneba, Ghana, from 9th to 16th May, 1965.*

sented the problems, aims and aspirations of the majority of mankind in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in their determination to defeat this enemy of mankind, and to bring peace and prosperity to all the peoples on earth.

The Fourth Conference realizes that it is meeting during a critical stage of the struggle between the mass of humanity and the imperialist forces who seek to maintain their system of exploitation by economic and military means. It meets when the neo-colonialist devices to rob the developing world of its material resources are being perfected to the point of surpassing the old methods of direct colonial exploitation. It meets when the emergence of forces of liberation in areas still controlled by the imperialists through corrupt regimes or colonial garrisons, has driven the imperialists to open military intervention in some parts of the world, and when it threatens to intervene with military forces to suppress all liberation movements and all wars of liberation.

The Conference rejects absolutely, without any qualifications whatsoever, the claims of the United States or any other imperialist power, that it has the right to intervene for any conceivable reason in the affairs of an independent State or in the struggles of peoples in any country to establish a government or social or economic system of their own choosing. The peoples represented at this Conference will oppose with all the power at their command any such intervention or interference in any part of the world where independence or national liberation is threatened or hindered by the imperialists.

This Conference affirms absolutely that only the principles of non-interference and non-intervention can make the principle of peaceful co-existence a reality

liberation. This Conference demands the immediate withdrawal of all the armed forces of the United States from Vietnam and from South East Asia. This Conference demands the dismantling of all imperialist bases in Asia, and an end to the encirclement of the Peoples' Republic of China.

This Conference regards the bombing of North Vietnam and the imperialist war against the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam as criminal military adventures which threaten to escalate into a world nuclear conflict. In order to prevent this supreme disaster to humanity and to halt the aggression of the imperialists throughout the world, this Conference calls on the people of the United States to halt its war-mongers by decisive action.

This Conference calls on peoples everywhere to prevent their governments from lending material or moral support to United States imperialism in its aggression against the people of Vietnam. It calls on all peoples to demonstrate their implacable opposition to the war being conducted by the imperialists against the people of Vietnam.

This Conference denounces the intervention of the United States, Belgium and Great Britain in the affairs of the Congo Republic. It regards the assault of Belgian paratroopers in Stanleyville to have been an act of war against the Congolese people. It maintains that the South African, Rhodesian, and other white mercenaries employed by Moise Tshombe are an international mercenary force hired and paid by the imperialists. It regards the anti-Castro Cuban mercenaries who bomb the Congolese people from aircraft supplied by the United States as the hirelings of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. It regards the imperialist support for the Tshombe regime in the Congo as an act of

mbe regime and the rise of a democratic Republic in the Congo.

This Conference condemns the intervention of U.S. imperialism against the people of the Dominican Republic in its efforts to rid itself of a corrupt and tyrannical military junta, and to establish a democratic government. It calls on the United States to withdraw its marines and allow the people of the Dominican Republic to choose their own government.

It calls on the peoples of Latin America to put pressure on those governments which are collaborating with U.S. imperialism under the cloak of carrying out the policies of the Organization of American States.

This Conference decides to extend its solidarity to the peoples of Latin America and to put into immediate effect measures in organizing and consolidating this solidarity. It realizes that the peoples of Latin America have been subjected to interventions and assault on their freedom by U.S. imperialism for nearly a hundred years such as we are witnessing in the Dominican Republic and it regards the co-operation and help of the Latin American peoples with peoples of Africa and Asia, as a great step forward in the liberation of mankind.

This Conference regards the open armed interventions in Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic, as the advanced stages of a process of intervention which is taking place in Malaysia, Cyprus, Palestine, Libya, Jordan and Japan and other parts of the world where imperialists have established military bases and imperialist bastions constructed to threaten the security of Indonesia and to guard the imperialist interests in South Asia. The other bases and regimes are maintained to threaten the Arab world and to secure the forces of imperialism east of Suez.

Chiang-Kai-Sheik. In the case of Israel, as a struggle for the national rights of the Palestine Arabs driven out by Israel.

The Conference regards the struggle of the Palestine Arabs against Israel as a just and inevitable struggle against imperialism. In the case of Japan, the struggle to end U.S. military bases must be regarded as a struggle for democracy and social justice by the people of Japan.

This Conference denounces the infamous and intolerable policies of apartheid practised by the white settlers in South Africa and Zimbabwe, and the fascist rule of Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, the national liberation struggles under colonial and imperialist rule in Africa, must be regarded as the struggles of all the people represented at this Conference.

This Conference endorses the appeal of President Kwame Nkrumah to regard the struggles of the freedom fighters of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and other areas still held under colonial or foreign occupation as just and holy struggles which must be pursued to the point of wars of national liberation. This Conference supports all such wars as their own wars inextricably linked with their own freedom. The Conference agrees with the views of President Nkrumah when opening its proceedings, that all the wars, aggressions and interventions of imperialism, its maintenance of military bases in foreign lands and its support for cruel and corrupt dictatorship spring from, and are dictated by economic exploitation. They are now the instruments of neo-colonialism as they were once of direct colonial occupation. The struggle for peace, therefore, and the struggle for political independence and human rights and our struggle against

# Socialism and the Intellectual

by A Spark Correspondent

**THE building of a Socialist society involves basic social changes affecting the lives of every individual. The economic changes which bring the means of production, distribution and exchange into common ownership, demand also the most skilful planning of the material and human resources of the country.**

Political changes transform the state into one serving the needs of all working people by hand and by brain. This affects society in general but it cannot leave untouched the lives of individuals who make it up.

Their social relations, their personal relationships, even their moral standards and judgements are affected or influenced by these profound developments.

## INTELLECTUAL

Although this article seeks to discuss one or two of the ways in which intellectuals are affected by socialism, we reject the idea, which is often prevalent, that it is only intellectuals who are faced with challenges, who have to undergo experiences which are not always comfortable.

Industrial workers, farmers, clerks, civil servants, shop assistants, all kinds of workers have to meet the new circumstances and challenges that Socialism brings in its wake. It is simply arrogant to assume that they are less profoundly affected than intellectuals. It is merely that the forms the problems take are different.

Socialism demands from the intellectual, as from any other worker a higher sense of responsibility towards his profession than capitalist society demands.

For the first time attempts are being made to plan the economy so that the ever rising material and cultural needs of the people can be satisfied.

The achievement of this, the basic feature of socialism, calls for large numbers of economists, scientists, mathematicians, engineers, architects, technicians of all kinds, who will be constantly discovering the actual resources of the country and be involved in utilising them to the full, so that increased living standards can be achieved and can constantly expand.

The demand for increased numbers of such workers creates the need for many more universities, colleges and schools. The need for teachers in a socialist society is tremendous and always growing.

## CHALLENGE

Meeting the material needs of the people, for more and better food, for more and better houses, for the building of new towns and cities, for improved means of communications, more consumer goods of all kinds, is a new challenge to economists, planners, research workers, scientists and technicians.

It is only under socialist conditions that the necessary political and economic relations exist where resources can be utilised to meet the needs of the majority for the first time, untrammelled by the conditions of private capitalist production and ownership.

This is a new stage of human history with many new and complex problems to be solved. The intellectual at this stage of socialist development is privileged to take part in such fundamental, exciting and historic work. It is an important extension of his influence and freedom.

We want material values to expand, not for private profit, or for their own sakes, but for the sake of men and women, to enable them to live fuller lives and to develop their

talents and abilities to the full.

The social services are an essential feature of socialism. Health workers, doctors, nurses, medical research workers are required in large numbers so that people can be freed from the misery of disease and ill health.

Socialist medicine sees the need not only to cure illness but to create conditions in which illness can be prevented. Thus socialist societies need many more doctors and nurses and health workers and scientists who will not only cure disease but go out actively to investigate the natural and social conditions which cause disease, and develop the means to prevent it.

But socialism does not only need the expansion of material wealth in the simple sense of providing tangible products which the people use, it also aims to increase man's leisure, so that he can develop his talents in a many sided way, in the arts, in sport, in hobbies and interests of all kinds.

The opening up of all kinds of new activities to the mass of the people also calls for intellectual workers who will bring the means for these new experiences.

## CULTURAL HERITAGE

The cinema, radio and television, drama, literature, music, the visual arts constitute a cultural heritage which becomes more widely available to the people and any socialist state takes special measures to ensure that all cultural activity expands and grows, calling on increasing numbers of writers, artists, producers, historians, linguists, and critics.

It is this growing cultural opportunity that opens for millions of people the perspective of a life with quite new, more exciting, indeed more truly human qualities than they have ever experienced before.

The search of man to express his view of his relationships with nature, with society and with individual fellow human beings through forms of art now includes not a limited few privileged artists and a restricted audience, but is now thrown open for the widest participation of all who wish to respond to this particular form of human activity.

It follows from all this therefore, that in a socialist society, the number of intellectuals develops rapidly and the social responsibilities of the intellectual increase. For most doctors and scientists, for most teachers, and artists this will be a welcome development, they can work now in conditions which are determined by general social needs released from the restrictions imposed by profit motives.

In our previous article we dealt with the concept of elitism which is a characteristic view of many intellectuals brought up under capitalism. Many of them will resent perhaps the idea that they are now going to be joined by many more intellectuals in their field, they shelter behind their sense of superiority because they hesitate to face the problems of adapting their skills and knowledge to new demands.

## CLOSE LINKS

Familiar only with the individual, anarchic methods of work in bourgeois intellectual circles, they shrink from collective discussion of their work and from collective responsibility.

There are a number of ways in which this can be approached. The development of close links between theory and practice which is so necessary if socialism is actually to be constructed rather than simply talked about, brings intellectuals into contact with other kinds of workers.

Elitism develops not only because the elite is better paid

or has better living conditions generally, it exists because the elite has been taught to despise other forms of work.

To gain knowledge of manual work and manual workers, and agricultural and industrial productive processes is to learn profound respect for the manual worker.

## LABOUR

The farmer, the craftsman, the industrial worker develop their skills, unique to their productive activities, born of long experience and the exercise of their intelligence.

Labour is the source of wealth, all forms of labour, manual, as well as intellectual, are vital for the very existence of society, all merit respect.

To break down the social isolation of intellectual workers is very important and socialist forms of the organisation of production should increasingly bring them into contact with workers in other spheres of life. In such contact mutual respect is developed and elitist concepts are broken down.

Modern conditions of production with increasingly complex industrial processes, and highly developed machines, actually necessitate a worker of a new kind... one who increasingly needs to be highly educated in sciences and technology if he is to be able to operate machines efficiently.

The barrier between intellectual and manual work shrinks in face of the advance of new scientific techniques applied to production. Consequently the basis exists in social production for the breakdown of isolationist elitist concepts held dear by the old fashioned intellectual.

## OPPORTUNITIES

The increases in the numbers of people who are able to take advantage of the growing opportunities for education which socialism brings, means that students will come more frequently from homes and families where it has not been customary up to now for their members to receive higher education.

Thus a higher proportion of students will come from the families of farmers and workers, most of them free from the elitist prejudices of the previously narrowly restricted social circle from which most intellectuals have been drawn.

There are also intellectuals who simply do not want to use their skills and abilities for the social good and who take refuge in anti-humanist philosophies, and cynical denigration of ordinary people. They want to use a 'laissez faire' philosophy in disposing of their own talents.

## SOCIALISM

These people need to be shown in practice, concretely, the real satisfactions that most professional workers gain in pursuing their work under the best conditions for its development, socialism, where they are freed from the demands of capitalist industry and or philosophies as we outlined in our previous article.

In addition they should be forcibly reminded by their colleagues, or teachers, by the press and the Party and the people that their training has been made possible by the labour of hundreds of ordinary men and women.

The actual material values they have consumed in the course of being trained and educated have not come out of thin air, but have been produced by somebody's hard work by social labour.

If they adopt a negative attitude to their responsibilities, then society has every right to adopt a negative attitude to

their claims for education, support, recognition and reward; 'laissez faire' can operate in two directions.

Intellectuals therefore, under socialism have great opportunities for education, training and for using their hard won skills and knowledge; the fact that they have been given these opportunities confers privileges and society, namely ordinary men and women, has the right expect the fulfilment of duties.

It is against such a background of the recognition of duties that one can attempt to face up to the problem of which exercises many intellectuals, and one which anti-socialists exaggerate and emphasize.

## FEAR

Intellectuals are important in a socialist country because their skills are required to be applied to practical problems, both material problems and cultural problems.

The fear of "being told what to do" appears to loom large in the minds particularly of those intellectuals who are not scientists.

For the scientist there are so many obviously urgent calls for his skills that he is in danger

of having too wide a choice.

For the intellectual concerned with the arts, with cultural and philosophical problems the difficulty appears to be greater. Let us dismiss for the obvious absurdity that it is, the fear of "being told what to think". Nobody can force anyone to think in a certain way, the problem arises over actions.

## MAJORITY

It may frequently arise that an individual intellectual has views, or has done work which puts him in a minority. Obviously it is wrong to prevent his trying to demonstrate his point, to argue his case, to try to prove that he is right, but it does not follow that his rights, that of a minority, are greater than those of the majority.

Generally, in practice the majority have more possibility of being right because collectively they are in contact with a wider field of reality, they reflect social knowledge and therefore while the minority has and must have their rights protected, it is not, because of this very fact, more important.

The professional channels for discussion, for exchange of

ideas, for testing out theories and discoveries must be developed and preserved and, they must be developed and preserved by individuals with the determination and courage to, be a minority, to challenge bureaucrats and conservative attitudes.

We cannot respect people who moan about their problems but who evade moral responsibility for action—the only way to bring about changes. This may incur unpopularity.

For socialists, for revolutionaries, that is a familiar experience. Socialists after all, in capitalist society, indeed all reformers, all those who were at some stage in a minority, had to be prepared to show guts and fight for what they believe.

## PROBLEMS

Workers in capitalist society had to do this for the most elementary rights for decent working conditions and a living wage, there is no reason why intellectuals who respect ideas and theory, art and culture should not be prepared to fight for what they believe to be correct.

They must be required to fight for them in a democratic and principled way, just as the majority must be required to safeguard the forms of con-

ducting controversy in a principled way too.

Obviously only children believe that there will be a solution to all problems under socialism. A society without problems is a dead society and intellectuals like all workers will find themselves involved in struggle under socialism. They will find themselves involved in struggle against the old forces, even those who want socialism to succeed, but who have not recognised the need for particular changes and adjustments, and they will find intellectuals ranged on both sides of the controversies.

## FREE DEVELOPMENT

It is a reflection of the splits and divisions in social and intellectual life under capitalism that this problem should be a major one for some intellectuals who accept capitalist values, who are unable to respond, as yet to the stimulus of a new society.

Socialism operates at a higher more civilised level in which man's essential humanity to man can be developed. It elevates the principles of mutual service, mutual responsibility and alone develops conditions where the free development of society is the condition for the free development of all, including the intellectuals.

establishment of the Plan and the elaboration and putting into practice the various measures necessary to its realization which must intervene at the level of current economic and social structures... In the framework of an economy that is being

truly developed according to a plan, techniques develop over a wide area of the economic, social and political fields".

Those who have followed the author's work to date will not be disappointed by this, his latest work.

## BOOK REVIEW:

### Economics and Socialism

**THE first to appear in the "Economics and Socialism" series, Charles Bettelheim's "Planification et croissance accelerees" (Editions Francois Maspero) is a collection of articles and unpublished studies. The author argues that an under-developed economy can itself provide the means of growth and should refuse to follow the path taken by the already industrialized countries in order to catch up with them.**

After political independence, the second condition for economic and social progress is economic independence, which means the expropriation of foreign capital and the nationalization of foreign mines, banks and other enterprises.

A profound social transformation is also necessary which must lead to the disappearance of parasitic classes or those tied to imperialism. In the struggle against under-development, the State must play a dominant role.

In this connection it is evidently important to have political cadres imbued with a clear knowledge of the necessary aims and priorities. There must be strict liaison between

leaders and the people; this cannot happen if development policy serves the interests of a limited section of the population.

The author describes his proposals for a Five-Year Plan. This requires specialist knowledge on the part of the reader.

His study of the economic surplus as a basic factor in a development policy is no less specialised, but his conclusion leads to a truism: the greater the surplus, the more the society is free to decide its own future, provided that the former is used nationally.

He discusses the theoretical problems, poses the economic calculations underlying the whole plan, long-term perspectives, "investments of rationalization and modernization", problems of work and consumption, research and social objectives.

Professor Bettelheim finally deals with planning techniques.

In a short review, we cannot deal with this at length or with his authority and will simply quote his conclusion:

"... Planning techniques are not limited, as is sometimes thought, purely to preparing the Plan. In fact, they concern simultaneously the collection of data necessary for its preparation, the elaboration of projects, the verification of the latter, the

## DIARY

Continued from page 2

erning people's party has collected 445,644 or 92.08 per cent, of the votes cast in last Sunday's general election, the Interior Ministry has announced in Nouakchott.

**TANZANIA:** The Tanganyika African National Union will hold a special annual convention in Dar-es-Salaam on June 1. Afro-Shirazi Party will attend the convention.

**NIGERIA:** Earl Moutbatten has arrived in Lagos at the head of a British Government special mission to discuss Commonwealth immigration into Britain.

**14th MAY:**

**GHANA:** The Nigerian Chief

delegate to the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference has associated himself with the view expressed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah that the membership of the Afro-Asian movement should not be restricted.

**TANZANIA:** The Tanzanian delegate to the United Nations Disarmament Commission Mr. John S. Malesela, has said that apartheid South Africa and Portugal had "embarked on a course of destruction to all the Black African States which are opposed to their racist regimes based on apartheid and white imperialist domination".

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** A former Chief Justice of the now defunct Rhodesian Federation, Sir Robert Tredgold, has admitted in London without the slightest doubt, that an explosive situation exists in Southern Rhodesia.

## Afro-Asian Solidarity Resolutions

Continued from Page 3

French imperialism and its lackeys which seeks to maintain the session of Djibouti from the rest of Somaliland. It has become doubtless clear that all the Somali people wish to realise their independence and unity, and the Conference supports this just objective.

The 4th Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference after reviewing the situation in the Dominican Republic as a result of US imperialist aggression, strongly denounces the crimes of armed brazen aggression against the Dominican Republic, and brands the sanguinary suppression of the Dominican people, and the atrocities committed by the U.S. aggressors, and the crude intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic, a sovereign state, on the part of U.S. imperialism.

The naked aggressive action against the Dominican Republic on the part of U.S. imperialism once again exposes U.S. imperialism as the common and most ferocious enemy of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The intervention against the Dominican Republic is a fresh manifestation of the arbitrary rule and aggression on the part of the U.S. imperialists who have assumed the disgraceful role of the international gendarme. To camouflage its armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, the United States are again trying to use the cloak of the Organization of American states, which for a long time already has been in the service of the U.S. imperialist interests. These aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialism arouse just indignation and protest throughout the world.

The IV Conference voices its full solidarity with the just, heroic struggle of the Dominican Republic, and demands that the aggression against the Dominican Republic be halted immediately.

Strongly expressing the will of the people of Asia and Africa, the Conference resolutely supports the armed struggle of the Dominican people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Conference is of the conviction that the heroic Dominican people, by holding fast the weapons in their hands, uniting on a broad scale, persisting in protracted armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and with the support of the peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the world over, will certainly score final victory in their anti-U.S. patriotic struggle.

The people of the Dominican Republic will surely triumph! U.S. imperialism will surely be defeated.

## BAHREIN

The IVth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, convened in Winneba from May 9 to 16, 1965.

**THE IVth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, convened in Winneba from May 9 to 16, 1965.**

— Draws the attention of the peoples of the world to the acts of suppression practised by the imperialists in Bahrain.

— Strongly condemns the imperialist schemes in Bahrain.

— Supports the freedom fighters in their just struggle to free the country from imperialism.

# CUBA'S YOUNG PEOPLE RE-ORGANISE (2)

by A Special Correspondent

**THE Revolution is fighting the battle of the Sixth Form in the factories and farms, among young peasants and among those who are now doing their Military Service.**

This battle is the second stage in our cultural revolution, and follows the mass education campaign already carried out amongst our people.

The Young Communists want to develop a great movement among the whole of the Cuban youth in order to achieve Sixth Form level as the minimum school level for all young people.

This is closely linked to the technical revolution in our country. Comrade Che Guevara has said that:

"In the future, when we had reached the more advanced stage of technique, those who only have reached Sixth Form will be considered as illiterates".

At the moment, however, there are hundreds of thousands of young workers and peasants who have a low level of school education. This is an obstacle to the development of production and technology.

## CONTRIBUTION

The battle of the Sixth form will have as its direct consequence the massive enrolment of young people in secondary and pre-university schools to take up technical and scientific professions; the battle will be a fundamental contribution to the training of qualified workers and technicians required by our industrialisation, and in general to develop our national economy.

The Union of Communist Youth is undertaking this task as one of the greatest contributions of the Cuban Youth Movement to the building of Socialism in our country.

We believe that the work carried out so far is not enough to achieve these aims. We have carried out a good propaganda campaign and there has been some progress; but we still need more

teachers, more resources, more co-ordination amongst the different organisations, with a clear division of work, and more enthusiasm.

For our cadres and members, the first task in the battle of the sixth form is to become exemplary students on workers' courses.

Furthermore, the activities of the U.C.Y. must be reduced to a minimum during study hours. We must have fewer meetings, because our comrades lose time to study, and hence the prestige of our revolutionary students at the school falls.

## EDUCATION

On the other hand the U.C.Y. has set another task in the field of education: to prepare young people to go to special schools and courses organised by the Revolution, some of them by the initiative of Comrade Fidel himself, such as the Soil Fertilisers and Cattle Feed School.

Throughout our country, Young Communists must play an important role in the preparation of the young people going to these schools, because it is in these schools that the technicians in charge of the machines, the people who will carry out the mechanisation of the sugar harvest and who will develop cattle breeding are trained.

These schools will train the workers and technicians who, in response to the call of the Revolutionary Government and to meet the needs of the country, will transform our cattle industry with the aid of modern science and technology.

Once the socialist characteristics of our Revolution were defined, the Revolution progressed with gigantic steps. But there is greater progress in the material sphere than in the ideological training of some sections of the population. We must increase revolutionary awareness.

Our legacy as an underdeveloped and semi-colonial people cannot be eliminated in one day. We have just started the building of social-

ism, after four centuries of foreign domination and after more than 50 years of imperialist penetration of our country.

Especially during the last years of its rule, reaction and imperialism used every available means—schools, cinema, radio, newspapers, church, etc.—to warp the minds of our people, change our customs and distort our traditions.

By every available means, the apologists of capitalism taught the people to despise everything national or Cuban. Slowly the idea was introduced that everything produced in Cuba was bad and that we were not able to produce better.

They said we could not compete with foreign goods, specially those coming from the United States. They used to say: "you Cubans are born to dance the Conga, the Rumba and to make love" and not to work, to create things, to attain great objectives, in the fields of science, art, economics and culture.

## ENCOURAGEMENT

The apologists of the bourgeoisie encouraged people to despise work; they elevated those false heroes of the film world, who drink whisky, have six or seven girl friends, fight, waste money, are good-looking and have sex-appeal, but do not work one single hour per week as idols for the youth.

They encouraged disregard for organisation and discipline. They encouraged the idea of individualism, the idea that the individual must resist and conquer the mass.

This was not a class revolt against oppression and the exploitation of man by man.

It was a revolt without a cause, against social discipline, against the rules of work against every moral rule.

In this way they tried to direct the protest of young people not against the decaying social system, but into channels of personal escape, despising all discipline, and with freedom for every vice.

This was still further complicated by the limitations imposed by capitalism on the mass of the young people especially the sons of workers and peasants.

## DISCIPLINE

There was no guarantee of work, education, culture or sports for them. Everything tended to make the youth of the working class disorganised and undisciplined. There was everything to encourage the corruption of our youth.

This is the heritage left by the regime of exploitation and imperialist oppression.

Among a small section of our youth we still encounter behaviour alien to proletarian ideals—snobbery, triviality, bad manners, anti-Communist prejudices etc., by which they try to undermine the unity of the Cuban people behind its Revolution, and confidence in a socialist future.

Sometimes in the student campus one can still see the hang-overs of the old mentality, in the way discipline is kept, in the attitude to study, in lack of honesty at examinations. There are still some students who cheat, deceiving themselves and trying to deceive their teachers, their comrades and the nation.

There are also cases of an incorrect attitude towards work, work discipline, absenteeism etc.

Religion is one of the means used by the apologists of imperialism and by the remains of the exploiting classes to keep the old mentality alive.

Many religious sects, especially Jehovah's Witnesses and the Evangelic Order of Gideon, try to undermine the confidence of the young people in themselves; they influence them against voluntary work, trying to harm production; they try to undermine the defence of our country by trying to prevent their adherents doing military service and learning the use of weapons.

The American Central Intelligence agency has also used the cloak of religion to send agents into our country and to supply its terror groups.

## INFILTRATION

The apologists of capitalism use religion as a weapon in the class struggle between the old society and the new forces building socialism. They try to infiltrate themselves amongst the young people, because they believe young people to be an easier target. Lately those efforts have been increased even among children and teachers.

That is why one of the basic tasks for the Union of Communist Youth is to fight against the influence held by clergy and religious beliefs in young people.

One of the essential tasks of the U.C.Y. is to educate its members and the rest of Cuban youth in love for science, and in historical and dialectical materialism. To wage this ideological struggle, successfully and also to fight on other fronts of the class struggle, the U.C.Y. must further strengthen the unity and discipline of the Cuban youth.

The Union of Secondary Students and other youth organisations must co-operate in this task.

We must reinforce the revolt of the young against imperialism and capitalism, against racial discrimination and illiteracy. We must fight against the old order, against bureaucracy, against decaying mentality and against the survival of vices and miseries of the past.

## IDEOLOGY

We therefore call upon Young Communists on every campus and in every factory, at every place of revolutionary work, to learn to defend and propagate the workers' ideology.

The popularisation of our best patriotic and revolutionary traditions must play an important part in the training and education of a healthy youth. We need a youth steered by the sacrifice of our freedom fighters, a youth steered by the example of Julio Antonio Mella and Jose Antonio Echevarria, by the example of those who fell in the Sierra Maestra or in the underground struggle in the cities, of those who fell for national independence, and for a socialist society.

Without doubt, ideological struggle in one of the major aspects of our task. We must not see it as an abstract activity, unconnected with our practical tasks, especially production.

This is why it is also very important to pay full attention to the daily tasks of production, which are the basis on which we have to build our socialist victory.

The Communist youth must set an example of continuous work, of discipline, and of solid initiatives within the field of production, where they maintain a Communist attitude towards work.

Productive work is an essential factor in the formation of a new man, and in the formation of a new generations being born and nurtured by our socialist society.

That is why the U.C.Y., in the closest collaboration with the Union of Secondary Students, must play a decisive role in the realisation of our projects, to realise the aspirations of our young people.

The U.C.Y. warmly welcomes the Revolutionary Government's plans for the polytechnisation of education and the measures taken by the Ministries of Education and Industries to ensure that all students are able to go to the factories and apply their technical knowledge.

In the field of productive work, the U.C.Y. must pay special attention to voluntary work, trying to co-ordinate its efforts with those of the organisations in charge of the production.

One of the immediate objectives of Communist youth is for the students to participate, as they have already done in previous years, in the gathering of coffee and in seasonal cultural work, as well as in the realisation of some of the other tasks, such as the building of the irrigation projects planned by our Revolutionary Government.

Because of its economic importance and value to the Nation, we are giving particular emphasis to the basic productive tasks of our people: the battle for sugar.

We must play an active part in sugar cane sowing and cultivation and in the youth brigades organised for this work.

## LEADERSHIP

In all this work on sugar production, as well as in all other activities designed to increase production and productivity, the U.C.Y. must aid the United Party of the socialist Revolution and its basic organisations, and must work under the leadership and guidance of the Central Committee and other leading bodies of the Party.

There is no doubt that with the help of the Party, the tasks of the U.C.Y. in the economic sphere will be carried out with honour.

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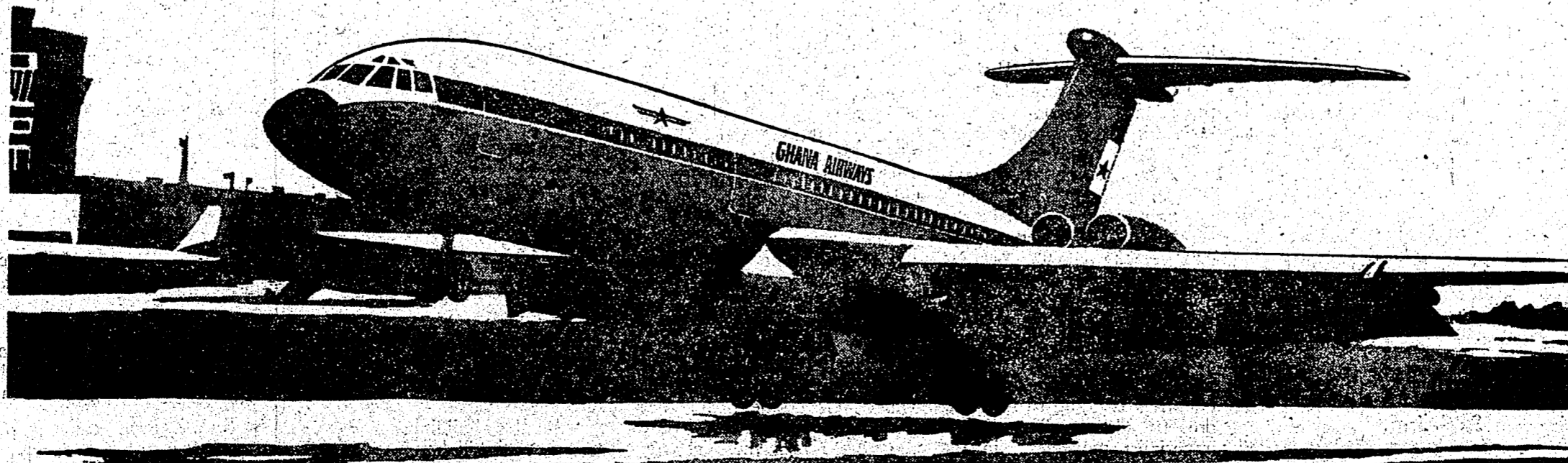
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			1645
AMSTERDAM	1625		1850
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# Why they fear African Unity

"As I warned this House a few months ago, 1965 is a year of decision for Africa. 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 safeguarding their vested interests."

Such was the warning given by Kwame Nkrumah when addressing Parliament on Tuesday, March 22, 1965.

All true-sons of Africa and progressive-minded people throughout the world want to see the birth of a continental Union Government of Africa when the African Heads of State meet in Accra in September.

## NEW CIVILIZATION

Only in this way can Africa fulfil its destiny and build the great new Civilisation which is waiting to be born.

In the words of Douglas Rogers, a British journalist: "The abundant development of Africa needs continent-sized planning. It needs a master-plan so that all shall know what their part is in the general development. It needs Pan-African economic and planning commissions. It needs the political machinery, in other words, to make economic action possible and effective".

He goes on: "Those who think that this is unrealistic should look at the rest of the world—particularly Europe—and ask

themselves whether they wish to see in Africa a repetition of the sordid story of nationalistic economic competition, haphazard boom and slump, poverty in the midst of riches, mounting rivalry, friction and war, and all the frightful waste of human potentialities which is the history of European capitalism".

But why are the imperialists and neo-colonialists so disturbed and alarmed by our legitimate struggle for African unity?

Why the unwarranted and inhuman massacres in Angola and Mozambique, and the continued slaughtering of the innocent people of the Congo by the imperialists, neo-colonialists and their agents?

Why do they desperately create mirages of disension among African states, in the hope of thereby putting difficulties in the way of our noble struggle for a continental Union Government?

The concise answer to these questions is: *the unfathomable riches of Africa.*

Africa has enormous wealth, but almost all of it flows out of the continent to the colonialist, imperialist and neo-colonialist nations.

Statistics show that about 60 per cent of the world's gold comes from Africa. In six years Western gold mining companies operating in South Africa have extracted a profit of 314 billion dollars.

Africa produces practically every mineral essential to modern industry, including copper, iron, uranium, titanium and diamonds. Without these minerals, the great manufacturing industries of Europe and America would collapse.

In ten years, western com-

panies exported materials worth 2,773 billion dollars from the Congo alone.

Even so, Africa's wealth has as yet scarcely been touched. There are vast resources still undeveloped.

Africa has some of the world's mightiest rivers and lakes which are estimated to represent 42 per cent of the world's total hydroelectric power.

It has millions of acres of virgin forest with millions of acres of land which could be brought into cultivation, or whose production could be increased ten times over.

But almost all these riches of Africa—the richest continent of the world—goes out of the continent for the development and advancement of the colonialist, imperialist and neo-colonialist countries.

This is why the imperialists and neo-colonialists will spare no effort in their attempts

to prevent the unification of the African continent.

They know all too well that the day a Union Government of Africa is born will be the day when their predatory exploitation of the wealth of Africa ends.

The recent Nouakchott conference was a demonstration of the lengths to which the imperialists and neo-colonialists are prepared to go to maintain their grip on the African continent. It was a warning of the dangers that lie ahead between now and the September O.A.U. meeting in Accra.

We already see some of the consequences of Nouakchott: the fabrication of baseless accusations and counter-accusations cooked up by the imperialists and neo-colonialists, and all designed to create disension among the sister independent African States with the ultimate aim of making the forth-coming O.A.U. conference difficult, if not impossible.

That is why Kwame Nkrumah said "1965 is a year of decision for Africa", that he sees "a period of great danger ahead for Africa", that "the next few months will be crucial and decisive" for Africa.

Nothing could be more true than these statements.

We have four months to go till September. We know this; but so do the imperialists and their agents. We are vigilant in our struggle; but they too will step up their efforts to prevent us achieving our goal.

Africa is poor because the wealth of our continent is not used for our own development. We will remain poor until our governments unite in a political union which can recover and develop the wealth of Africa for the benefit of Africa.

The riches of Africa will be fully utilised for the advancement and progress of Africa. Each state would have its due share of the collective wealth to make it economically self-supporting and we would then also be able to bargain on

equal terms with any outside nation who wants to sell to or buy from us.

We have the wealth, we have the foresight, the initiative, the incentive and the brains, and we have the men too—capable men. What else are we waiting for?

Even the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists themselves know, and we have also read from history books written by they themselves, that before they set foot on the shores of Africa in about 15th century,

"there had been such great empires as the Ghana, the Mali and the Songhai empires in Africa",

and that these empires were "highly civilised much more civilised than Europe at that time".

The history books state further that those Empires

"built splendid buildings; they had codes of law; they wrote poems and history books on agriculture and medicine and science (written mostly in Arabic); they studied in Universities.

"The University of Tim-

buktu studied law, literature, grammar and theology, it had scientists and doctors, and studied both in Arabic and in the Songhai language.

"The Empires had banks and all kinds of complicated trade; they had a good postal service and kept up rest houses and wells all along the trade routes.

"They had learned and become skilful doctors and lawyers. Their men of science observed comets, eclipses and earthquakes and discussed their causes", at a time when such things were dreaded in Europe as signs and marvels sent by God to warn men of his anger."

If Africa was so highly civilised and could do all these things as far back as even before "the white man came" in the 15th century, what can't a united Africa—the land of peace and plenty—do in this 20th century?

Let us unite to regain our lost heritage, our lost honour and our rightful places in the comity of nations as a respected people from an awakened and respected continent.

# THE ACCRA SUMMIT WILL TRIUMPH

Dr. Tedjini Hadam, what are your impressions of the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at Winneba?

DR. TEDJINI HADAM, Algeria's Minister of Habous (Religious Affairs), Member of Central Committee, who led the Algerian Delegation to the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held at Winneba, Ghana, answers some questions put by S. A. NFI on the problems facing Africa and Asia.

I AM very happy about the outcome of this conference. The conference has achieved many successes which in fact many of us never expected.

And my thanks go to President Nkrumah whose contribution helped greatly to achieve them. His opening speech was a masterpiece.

It covered everything. The aims and objectives of the movement, the problems in Africa and Asia were all vividly analysed.

I was much impressed by this great speech of one of the greatest African Freedom Fighters; because all the points raised in it concerning the need for Continental African Union Government agree in word and letter with the policy of Algerian Government.

To give you but few, some of the successes the conference achieved are:

1. A new page for orientation in the history of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement was opened by the conference in its decision to re-establish permanent Secretariat for the Movement, which hitherto had been paralysed by outside influence with the wicked aim of destroying it.

2. It has brought greater understanding among member-states which I hope will go a long way to help find solutions to the innumerable problems facing Afro-Asian countries today.

3. The conference also resolved to find a common solution for the economic and underdeveloped problems of Afro-Asian countries.

4. The decision of the conference to admit Latin American countries to the Solidarity Movement is also very significant achievement; because Latin America is the playground of the strongest imperialist nation in the world—the United States—and I have a fervent hope that the admission of Latin American countries is going to have the greatest adverse effect on the imperialist movement in the

developing nations of the world.

These achievements have been realised mainly due to the efficient part played by Comrade N. A. Welbeck, Ghana's Information Minister and Party Propaganda Secretary and many others who helped one way or the other. They all deserve a pat on the back.

## CONFLICTS AMONG AFRICAN STATES

Would you agree with me that at the moment there seem to be conflicts among some African States? If I am correct, what are the underlying causes and can you also suggest some ways and means of solving these problems?

I TOTALLY agree with you that conflicts exist among some African states. These conflicts, in my view, emanate from the fact that Africa was not ruled by only one colonial master but different peoples with different cultures and Africans were forced to adopt them.

Thus our social, cultural and economic problems are being approached differently by individual countries.

The imperialist taking advantage of this situation are doing all what they can to paralyse the O.A.U. whose aims are meant to bring the true independence and economic freedom to the peoples of Africa.

They are now using African leaders who have fallen victims to neo-colonialism so as to keep their hold on Africa eternally.

These problems in Africa today call for the immediate formation of a Continental Union Government. In fact Union Government is the only remedy to heal these ghastly

wounds of conflicts now existing among some sister states on our great continent.

This is why Algeria supports, in toto, the proposals submitted by Ghana to the last O.A.U. Conference.

Algeria also feels that, to fight such a cunning enemy as imperialism, one has got to muster all forces at one's disposal. In this way I think there should be a revolutionary continental vanguard party.

The progressive countries in Africa should think seriously of forming the nucleus of this party and I am definitely convinced that it will be successful.

I am happy that already a unity of action is existing

government for Africa.

In his last May Day message to Algerian workers, President Ben Bella reiterated the need for this and urged the already progressive governments in Africa to help liberate other countries from the grip of imperialism.

The phenomenon of decolonization in Algeria will teach imperialism a correct lesson and I hope Africa will be left alone to develop her economy and culture peacefully without imperialist intervention.

Algeria feels that our socialist struggle can be achieved peacefully without bloodshed. Yes, I am convinced that the efforts of Ghana and Algeria and other progressive countries can bring our liberation and socialist struggle to a successful end and without bloodshed.

## TO BOYCOTT THE ACCRA SUMMIT

We have heard that the imperialist are using some African leaders to boycott the September

Algeria will attend the Accra Summit in full but also she will do all her best to convince the other African States through diplomatic channels to attend the conference.

Judging from the successes achieved by the Afro-Asian Conference I have every hope that Accra Summit Conference is going to be a big success in the annals of African history.

## ANY PROBLEMS IN ALGERIA?

Are there any problems facing Algeria today? What are they and how is the Algerian government going to solve them?

THE problems facing Algeria should only be asked by our enemies. Algeria is progressing despite the difficulties brought about by the Liberation War. We like our enemies to leave us alone to build our houses as we want them.

The United States imperialism is in a good position to know that the counter-revolution in Algeria has been crushed.

The actual problems in Al-

## A Vanguard Party

THE Member for Atwima-Nwabiagya, Mr. B. F. Kusi, speaking in the National Assembly, declared that if "the C.P.P. is the only National Party, then every citizen of the country must be a member". It is important we should be clear about the role of the C.P.P.

The C.P.P. in Ghana today is the vanguard that is leading the army that is the people towards the victory of Socialism. But in no army does the vanguard comprise the entire army.

The National Party in our Socialist state must, in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, be "the zenith of our national edifice". It must be the organization of the best elements among the people, the most politically aware, the most loyal and the most loyal servants of the people.

The existence of a strong, well-organised political party, representative of the broad masses of the people and in daily, living touch with the ordinary mass of the people was a key factor in the winning of political independence.

In the same way, Ghana's economic independence and our Social-

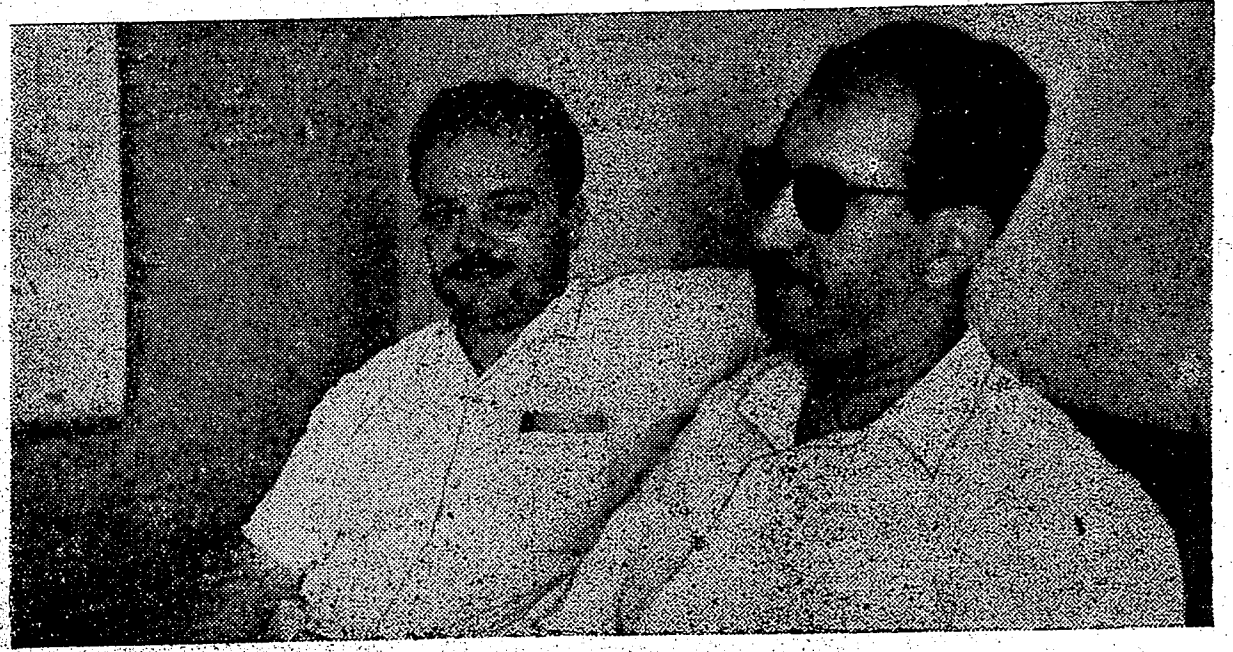
list objective cannot be achieved without the leadership of a strong, well-organised and united party to lead the advance.

Membership of such a Party is not a right, but a privilege to be won by service to the people, be it at the factory bench, on the building site, in the fields, in the office, in the laboratory, class-room or lecture hall.

There is no place in such a party for the pass-book speculators, the black marketeers, for those who take bribes or give them, or for the influence peddlers—or, for that matter, for those who merely talk Socialism.

What such a party needs is not quantity but quality. What the C.P.P. now needs is not the dilution of its ranks by the wholesale admission of new members, but the careful scrutinising of its existing membership, and the raising of its ideological level.

Only thus will it be able to fulfil the vanguard role laid down for it in our Constitution and play its proper part in leading the advance to Socialism.



Dr. TEDJINI HADAM, Algeria's Minister of Habous (Religious Affairs), left, who led the Algerian Delegation to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference just ended at Winneba.

among African revolutionary parties. These parties, of course initiated the setting up of the O.A.U. My country firmly believes in the formation of this revolutionary continental vanguard party, because it will contribute greatly towards the building of a strong continental union

Accra Summit Conference. Can you please give me your views on this sad situation?

WE are aware of these wicked manoeuvres by the imperialist but Algeria cannot be deceived. It is not only that

geria concern economy, training of technical cadres and the building up of Socialism.

We once more thank Ghanaians for their generous hospitality accorded us during our short stay in Ghana. We are also grateful to the press for the great publicity which has been given us.