

THE SPARK

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EDITORIAL

INSIDE UNITED STATES . . .

SOCIALIST PARTIES IN AFRICA (10)

THE history of socialist movements all over the world proves that the successful socialist party must wage an uncompromising war for the supremacy of scientific socialism.

At first the struggle is against the ideologies by which the exploiting classes seek to maintain their grip over the exploited masses. Paternalism, fascism, Nazism (or national socialism), colonialism as a humanitarian movement and all theories of modified capitalism belong to this group.

As soon as the fight against the ideologies of the exploiting classes is won, a new struggle opens. This is an internal struggle against all forms of revisionism and dogmatism within the socialist movement. It is a struggle, on the one hand, against all attempts to revise the principles of scientific socialism under one pretext or the other and, on the other hand, against anarchy.

The danger of ideological confusion within the socialist parties in Africa is real and great. First, most of these parties came into being as simple nationalist organisations dedicated solely to the fight against colonial rule. In these parties, at least in their early days, ideology was either non-existent or played a very secondary role.

Secondly, the nationalist parties combined in the same organisation persons drawn from practically all the economic and social strata in our society. Accordingly, the members of these parties had conflicting views about what the new social order which is to replace colonialism should be.

When, after the attainment of political freedom from colonial rule, these nationalist parties unfurled the banner of socialism, serious strains were bound to develop within their ranks.

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THE PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO

THE United States has made the world to understand that she is an assiduous advocate of democracy. We are told that President Kennedy's "New Frontier" aims at "preserving peace and democracy in the free world." But the recent race incidents in the United States demonstrate beyond any doubt that America herself is far from free and what she calls democracy is a limited liability democracy which only whitemen enjoy.

The race incidents of Birmingham, Alabama, which have resulted in the jailing of "guys" barely six years old, the use of Alsatian police dogs and water jets against peaceful anti-colour bar demonstrators, the bundling of Afro-American leaders to jail for no just cause and the use of state troopers armed with machine guns to fight against anti-segregation demonstrators show glaringly that America is an "overt and unabashed police state".

Lord Bertrand Russell, the well-known British philosopher, says that some factors in American society "make the talk of freedom and individual liberty an empty talk."

Ordinary picketing and praying against segregation is answered with imprisonment. Dr Martin Luther King is serving his 30th imprisonment for leading anti-



Afro-American leaders being bundled into police jeeps.

segregation demonstration.

Let us take Alabama where there are 2,283,609 whites and 980,271 Afro-Americans as our test-tube in which the germs of segregation are reflected and examine the whole develop-

ment of race hatred. **APRIL 8:** Fighting broke out between whites and Negroes during a demonstration near the city hall of Birmingham, Ala-

ma, against the colour bar. The Negroes were marching on the building when police converged on the scene and started bundling the demonstrators into black marias.

APRIL 9: Afro-American leaders of Birmingham, Alabama, set out on a demonstration against colour bar following the arrest of at least 29 Negroes during a "prayer march". The police ordered them to disperse but they knelt in prayer. As they were arrested and taken away in black marias, a Negro in the watching crowd struck out with a knife at a snarling Alsatian police dog. Six policemen disarmed him and threw him to the ground. Some 200 Negroes came to the man's rescue and 50 policemen with at least six more dogs intervened. The crowd dispersed with the dogs at its heels.

"I CAN SING"

APRIL 10: More than 140 Negroes were arrested defying racial barriers, but blind pianist, Mr Al Hibbler, keeps being turn away. For two successive days Mr Hibbler tried to get himself arrested. Birmingham's lame-duck commissioner of police, Eugene Connor, ordered that Hibbler should not be arrested. "Folks at the jail work for their food and you can't work", he told Hibbler. "I can sing", he protested. "There's no place at the jail for entertainers", replied the police commissioner.

APRIL 11: Martin Luther King dressed in white shirt and jeans, met 300 Negroes at Zion Hill

Church. Their ranks swelling past 1,000, the Negroes headed downtown behind King. A motorcycle buzzed across their path. King and a lieutenant, Rev. Ralph Abernathy fell to their knees. With police chief Connor calling the signals, officers pulled them up by the arms and marched them to the paddy wagons with 52 other demonstrators.

IGNORE RULING AND INVITE ARREST

APRIL 12: Birmingham court granted an injunction against demonstrating but King reacted by announcing he would ignore the ruling and invite arrest. Sixty Negroes were jailed.

APRIL 13: Negro leaders called for new anti-colour bar parades after a week in which more than 200 Birmingham Negroes were arrested. Negro students were summoned to a meeting.

APRIL 15: Police, using specially trained dogs, arrested 30 Negroes who were demonstrating.

These incidents continued throughout the month of April. But on the 3rd of May, 1963, an extraordinary incident took place. 1,000 Afro-Americans, half of them school children, aged from six to sixteen, were sent to jail after massive desegregation demonstrations. Police used Alsatian dogs and truncheons against a crowd of thousands and turned high-pressure hoses on Afro-Ameri-

Towards Addis Ababa

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Haile Selassie

THE NEXT ISSUE OF "THE SPARK" WILL BE DEVOTED TO THE ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE. WE SHALL DISCUSS WHY THERE SHOULD BE AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED AFRICA. WE SHALL INDICATE HOW THE POPULAR FORCES THROUGHOUT AFRICA ARE DETERMINED TO STAND FOR A FREE UNITED AFRICA. PLEASE BOOK YOUR COPIES OF "THE SPARK".

can teenagers. Among those who were arrested, some were singing, shouting and laughing. One group leader carried a bible and another was a woman with a four-year-old child. Continued on page 6.

NEGRO TEENAGERS TELL OF STAY IN JAIL

Birmingham, Alabama, May 9—

FIVE Negro teenage school-children released after being arrested for participation in the current anti-segregation campaign told a press conference here of their experience in Birmingham jails, in the last few days, AFP reports. The teenagers were two girls and three boys.

Miss Jane Stewart, 17, arrested for "illegal demonstration", said yesterday that for four hours she and about 20 other girls were locked up in a County Prison cell meant for barely five people.

She said during their detention for singing integrationist hymns several prisoners fainted in the overheated compound.

Her 17-year-old girl companion at the conference, Mary Joah, described a "torture chamber"—an oblong cement cell with no opening but the door's upper barred aperture—into which the girls were placed by the prison matrons for the slightest disturbance.

The three boys present gave similar accounts.



"In Birmingham, Alabama, U.S.A., there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping and great mourning . . . Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not . . ." (With apologies to the Bible.)

The Development of Imperialist Contradictions (3)

OWING to all these new conditions, various contradictions in the capitalist world have become more acute and more profound than ever before and the general crisis of capitalism has grown tremendously. To ease economic crisis temporarily by intensifying the exploitation of the working people at home and stepping up the militarization of the domestic economy, to carry out aggression and expansion abroad, to suppress and destroy the national liberation movements and to increase their power to compete against other capitalist countries—to achieve all these aims, the big monopoly groups in the principal Western capitalist countries exercise more comprehensive control over the state machines than before to serve the interests of monopoly capital more effectively.

Herein lies the objective cause of the postwar development of state-monopoly capitalism. And this reflects the death-bed struggle of monopoly capitalism.

SOME OF THE MEASURES

Among the main measures adopted through state organs by the monopoly-capitalist groups in the Western countries to control their economic life are the following:

(1) implementation of the so-called regulatory measures, that is, the redistribution of national income by governments through state budgets and taxation or the readjustments of bank interest rates and credit requirements to meet economic needs;

(2) establishment of state-owned enterprises either by nationalizing private enterprises through government purchase or by direct state investment;

(3) state control of production through subsidies, orders, purchases and credits;

(4) militarization of the national economy; and

(5) encouraging concentration and merges of enterprises in all possible ways to speed up capital accumulation, stimulate capital investment, promote technical reforms, raise labour productivity, reduce production costs and increase the competitive capacity of commodities.

In adopting these methods, the monopoly-capitalist groups attempt to regulate the economy, overcome economic difficulties, maintain the capitalist economy at a certain level of prosperity, avert economic crisis, and save capitalism from further decay. But all these methods have proved fruitless for the following reasons:

First, under specific conditions, these methods can be effective to a certain degree, delaying the outbreak of crisis for a short time or reducing slightly its impact and scale. (In Britain, for instance, during the past decade and more,

the methods of alternately raising and lowering bank interest rates and expanding and tightening credits have been often employed to regulate economic development and reduce the impact of economic crisis.

Again, the United States in the postwar period has depended to a large measure on the arms drive and war preparations for sustaining its economic activities. In many West European countries, new industrial departments have been set up with government investments.)

SO-CALLED CAPITALIST PLANNING

But these methods can only produce temporary results. They cannot ease the basic contradiction of the capitalist economy—that between private ownership and the social character of production, therefore, it is also impossible for them to ease the contradiction between the shrinkage of purchasing power on the market and expansion of productive forces. On the contrary, these contradictions are becoming deeper and deeper, thus preparing the ground for new and bigger crises.

Secondly, under the capitalist system there can be no unified plan to guide the whole national economy.

So-called capitalist planning turns out to be nothing but squeezing of profits by capitalists "in a planned way." State intervention and militarization of the economy can only intensify the lop-sided economic development of the imperialist countries; many unproductive industrial departments related to military affairs have been one-sidedly expanded while many important but non-military industries have stagnated or even declined.

At the same time, the investment of large funds in military industries makes it impossible for this portion of the national wealth to be used for reproduction. This is tantamount to drinking poison to quench thirst. The development of state-monopoly capital has also led to keener and larger-scale competition among the different monopoly-capitalist groups. With their eyes on the spoils, they scramble with each other for government posts, invested with the power to allot state funds.

THE EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF DISTRIBUTION

Thirdly, nationalization so far adopted by the capitalist countries is actually designed to swell the profits of the capitalists at the expense of the working people. As shown by nationalization in postwar Britain, France, West Germany and Italy, state funds which are taxes paid by the people are used only:

(1) to purchase at high prices those enterprises which cannot bring monopoly capital adequate profits—the losses involved being shifted from the capitalists on to the state treasury;

(2) to maintain various enterprises of industries such as power, transport

and communications which are always run at a loss but are needed by the monopolies; and

(3) to bear the major costs of setting up new industrial departments and all the risks involved.

These measures are actually used as an effective instrument for redistributing the national income for the benefit of monopoly capital. The result is merely to deepen, not ease, the contradictions inherent in capitalism.

Fourthly, the development of state-monopoly capitalism has further sharpened class contradictions. Because of lop-sided economic development, bankruptcy of large numbers of small and medium-sized enterprises, forced departure of huge masses of peasants from their farmland, unprecedented gravity of market problems and increasing economic instability, the monopoly-capitalist groups naturally do their utmost to shift the economic burden on to the working people by increasing taxation and raising commodity prices.

At the same time, to increase their exploitation of the working people, they have stepped up their attacks against the people's democratic rights. All this inevitably arouses the opposition of the overwhelming

British Economy is in a Permanent State of Stagnation

majority of the people.

Actual postwar economic development in the principal Western countries has conclusively proved that the measures adopted under state-monopoly capitalism have failed to enable the capitalist economy to escape the law of crisis.

FIVE MILLION PEOPLE WITHOUT JOBS IN U. S. A.

In the past decade and more, for instance, although the United States has all along employed government measures to regulate its economy and pressed ahead with militarization of the economy, it has failed to avert the outbreak of five crises.

Moreover, the intervals between one crisis and the next, have become shorter and shorter. U.S. enterprises constantly operate at about 80 per cent of their capacity. The rate of industrial growth has greatly slowed down.

Unemployment constantly stands at 4.5 million; the economic situation always remains unstable and stock market crashes have occurred many times. Economists are predicting that the sixth postwar recession, that is, the sixth crisis, will come in the United States this year.

Britain is one of the countries which, in the postwar period, has been notable for actively applying the Keynesian doctrine and regulating its economy through its state organs. But the British economy is basically in a permanent state of stagnation. Seven international payments crises

have taken place in Britain in the postwar period, averaging one almost every two years.

British industries are confronted with grave difficulties and unemployment has reached the record postwar figure of 930,000.

In the West European continental countries where measures to develop state-monopoly capitalism have also been adopted, a series of partial crises of varying degrees has inevitably arisen under the impact of every U.S. crisis although no big crisis has hitherto appeared there.

A rather bad economic situation cropped up last year in many of the principal West European capitalist countries. The rate of economic growth in the Common Market 'Six' slowed down; there was no increase, but an absolute decrease, in the production of some enterprises.

THE CHARACTERISTICS

In the Seven of the little free trade area, the 1962 rate of economic growth remained at about one per cent on the average and this also indicates almost a state of stagnation. In 1962 the economies of West European countries showed several common characteristics. These are:

(1) slowing down of the rate of industrial growth and worsening under-capacity operation of industrial enterprises;

(2) growth of the unfavourable foreign trade balance;

(3) decline of private investments; and

(4) instability of money markets and drastic falls in share prices.

All these show that the shadow of a crisis is looming large in Western Europe. This proves that state-monopoly capitalism cannot ward off economic crisis, nor can it arrest the tendency of capitalism to decay with each passing day.

The ruling groups and some economists in the principal West European capitalist countries pin their hopes on so-called economic "integration" maintaining that it will give great impetus to the constant growth of production and trade. They alleged that economic "integration" explains the economic development in the Common Market Six over the past several years. But such assertion is without any scientific ground.

REASONS FOR RAPID DEVELOPMENT

In fact, the relatively rapid economic development in the Six is chiefly due to the following reasons:

(1) the comparatively long time taken to heal war wounds;

(2) reorganisation of industry by monopoly

capital on the basis of new production techniques;

(3) large-scale reorganisation of agriculture started after the war and not yet completed;

(4) concentrated efforts to make investments in domestic industries by some West European capitalist countries other than the United States and Britain, where no large-scale armament expansion and war preparations were undertaken for a considerably long period after the war;

(5) far greater investments made by the United States in Western Europe since the end of World War II than in the prewar period; and

(6) specific causes found in various countries.

These causes include the large exodus of low-paid workers from Italy into West Germany, which has helped economic development in the latter; the two devaluations of the franc, which have strengthened France's capacity to export; the discovery of large deposits of oil and natural gas in France and Algeria, which has provided French industries with relatively less expensive power; and the low wages and large amount of labour power in Italy, which have increased the competitive capacity of its commodities.

As to the claim that the formation of the Common Market has been followed by greatly accelerated economic development in the Six, it does not tally with the facts. According to the statistics issued in the Western world, industrial production in the Six increased by 40 per cent in 1953-57 before the formation of the Common Market as against 30 per cent in 1957-61 after its establishment.

Export trade rose by 57.2 per cent in 1953-57 as against 43.8 per cent in 1957-61. Even in trade among the Six, which recorded a much larger increase than any other spheres, the 66.2 per cent increase made in 1957-61 by the Common Market also fell behind the 79.2 per cent increase registered in 1953-57. It must be noted here that in 1962 the pace of economic development in the Six declined still further.

We do not deny that the existence of the Common Market and the introduction of economic "integration" have played a certain role in stimulating economic development in the Six. But they have not played a principal role; they have produced only a temporary stimulating effect.

National barriers among the Six have been removed to a certain extent; the tariff wall within the Common Market has been pulled down while a common tariff wall against outsiders is being built. Naturally, this has expanded somewhat the trade among the Six and boosted their production to a limited degree

for a certain period of time.

Moreover, to strengthen their competitive power, it is necessary to merge enterprises, eliminate the less efficient factories, expand the more efficient and increase capital investment especially in Department I so as to improve equipment and raise labour productivity. As a result there is a temporary increase in the output of Department II; a rise in employment and in social purchasing power and therefore a temporary expansion of the market.

But the stimulating effect of "integration" can only be transient and limited. It cannot resolve the contradiction inherent in the capitalist system, nor can it nullify the supreme law of seeking maximum profit under the capitalist system.

SHRINKAGE OF CONSUMPTION

It can neither break through the limitation of private ownership of the means of production nor overcome the contradiction between the tendency of productive forces to expand endlessly and the relative shrinkage of effective consumption. With the elapse of a certain period of time this contradiction will make its influence felt in a more acute way.

This is because the productive forces will be more expanded by that time and the market will find it more difficult to absorb the increased amount of products. A grave crisis to overproduction will again set in.

When this happens, the need to "integrated" Common Market to further intensify the rivalry among themselves, the super-exploitation of their own people, their scramble with other imperialist countries for markets, and their plundering and exploitation of colonies and semi-colonies. Even the possibility cannot be ruled out that this round of frenzied cut-throat competition may lead to military conflict.

In fact, overproduction has begun to take place in the Six. Under-capacity operation of industrial enterprises has occurred. In West Germany, there has existed excess capacity of its productive equipment. Production in many West German enterprises has begun to decline. Steel production in the Six has dropped.

DEATH-BED STRUGGLE

The rate of utilization of equipment in the French and West German motor-car industries is falling. In the meantime, workers have been sacked in large numbers. R. Marjolin, one of the leaders of the Common Market, has openly admitted that the economy of the Six "has reached the last period of 'prosperity'."

In short, state-monopoly capitalism and so-called economic "integration" are not a life-saving injection for the capitalist system, but a manifestation of its death-bed struggle. Historical development has proved and will continue to prove the correctness of Comrade Mao Tsetung's brilliant proposition that imperialism is getting rotten with each passing day.

Many bourgeois econo-

mists have openly peddled the idea that the formation of the Common Market and the economic "integration" of the Six have helped to improve the living conditions of the working class in Western Europe and so have benefited not only the capitalists but the working class as well.

They have also unashamedly asserted that class contradictions in Western Europe can be eased through "integration." Obviously, these claims do not accord with the facts.

On the face of it, when compared with the past, the conditions of the working class in the West European countries (including the Common Market Six and Britain) appears to have improved somewhat in certain aspects. This superficial impression is due mainly to the following factors:

1. Full employment more or less existed in these countries in the postwar period. (The reasons for this have been given above in Section 3 of this article.) A great number of women and children participate in work, and workers more often than not work overtime.

2. Hire purchase has been widely introduced and the workers freely spend their purchasing power in advance.

3. Monopoly-capitalist groups, utilizing the state apparatus, have adopted a number of social welfare measures to soften up and buy over the working class and so ease the situation of class struggle.

THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS

In fact, the impoverishment of the working class in Western Europe is being aggravated day by day. This is shown by the following:

First, the cost of living has gone up steadily. According to preliminary calculation, since the Common Market was established, prices have risen 14 per cent in West Germany, 38 per cent in France, 18 per cent in Italy and 23 per cent in the Netherlands.

Secondly, the tax burden is extraordinarily heavy. According to British data, in the Common Market countries, the taxes paid by manufacturing workers per annum account for 15.2 per cent of their wages in West Germany, 10.4 per cent in the Netherlands and 6.9 per cent in Belgium. They have to pay even heavier indirect taxes.

Thirdly, since the Common Market was founded the workers in the six member nations have received very small increases in their real wages; these in fact lag far behind the growth of the productivity of labour.

In some countries, (France, for instance) the real wages of the workers, instead of going up, have gone down. West Germany, Britain and France, on the pretext of sharp competition in foreign trade, have all introduced a wage freeze and cost reduction.

Attacks on the working class have not stopped; on the contrary, they are being intensified. As provided for by the Treaty of Rome, the Common Market countries have undertaken to unify their wage scales and social welfare benefits.

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The Road To Socialism (I)

by Dr. Fidel Castro

WE are grateful to Dr. Fidel Castro for allowing us to publish his article on socialism. The article discusses in detail Cuba's anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist struggle for the goals of liberation which unite the efforts of the working people, the peasants, the intellectual workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie. Dr. Castro maps out Cuba's road to socialism and calls on Cubans to stand for "our country or death".

We have decided to publish this article because, as he Dr. Castro says: "What is Cuba's history but that of Latin America? What is the history of Latin America but the history of Africa, Asia and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the cruelest exploitation of the world by imperialism?"

Cuba is a small country with a population of seven million but, she is standing firm against the full might of U. S. imperialism, armed with nuclear weapons, just about 100 miles away from her.

Her experience is very relevant to the African struggle for complete independence and socialism.

We recommend the article to our readers.

—Editor

ON the eve of his death, in a letter he never finished because a Spanish bullet pierced his heart, Jose Marti, apostle of our independence, wrote his friend Manuel Mercado on May 18, 1895: "Now I can write. Each day I am in danger of giving my life for my country and for my duty. To halt in due time, as Cuba acquires its independence, the spread of the United States over the Antilles so as to descend, with that added strength, upon our lands of the Americas."

"Whatever I did until today and will do in the future, is for that. The same minor and public obligations of the nations most vitally interested in preventing the opening in Cuba, through its annexation by the imperialists, of the road that must be barred, and which we are barring with our blood, of annexation of all nations of our America, by the violent and brutal North which despises us, the same obligations have prevented the clear support and definite help for the sacrifice that is being made for the immediate good and for them. I have lived in the monster and I know its entrails; and mine is the sling of David".

CREED OF THE YANKEES

Marti, as far back as 1895, pointed to the danger hanging over America and called imperialism by its name: imperialism. He warned the peoples of America that they, more than anyone, were obligated that Cuba not yield to the greed of the Yankees who despised the peoples of Latin America. With his own blood, shed for Cuba and for America, he endorsed the posthumous words which today the people of Cuba endorse at the beginning of this Declaration, as homage to his memory.

Sixty-seven years passed. Puerto Rico was converted into a colony and still is a colony filled with military bases. Cuba also fell into the clutches of imperialism, whose troops occupied our territory. It imposed the Platt Amendment on our first Constitution, a humiliating clause which gave it the odious "right" of outside interference.

Our wealth passed into their hands; they falsified

our history, our administration, and molded our politics to the interests of the intruders; the nation was subjected to 60 years of political, economic and cultural asphyxia.

But Cuba rose, Cuba was able to redeem itself from this bastard tutelage. Cuba broke the chains which tied its fortunes to the oppressing empire; Cuba regained its riches, recovered its culture and raised its sovereign flag as the Free Territory and the Free People of America.

WHAT IS CUBA'S HISTORY?

The United States will never again descend on America utilizing the strength it gained by oppressing Cuba; on the other hand, the United States is trying to descend on Cuba, using the strength gained by dominating most of the countries of Latin America.

What is Cuba's history but that of Latin America? What is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the his-

tority of the cruelest exploitation of the world by imperialism?

And the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, a handful of economically developed nations had divided the world among themselves, subjecting two thirds of humanity to their economic and political domination.

Humanity was forced to work for the dominating classes of the group of nations which had a developed capitalist economy.

The historic circumstances which permitted certain European countries and the United States of North America to attain a high industrial development level, put them in a position which enabled them to subject and exploit the rest of the world.

What motives lay behind this expansion of the industrial powers? Were they moral, "civilizing" reasons, as they claimed! No their motives were economic.

The discovery of America sent the European conquerors across the seas to occupy and to exploit the lands and peoples of other continents; the lust for riches was the basic motivation for their conduct. America's discovery took place in the search for shorter ways to the Orient, whose products Europe valued highly.

A new social class, the merchants and the producers of articles manufactur-

grew. The new productive forces maturing in the midst of the feudal society increasingly clashed with feudalism and its serfdom, its laws, its institutions, its philosophy, its morals, its art and its political ideology.

New philosophical and political ideas, new concepts of law and State were advanced by the intellectual representatives of the bourgeois class. Little by little they became the consciousness of the exploited masses, for these ideas corresponded to the new necessities of social life. At that time they were revolutionary ideas in contrast to feudalism's outworn ideas. The peasants, the craftsmen and the manufacturing workers, headed by the bourgeoisie, destroyed the feudal order, its philosophy, its laws and the privileges of the dominating class, that is, the hereditary nobility.

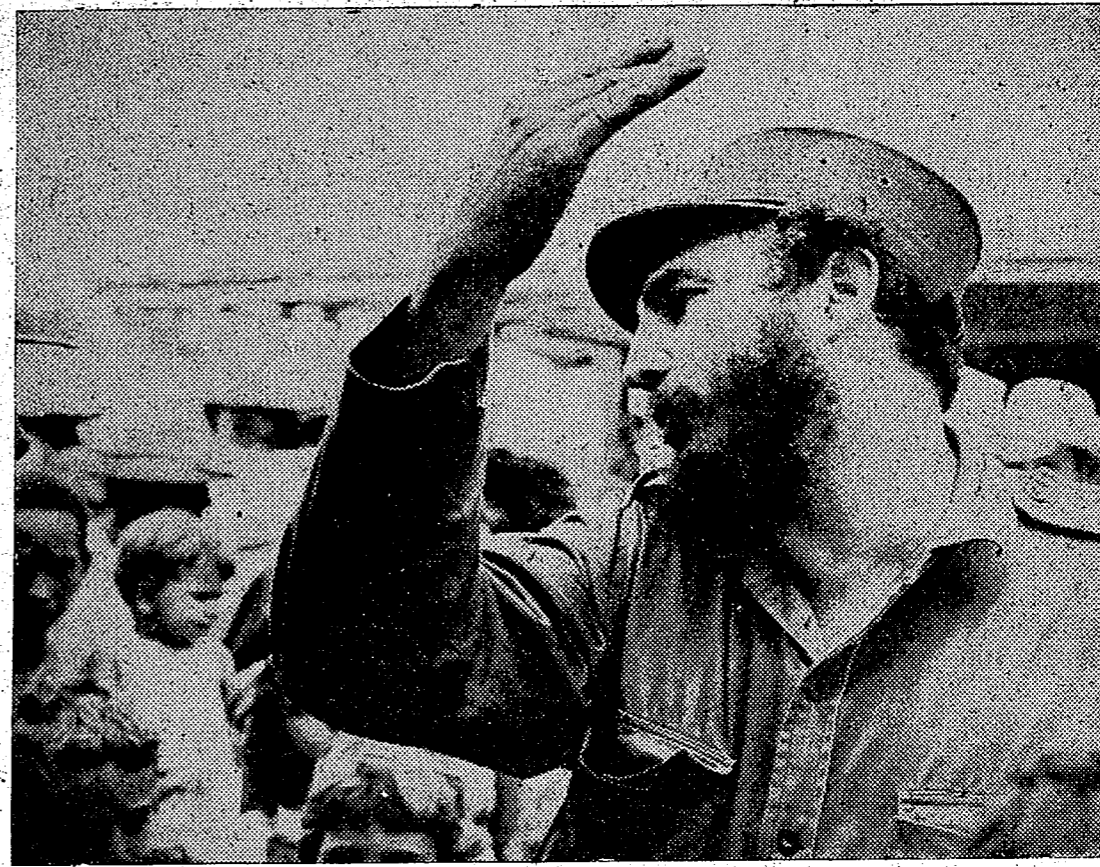
BOURGEOIS PHILOSOPHY

The bourgeoisie then considered revolution a just and necessary thing. It did not believe the feudal order could and should be eternal, as it now believes its capitalist order to be. It encouraged the peasants to free themselves from serfdom, encouraged the craftsmen to break guild relations and claimed the right to political power.

The absolute monarchs, the nobility and the high clergy tenaciously defended their class privileges, proclaiming royalty's divine right and the indestructibility of the social order. To be liberal, to proclaim the ideas of Voltaire, Diderot or Jean Jacques Rousseau, spokesman for the bourgeois philosophy, was a crime as serious as it is today for the bourgeois to be a socialist and to proclaim the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

When the bourgeoisie got political power and established the capitalist means of production upon the ruins of feudal society, it built its State, its laws, its ideas and institutions based on its methods of production. These institutions, in the first place rendered private property sacred: the essence of its class domination.

The new society based on private ownership of the



Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba... "Our revolution is bound to succeed."

means of production and on free enterprise, thus divided the people into two basic classes: one that owned the means of production, that became more modern and efficient with them; the other, deprived of all property, owning only its own labour, was forced to sell that power in the market just as any other product in order to subsist.

FEUDALISM DISAPPEARED BUT CAPITALISM EMERGED

Once the feudal ties were broken, the productive forces developed greatly. Big factories appeared, where the numbers of workers grew greater constantly.

More modern and technically efficient factories displaced less efficient competitors in the market. The cost of industrial equipment rose higher all the time; it was constantly necessary to accumulate greater amounts of capital.

An important part of production accumulated in a small number of hands. This was the beginning of the great capitalist enterprises and later on, the association of the great enterprises through cartels, syndicates, trusts and partnerships. These depended on the degree and character of the association and were controlled by the majority shareholders, that is, by the most powerful gentlemen in industry.

Free competition, capitalism's characteristic in its first phase, gave way to the monopolies which arranged agreements among themselves and controlled the markets.

Whence came the colossal sums of resources that permitted a handful of monopolists to accumulate billions of dollars? From the exploitation of human labour, of course. The labours of millions of men forced to work for a subsistence salary produced the gigantic capital of the monopolies.

THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES

The workers accumulated the fortunes of the privileged classes—wealthier all the time, more powerful all the time. Through the banking institutions they not only disposed of their own money, but also the money of all society. This brought about the merger of the banks with big industry, and thus finance capital was born.

What then could be done with the large surplus of

capital that accumulated in bigger amounts all the time? Invade the world! Always in search of profit, they began to take possession of the natural wealth of all the economically weak nations and to exploit the human labour of these peoples, paying salaries which were much more miserable than they had to pay the workers in the metropolitan country.

Thus began the territorial and economic distribution of the world. By 1914, eight or ten imperialist countries had subjected to their economic and political domination territories outside their boundaries, with an area of 53 million square miles and a population of 970 million. They had simply divided the world among themselves.

But since the world was limited in size, and the last corner of the globe had already been seized, the clash arose between the different monopolist countries. Struggles began for new divisions, originating from the unequal distribution of the industrial and economic strength, the different monopolist countries had attained in their uneven development.

The imperialist wars began, which cost humanity 50 million deaths, dozens of millions of crippled, and the loss of incalculable material and cultural riches. This had not yet occurred when already Marx wrote that "capitalism was born oozing blood and mud through every pore from head to foot".

CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The capitalist system of production, once it had reached the limits of its capacity, turned into an abysmal obstacle to the progress of humanity. But the bourgeoisie bore its opposite in itself from its beginning. Gigantic productive instruments developed in its bosom, but at the same time a new and powerful social force developed: the proletariat. This class was destined to replace the old and worn-out social system of capitalism by a higher economic-social form corresponding to the historic possibilities of human society, changing those gigantic means of production which the peoples, and only the peoples through their work, had created and accumulated into the property of all society. The productive forces, reaching such a degree of development, rendered anachronistic a regime

which was based on private property, and with it, the subordination of the economy of millions and millions of human beings to the rule of a small social minority.

Humanity's interests demanded the end of anarchy in production, the waste, the economic crisis and the plundering wars inherent in the capitalist system. The growing requirements of the human being and the possibility of satisfying them, demanded the planned development of economy and the rational use of its means of production and its natural resources.

It was inevitable that imperialism and colonialism should enter into a deep and unescapable crisis. The general crisis began right after the First World War; the revolution of the workers and peasants, overthrew the Czarist empire in Russia and, under the most difficult conditions blockade and capitalist aggression, established the first socialist state in the world, thus beginning a new era in human history. Since then and up to the present day, the crisis and corruption of the imperialist system have deepened incessantly.

THE DYING WORLD AND THE NEW WORLD

The Second World War was unleashed by the imperialist powers. Criminally invaded, the Soviet Union and other nations of Europe and Asia were dragged into a bloody fight for freedom. The war ended with the defeat of fascism, the formation on a world scale of socialism, and the struggle for sovereignty by the colonial and dependent nations. Between 1945 and 1957, over 1 billion 200 million human beings attained independence in Asia and Africa. The people's blood was not shed in vain.

The movement of the dependent and colonized peoples is a universal phenomenon shaking the world. It marks the final crisis of imperialism.

Cuba and Latin America form part of the world. Our problems form part of the problems which stem from the general crisis of imperialism and the struggle of the subjected peoples; the clash between the world being born and the dying world.

The hateful and brutal campaign launched against our country expresses the desperate but useless efforts of the imperialists to

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The Oligarchy of America

(Continued from page 3)

prevent the liberation of the peoples. Cuba especially hurts the imperialists. What is behind Yankee hatred of the Cuban Revolution? What could rationally explain the plot which unites the wealthiest and most powerful imperialist power of the contemporary world, and the oligarchies of the entire Continent in the same aggressive purposes?

Together they represent a population of 350 million human beings, against a small nation of only 7 million inhabitants, economically underdeveloped, without financial or military resources to threaten the security nor the economy of any nation. They are united and stirred up by fear. Fear explains it.

Not the fear of the Cuban Revolution; the fear of the Latin American revolution. Not the fear of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle classes take revolutionary power in the oppressed and hungry nations exploited by the Yankee monopolies and the reactionary oligarchy of America; fear that the looted peoples of the Continent will snatch the arms of their oppressors and declare themselves, like Cuba, free peoples of America.

PAWNBROKER MINDS

They believe they will dispel the fear that torments them, lay the ghost of the revolution which threatens them, by smashing the Cuban Revolution. They believe this will crush the revolutionary spirit of the peoples by smashing the Cuban Revolution. They contend, in their frenzy, that Cuba exports revolutions. There is room for the idea in their commercial, sleepless and pawnbroker minds, that revolutions can be bought or sold, rented, loaned, exported or imported as one more commodity.

Ignorant of the objective laws which rule the development of human society, they believe that their monopolist, capitalist and semi-feudal regimes are eternal. Educated in their own reactionary ideology—a mixture of superstition, ignorance, subjectivism, pragmatism and other aberrations of the mind—they hold an image of the world and of the march of history which accords with their exploiting class interests.

They presume that revolutions are born or die in the brains of individuals or by virtue of divine laws, and that the gods are on their side. They have always believed that; from the devout pagan patricians in slave-owning Rome, who threw the early Christians to the lions at the circus, to the inquisitors of the Middle Ages who, as guardians of feudalism and absolute monarchy, burned at the stake the first representatives of the liberal mind of the rising bourgeoisie, to the bishops who today, in defence of the bourgeois and monopolist regime, pronounce a curse on the proletarian revolutions.

FIERCEST MEANS OF REPRESSION

All the reactionary classes, in all historic epochs, when the contradiction between the exploiters and the

exploited reaches its maximum, tension, forcasting the arrival of a new social regime, have resorted to the fiercest means of repression and slander against their adversaries.

Accused of setting Rome on fire and of sacrificing children at their altars, the early Christians were martyred. Accused of heresy, philosophers like Giordano Bruno, reformers like Huss and thousands of non-conformists to feudalism were burned at the stake by the inquisitors. Persecution and crime meet the proletarian fighters today, preceded by the worst columnists in the monopolist and bourgeois press.

THE UPWARD MARCH OF HUMANITY

Always, in each historic epoch, the dominating classes have resorted to assassination, invoking the "defence" of society, of order, of the homeland: the defence of their society of privileged minorities over the exploited majorities; their "class order" which they maintain by blood and iron over the dispossessed; the

acquired, organisation is achieved, leadership arises, and revolution is produced.

Whether this takes place peacefully or comes to the world after painful labour, does not depend on the revolutionaries; it depends on the reactionary forces of the old society; it depends on their resistance against allowing the new society to be born, a society produced by the contradictions of the old society.

Revolution, in history, is as the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life: it does not use forceps unless it is necessary, but it will unhesitatingly use them every time labour requires them. A labour that brings the hope of a better life to the enslaved and exploited masses. Revolution is inevitable in many countries of Latin America. Nobody's will determines this fact. It is determined by the frightful conditions of exploitation which afflict mankind in America. It is determined by the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, by the world crisis of imperialism and by the universal movement of struggle of the world's subjugated peoples.

power of the oligarchies and the tyranny of foreign capital. This is the truth of America, to one or another degree of variation. Latin America today is under a more ferocious imperialism, more powerful and ruthless than the Spanish colonial empire.

What is Yankee imperialism's attitude confronting the objective and historically inexorable reality of the Latin American revolution? To prepare to fight a colonial war against the peoples of Latin America; to create an apparatus of force to establish the political pretexts and the pseudo-legal instruments underwritten by the representatives of the reactionary oligarchies, in order to curb, by blood and by iron, the struggle of the Latin American peoples.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

The United States intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries continues more openly and at an unbridled tempo. The Inter-American Defence Council, for exam-

ple, was, and continues to be, the nest wherein the most reactionary and pro-Yankee officers of the Latin American armies are hatched, in order to be used later as repressive instruments at monopoly's behest.

It is well-known that Yankee embassies in various Latin American countries are organising, instructing and equipping fascist groups, to spread terror and attack worker, student and intellectual organisations. Those fascist groups, consisting of the sons of oligarchy, and denizens of the underworld, have already planned a series of aggressive acts against the mass movements.

Nothing is clearer and more unequivocal of the intentions of imperialism than its conduct during the recent developments in Santo Domingo. Without any justification whatsoever, without even maintaining diplomatic relations with that Republic, the United States, after lining up their battleships in front of the Dominican capital, declared, with customary insolence, that if Balaguer's government "requested" their military aid, they would land their troops in Santo Domingo against the Dominican people's rebellion.

The fact that Balaguer's

workers, students, peasants, to kill Latin American men and women, has no other purpose than to maintain its monopolistic interests and the privileges of the treacherous oligarchies which support the monopolies.

It can now be clearly seen that the military pacts underwritten by the United States and Latin American governments were pacts secretly arrived at behind the backs of the peoples. They invoke imaginary outside dangers that nobody ever saw anywhere and had the sole and exclusive purpose of preventing the struggle of the peoples.

They were pacts against the peoples, whom they regard as the only danger; the danger, within, of a liberation movement which would imperil Yankee interests. Naturally, the peoples asked: Why such military pacts? For what purpose these arms shipments that are technically inadequate for modern war, but are, on the other hand, sufficient to smash strikes, repress popular demonstrations, and spread bloodshed through the land? For what purpose, the military missions, the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, the thousands and one international conferences?

LATIN AMERICAN PROBLEM

Since the end of the Second World War, the Latin American nations are becoming pauperized constantly. The value of their exports keep diminishing, costs of imports increase, the per capita income falls. The dreadful percentages of child death rate do not decrease, the number of illiterates grows higher, the peoples lack employment, land, adequate housing, schools, hospitals, communication systems and the means of subsistence.

On the other hand, North American moreover supplies cheap raw materials and pays high prices for manufactured articles. Like the first Spanish conquerors, who exchanged mirrors and trinkets with the Indians for silver and gold, so United States trades with Latin America.

To hold on to this torrent of wealth, to take greater possessions of America's resources and to exploit its long-suffering peoples: this is what is hidden behind the military pacts, the military missions and Washington's diplomatic lobbying.

YANKEE IMPERIALISM

This policy of gradually strangling the sovereignty of the Latin American nations and of achieving a free hand to interfere in their internal affairs, reached its climax at the last Foreign Ministers meeting.

Yankee imperialism summoned the Foreign Ministers to Punta del Este in order to force them by political pressure and by unprecedented economic blackmail, to renounce the national sovereignty of our peoples. And to achieve, with the complicity of notorious rulers of this Continent, the hateful right of Yankee intervention in the internal affairs of America.

The purpose was also to force the peoples to submit

completely to the will of the United States of North America, against which all the fore-fathers of our lands fought, from Bolivar to Sandino. Neither the U.S. Government, nor the representatives of the oligarchies, nor the big reactionary press that has sold out to the monopolies and to the feudal lords, even tried to conceal their demand for agreements that would mean the formal suppression of the right of self-determination of our peoples: the eradication of the right of self-determination by the stroke of a pen, in the most infamous conspiracy in the history of this Continent.

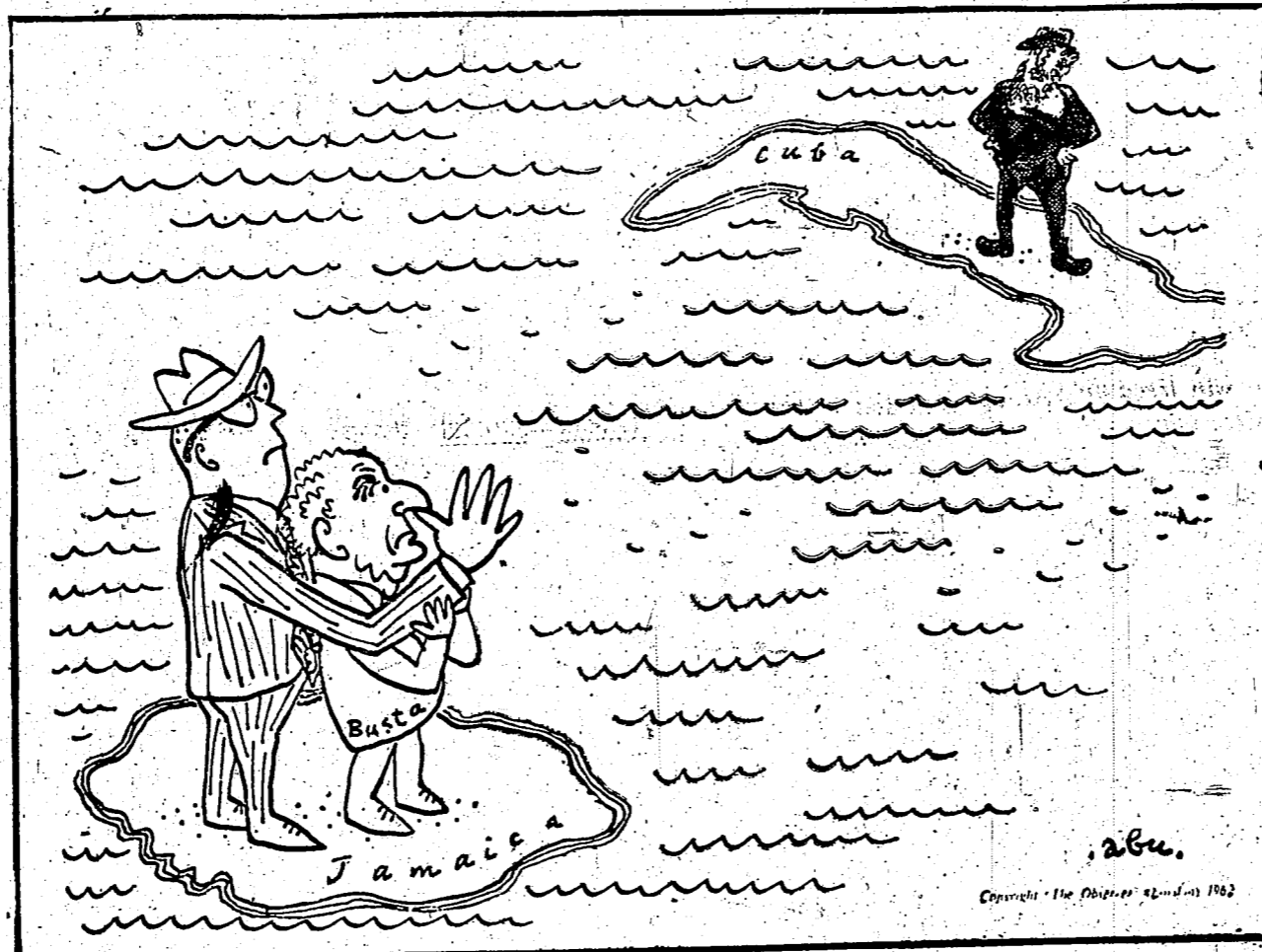
FRAUDULENT ACHIEVEMENTS

Behind locked doors, in repugnant bargains, the Yankee Minister of Colonies devoted entire days to crush the resistance and the scruples of some of the Foreign Ministers. He brought the millions of the Yankee treasury into play in the open buying and selling of votes.

Behind these locked doors, a handful of representatives of the oligarchies from countries which together scarcely account for one third of the Continent's population, made agreements which hand the Yankee master on a silver platter a principle which cost all the blood of our people since the independence wars. The Pyrrhic character of such sad and fraudulent achievements of imperialism; its moral defeat, shattered unity and universal scandal, do not diminish the gravity it has for the Latin American peoples, these agreements which they imposed at such a price.

In that immoral conclave, the titanic voice of Cuba arose without weakness and without fear, to expose, before all the peoples of America and of the world, the monstrous intent, and to vigorously defend not only Cuba's rights, but the forsaken rights of all the sister nations of the American Continent, with a dignity which will be recorded in the annals of history.

Cuba's voice could find no echo in that obedient majority, but neither could it have a reply. Only an impotent silence met its crushing arguments, the clarity and courage of its voice. But Cuba did not speak for the Foreign Ministers. Cuba spoke for the peoples and for History, where its voice will find an echo and a reply.



(On the occasion of Jamaica's independence celebrations Sir Alexander Bustamante, the Prime Minister, said that an American military base would be welcomed on the island.)

"defence" of their "homeland" which they alone enjoy barring the rest of the people from that enjoyment. All this in order to repress the revolutionaries who wish a new society, a just order, a true homeland for all.

But history's development, the upward march of humanity, can never cease nor can it be stopped. The forces that move the people, the true creators of history, are determined by the material conditions of existence and the aspiration to achieve the highest goals of well-being and freedom. These forces arose and were made possible by man's progress in the scientific, technical and cultural fields; they prevailed over the terror unleashed by dominating oligarchies.

The subjective conditions in each country, the factors of consciousness, of organisation, of leadership, can accelerate or delay revolution, depending on the state of their development. Sooner or later, in each historic epoch, as objective conditions ripen, consciousness is

The restlessness felt today is an unmistakable symptom of rebellion. The very entrails are shaking of a continent that has witnessed four centuries of slavery, semi-slavery and feudal exploitation of man, from its aboriginal dwellers and the slaves brought from Africa, to the national groups arising later: White, Negroes, Mulattoes, Mestizos and Indians who today are made brothers by Yankee scorn, united under the humiliation and the Yankee yoke, as they are united in the hope of a better tomorrow.

FEROCIOUS IMPERIALISM

At the outset of the past century, the peoples of America freed themselves from Spanish colonialism, but they did not free themselves from exploitation. The feudal landlords assumed the authority of the governing Spaniards, the Indians continued in their painful serfdom, the Latin American man remained a slave one way or another, and the minimum hopes of the peoples died under the

presently, the U.S. High Command has organised in the Panama Canal Zone special training courses for Latin American officers to fight the revolutionary guerrillas. The intention is to suppress the armed action of the peasant masses against the feudal exploitation to which they are subjected.

The U.S. military missions in Latin America are a permanent espionage force in every nation, linked closely to the Central Intelligence Agency. They teach the most reactionary concepts to the officer groups, seeking to subvert the armies into instruments of their political and economic interests.

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The Central Intelligence Agency has organised special schools in the United States to teach Latin American agents the most subtle ways to murder. The Yan-

power was absolutely illegal, the fact that each sovereign nation of America has a right to solve its internal problems without foreign intervention, the fact that international rules and world opinion exist, the fact that even an O.A.S. existed, all this made no difference in the calculations of the United States.

What counted were their intentions to halt the Dominican revolution, their plans to renew the hateful landings of their Marines and with no basis for this new filibustering concept of law other than the simple request from a tyrannical, illegitimate government in crisis. The meaning of this must not escape the attention of the peoples. There are many rulers of this type in Latin America, willing to use Yankee troops against their respective peoples when they are in crisis.

MILITARY PACTS

U.S. imperialism's avowed policy of sending soldiers to fight the revolutionary movement in any Latin American country, to kill

AFRICAN UNITY

ON behalf of the Delegation of the Union of African Students and workers in the German Democratic Republic, permit me to say a few words concerning the most burning and discussed topic of our time—African Unity.

The question of African Unity holds a major place in the struggle of all Africans for freedom, independence and democracy. It is the duty of all Africans, but especially of the youth, to find means of coming to a common and good understanding on this subject.

Before delating on the subject, we must first of all clear the following points, viz:

Firstly: *What is African Unity?*

Secondly: *On what fundamental principles must we base an African Unity?*

Thirdly: *Is the African Unity a necessity, and if so, how can one further this Unity to embrace the whole Africa?*

Lastly: *What are the aims and consequences of a practically working African Unity?*

In order to answer the above questions, it is natural for one to remember the historical facts about African Unity. African Unity has not been spurned out of nowhere by high-sounding-worded intellectuals, but is an idea which arose from the objective conditions and needs of the Africans in their fight for freedom and democracy.

INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISTS

At the beginning of this century, the so-called master-European colonialists saw to their amazement, signs of the awakening of the oppressed nations of the world. This awakening did not only mean a defeat of the oppressors, it also meant a total victory over the international imperialists, who in 1914 had plunged the world into a devastating war.

This was a victory for the workers, peasants and democratic minded peoples of Russia over the hated Tsar regime. The spreading news of this victory shook the foundation rocks on which imperialism was built and had shrived.

This victory gave and continues to give inspiration to many other oppressed nations in Africa, Asia, the world over, to destroy forever the chains that bound them. The myth that imperialism cannot be defeated was truly proved wrong and finally destroyed. The people can defeat Imperialism.

Shortly after the Russian October Revolution, in 1919, to be exact, the fifth congress of Pan-Africanism met. Pan-Africanism was then, as it is today, closely connected with the freedom and democratic struggles in Africa, as well as those of the Afro-Americans in the U.S.A., all for the most primitive human rights, basic democratic rights.

The founder of Pan-Africanism, Dr. Du Bois, dedicated his life and knowledge to the freedom and independence of the whole of Africa and democratic rights for all Afro-Americans. It was this

by
Seko Magua
Representative of the Union of African Students in the G. D. R.

same spirit of dedication to a just and honourable cause of the fifth congress that those original and dynamic slogans, so passionately expressed by Peter Abrahams "Africa for the Africans" and "United States of Africa" were unanimously adopted.

Another of the hot revolutionary days of the 20th century in the world was also the birth of the "African Congress" with its seat in England. The Congress protested against British colonial domination and asked for the immediate independence of the British West African colonies.

PAN-AFRICANISM

African Unity was then impressed upon all as the most important factor to enable our people in their struggle to overthrow the colonial yoke and oppression. African Unity can therefore be correctly termed the product of the liberation movement. It is a weapon of strength against the colonialists whose slogan has been "divide and rule".

The idea of African Unity has been a means whereby the African could consolidate their forces. Since African Unity has so far proved its strength most effectively on the national and continental scale, then it must have had its fundamental basis in our liberation struggles.

Any attempt therefore at this present stage to divorce African Unity from our present day political economic struggles would prove a calamity to our cause. In our struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and our fight for social progress in the whole of Africa, we need African Unity. "A house divided against itself cannot stand", also, Unity, as we are all aware is strength.

The ideas of Pan-Africanism and African Unity cannot have static definitions. As we continue to change the conditions of our social system, so must we also look upon these ideological weapons as dear friends who, having served their causes well, must be replaced by new ideas.

INTERESTING FACTS

A close study of the political and economical development in Africa for the past decade discloses some interesting facts.

Firstly—the determined fight of African people for independence has strengthened, nominally many independent states, and

Secondly—the alarming conspiracy of the imperialists to remain in Africa in the form of so-called friends and helpers—the ugly face of neo-colonialism.

Both facts prove today as in the past why we must unite, in order to keep "Africa free from the domination of international imperialism.

1957-61 saw the beginning of the end of colonial-

ism. The force of the national liberation movement compelled the colonialists to realise they could no longer remain as masters in Africa. Imperialism was and is nevertheless determined to stay at all costs. Hence the giving of politically and economically meaningless independence to certain former colonies and the appearance on the African scene of this child of colonialism and imperialism, a real threat to a prosperous and united Africa—"Neo-colonialism".

Because of the dangerous threat of Neocolonialism, we are confronted with following teething problems facing the newly independent countries. The formation of political groups and the immediate result of disunity among the states men and leaders. A true picture shows

1. *nominally independent African states. Still bound by the fetters of colonialism as a legacy from colonialist days, the leaders of these states work hand in hand with their old masters, lacking the guts to make a clean break, which could only be beneficial to the nation as a whole.*

2. *Independent African states who really struggled to win freedom and are determined to protect that freedom at all costs. These states are characterised by their strong dislike of colonialism, imperialism and the new danger, neocolonialism.*

THE STAND OF MONROVIA BLOC

To the first group belongs the Brazzaville and Monrovia Bloc. Their character can be seen from a statement made by one of its statesmen, the Prime Minister of the Ivory Coast. He says: "The once won national sovereignty can only be economically and socially solidified if the old connection with the old colonial power is not suddenly but gradually broken up."

By this statement, Prime Minister Bwanyi, although he claims to be a heroic fighter of freedom for Africa, is really advocating the "Modus Vivendi" of Africa with the colonial powers.

The second group, to which the Casablanca Bloc belongs, has the aims which correspond to rapid political and economical development of Africa. The character can be summarised from the following statements made by the President of Guinea, April this year.

President Nkrumah, whose country Ghana also belongs to the Casablanca group, advocates a resolute struggle against imperialism into a sure and complete victory for the peoples of Africa. In a statement to that effect at a conference of Freedom Fighters held in Accra in June last year, he said:

"We, (the Freedom Fighters) are meeting here in Accra to perform precisely

such a task, namely, to survey the forces at our disposal, to determine our position at this time, to access correctly the enemy's forces and to plan our strategy and battle tactics for the final phase of the struggle for Africa's emancipation.

Who is our enemy? The enemy is imperialism, which uses as its weapons colonialism and neo-colonialism. Let us be very clear about this. Let us also not lose sight of the real objective which is the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism in all its forms, political, economical and ideological, and the political unification of Africa."

NEO-COLONIALISM

These statements throw light on the awareness of the leaders of the Casablanca group as regards the dangers of neo-colonialism as practised by Britain, France, West Germany and the United States of America. The economical picture of Africa shows more clearly just how threatening to the rapid development is the presence of Neo-colonialism in Africa.

Facts show that the population in the Casablanca Group is 59.7 million and in Brazzaville Group is 28.4 million.

This proves that the Casablanca Group is backed by more Africans.

In trade relations we see that for the Casablanca and Brazzaville Groups, Import and Export percentages are as follows:

Casablanca 38 per cent and 77 per cent, Brazzaville 10 per cent and 10 per cent.

The figures prove beyond any doubt that the Casablanca Group has nearly 1/4 of the total import and 1/3 total export of all trades in Africa, making the group economically stronger.

The trade turnover in 1960 shows that Senegal, Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Niger together amounted to \$5,775 million. Ghana on the other hand, the above named countries had a trade turnover amounting to \$688.9 million for the same period.

GHANA'S TRADE TURNOVER

Why is there such wide gap between a single country (Ghana) with a population of only 6.7 million and the above named countries with a population of 14.7 million? No one would suggest that Ghana belonging as she does to the Casablanca Group, is being favoured by the former colonial masters. The answer can be found in the following facts.

1. The UN Economic Commission to Africa for 1961 discloses that foreign controlled concerns in Gabon gas profits amounting to 30-700 yearly.

2. The Ivory Coast in 1961 received 10 million Francs trade investments from abroad through the influence of the "Communite Financiere Africaine". For the same period, Foreign controlled firms had a new profit of 19 million Francs.

These statistics prove beyond any doubt that:

1. The "Communite Financiere Africaine" is a new cloak under which the old french colonials still

continue to plunder and rob the Africans. For every franc invested, they gain 1.9 franc back

2. The so-called economical aids are nothing but new strings to suppress the the Africans first economically and later politically.

3. The name of the new Partnership, Euro-Africa is nothing but a veil on "Medusa's head". West Germany, United States and certain so-called neutral countries have no intentions of forming any Partnership with any African state on the basis of mutual respect and honesty and equality, since they are out to get as much for as little as possible.

Imperialism cannot suddenly change overnight, just like the leopard cannot change its spots. No matter under what new names she poses, imperialism remains imperialism, Africa's and the world's enemy No. 1.

To illustrate more fully, take the case of Tanganyika. Britain offered Tanganyika 3 million economical aid in the middle of 1961. Shortly before Tanganyika's independence, Britain suddenly demanded the compensation of colonial civil servants now bent on deserting the young state and retiring home on their ill gotten gains. The money which could have been used to improve the living general conditions of the Africans, was instead used to pension off the colonial servants who had for decades carried out oppressories in Africa.

EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA

Take a look at the national incomes of an independent state as compared with her former colonial master.

Ghana—national income yearly amounts to \$194 per person, Britain \$817 per person. This proves a great economical gap between the two. The exploitation of Africa by the imperialists and colonialists has been one of the most ruthless and disgraceful episodes in the history of mankind. Africans today must be aware of the new forces against whom they have to fight in order to hasten and solidify African unity.

In summarising we see that:

1. The Casablanca Group has a strong anti-imperialist character both politically and economically.

2. The Casablanca Group without any doubt has the support of the majority of the democratic minded peoples of Africa.

3. Their actions correspond with the desires of the Africans as regards the rapid development of the continent politically and economically. The results of the resolutions passed at the first and third All African Congress supports this belief. Briefly the resolutions read as follows:

1. The unity of only independent states was to be a starting point towards general African unity.

2. The people of the independent states must be in agreement with the future African Unity.

3. Regional unity must not work against, but in harmony with Pan-Africanism.

4. The condemnation of imperialism and its product neo-colonialism in all its manifestations.

5. The condemnation of imperialist controlled puppet governments.

6. The condemnation of imperialism in its efforts to force federations and communities on Africans (fighting for independence) against their will.

Africans need African unity in order to combat and defeat the present difficulties facing them to achieve political and economic independence.

The main hindrances to African unity are:

1. Imperialism—with colonialistic and neocolonialistic manoeuvres, imperialism tries by every means to retain its position in Africa.

2. Neo-colonialism—under its influence certain states have grouped themselves with those outside forces working against the interest of Africa. To these belong the French and the Brazzaville Group.

3. The European Common Market—The European monopolies are determined to exploit sources of cheap raw materials from the African States involved with the Commonwealth. The European members see a future market in these African states of their export merchandise at exorbitant gains for themselves and political consequences are that Africa will become an appendage of NATO.

4. Communications—Roads and railways were built to transport raw materials as quickly as possible from the interior to the coast and thence to Europe. The needs of the Africans were in this connection never considered.

5. Monetary System—The dividing of African states into Franc and Sterling areas has to be overcome so as to increase intercontinental trade in Africa. To begin with, mutual understanding and co-operation should be exercised to overcome this difficulty.

6. Culture—Africans should revive and develop their national cultures and traditions. Our past culture, we can justly be proud of. Now we must get rid of the colonial cultural politic—inferiority complex of making or trying to make French or English men out of Africans.

7. If we agree to unite, we must get a common language or languages, so we could discuss together and understand one another. We could choose an African language to be read, written and spoken by all or at least the majority.

8. Under the old slogan "Anticommunism", the the imperialists try to

isolate the progressive forces in Africa for liberation, political and economic advancement.

In view of the following prevailing conditions in Africa today unity can only be realistic if these conditions are fulfilled.

But it will only be correct to mention that the development of society and therefore the relations of these societies to one another, do not depend on the will of one or another personality, but that they develop according to definite laws of social development.

Man can, through the conscious application of these laws either quicken the development of society or retard it. This applies to Africa and inevitably to African unity. Any Unity of Africa which does not correspond to the law of social development is from very start doomed to total failure.

In few words African Unity must be progressive. It must serve the interests of the people of Africa. At the present stage it must have a consequent anti-imperialist content. The realisation of African Unity therefore is anti-imperialism. These following points can serve as precondition and at the same time as aims which must be realised before unity can be most realistic.

POLITICAL

1. African Unity must be guided by social progress.

2. To achieve unity the first step should be, to liquidate imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from the lives of the African people, which especially includes the arising of such states like the Katanga and Tshombe as traitors in Africa.

3. That African Unity must be democratic—in agreement with the will of the people, freedom of speech, press, of democratic organisations. The immediate raising of the living standards.

4. Nationalistic tendencies must be overcome or better said territorial and tribal feeling.

5. General common economic development of all African countries through the complete liquidation of the monopolies grip African economy.

6. Through economic planning which should be on the state sector of industry.

7. Unity can only be truly realised if (when) Africa does not adopt the capitalistic way.

8. Must serve world peace.

AIM

Anti-imperialism and for social progress!

IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS

Continued from page 2

The natural result of this will be that the higher standards are pulled down to meet the lower ones. The tendency, therefore, will be for the wage scales and social welfare benefits in the Common Market countries to decline still further in the future.

Fourthly, in order to reduce costs and strengthen their competitive ability, monopoly-capitalist groups have also used rationalization of production and automation and other devices to intensify greatly their super-exploitation of the working class.

AFRICAN DIARY

FRIDAY 19th APRIL:
SENEGAL: Address of President Senghor to the National Assembly; the economic and financial situation is alarming.

SWAZILAND: The nationalist Swaziland Progressive Party rejects the British Constitution.

SATURDAY 20 APRIL:
IVORY COAST: President Houphouët-Boigny leaves Ivory Coast by boat to France, where he is going to stay a few days before going to Addis Ababa.

GHANA: An organisation called Amnesty International desires to intervene in favour of the bomb-throwers sentenced.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Haitian diplomat M. Dorsinville is appointed as Chief of U.N.O. operations in Congo, to replace Mr. Gardiner.

SUNDAY 21st APRIL:
AFRICAN STUDENTS: At their London meeting, the African students pass a resolution asking for practical measures (African Parliament, African Common Market) for achieving African Unity.

CONGO (Leopoldville): In spite of the government announcement, it appears that the nationalist leader Gizenga is not yet going to be released.

TANGANYIKA: Vice-President Kawawa is back in Dar-es-Salaam, after having visited Egypt, Ghana and Guinea.

MONDAY 22nd APRIL:
GHANA: It is announced that the steering committee of All African Peoples Conference is to meet in Accra at the end of June.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The 6 M.N.C. ministers are expelled from the party, for having accepted ministerial appointments without consent of their party. The Foreign Minister Bomboko gives up to his request for a reorganisation of the Congolese army through UNO.

BURUNDI: It is officially announced that Burundi will not join the Afro-Malagasy Union (U.A.M.).

SOUTH AFRICA: Nationalist Leader Sisulu has escaped from the Verwoerd police.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Talks start in London between British Government and UNO representatives about the future of Southern Rhodesia.

TUESDAY 23rd APRIL:
CONGO (Leopoldville): UNO General Secretary discloses that Congo has given up her first plan for a UNO-sponsored and organised re-training of her army; the Central Congolese government is to make its own arrangements with foreign powers on that matter directly. The Lumumbist M.N.C. Party has expelled its 6 members who have joined the Aduvia-government.

CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE: It is announced that the UNO General Secretary will attend the Addis Ababa Conference.

WEDNESDAY 24th APRIL:
MAURITANIA: 4 former-exiled (in Morocco) Mauritanian leaders decided to support the present government.

SENEGAL vs. PORTUGAL: The UNO Security Council passes a motion blaming Portugal for the bombing of a Senegalese town. For the first time, the Western powers vote against their Portuguese ally.

SIERRA LEONE: A new bill making any attempt to "overthrow the government" liable to the death penalty, is passed by the parliament.

NIGERIA: M.P.s criticise once more Foreign Minister Jaja Wachuku, who once more, has been attacking Ghana.

SOUTH AFRICA: A new fascist law against the so-called "subversion" (in fact, African nationalism) is passed by the White Parliament.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The nationalist leader J. Nkomo arrives in Cairo.
EGYPT: The French Charge d'Affaires, (the first since 1956) arrives.

ALGERIA: It is learnt that Egypt is to grant a \$5 million loan to Algeria. Vice-President Rabah Bitat states that no co-operation with imperialism is possible for a country liberated from colonialism.

NEGRO YOUTH TO DIE

LYNCHBURG, Va.—

"If it weren't for you people I don't know what I would do", Mrs Willie Mae Thornton told a mass meeting sponsored by the Wansley Defence Fund.

Mrs Thornton is the mother of a Negro youth, Thomas Wansley, 18, who is under two sentences of death for alleged rape of a white woman and a Japanese woman.

Her statement was made after she read to the gathering a letter written by her son. He is in the Death House at Richmond, Va., awaiting execution on June 7.

In the letter, young Wansley asked his mother to "tell Grandmother that I am going deeper into the Bible." He wrote Mrs Thornton after she visited him recently.

"He looks well and seemed to be in very good spirits," his mother told the assemblage of ministers and other white and Negro supporters.

She later told a reporter about her son's deprived background. His father died several years ago and she remarried. Wansley dropped out of school at 16, when he still in the 6th grade.

He had done fairly well in his studies but got behind because he was absent so much. This resulted from a chronic scalp ailment which the family did not have the money to treat adequately.

Mrs Thornton, who works as a maid, said that Wansley went to work as a dishwasher after he left school. She noted that he had never been arrested or been in any kind of trouble before he was accused of rape. He is also under a 20-year sentence on a charge of taking \$1.36 from one of the alleged rape victims.

"I sat in those trials here" in February," Mrs Thornton said. "From the evidence I heard they haven't convinced me that he's guilty of anything."

"The only thing he is guilty of is being with the Japanese woman. Like he told in court, he had been with her before she charged him with rape. I think she made the charge because her neighbours saw my son going into her house and she was afraid they would tell it."

Wansley testified that he had intercourse with the Japanese woman on at least two occasions before she alleged rape. The other rape victim could not positively identify the young man as her attacker.

His conviction and sentences have aroused the Negro community and many white persons in this area, as well as persons in other parts of the state. The Rev. J. A. Carter told the mass meeting: "We want justice. Righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

Another speaker was the Rev. Herman Ford, local president of NAACP. He said of young Wansley: "Though he may be far from our eyes, he is near to our hearts."

The Wansley Defence Fund was started by the Baptist Ministers Conference, headed by the Rev. Harold A. Carter and including other denominations. "God is blessing our cause for no other reason than the publicity it is getting all over the world," Rev. Mr Carter declared.

ference Education- al Fund (SCEF), New Orleans, are urging friends and associated groups to aid the Wansley defence.

Protests are being sent to Governor Albertis Harrison, Executive Mansion, Richmond, Va., and to the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, both in Washington, D.C.

A representative of SCEF told the mass meeting that the Wansley case would be made an "international issue."



Thomas Wansley, 18, faces two sentences of death.

"We got a letter and a check today from Tel Aviv, Israel. It is symbolic at this time of year to have a communication and a contribution from the Holy Land."

He reported that money and messages of support have been received from other parts of the world and from all over the United States. There have been donations by professors and students at all-white colleges in this area.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, and the Southern Con-

Another basis for the request is that no court reporter was present for the trial on February 7, and the death of Lawson "denies to the defendant the sole person properly capable of making up and insuring the accuracy of a transcript of the proceedings."

A tape recording was made of the trial, but Holt notes "that none of the present counsel for the defendant including myself, has any way of determining the accuracy of the purported tape."

He said there is no way to tell "whether there have been any additions or whether some mechanical accident may have destroyed part of the recordings."

Numerous other violations of Wansley's constitutional rights are noted, including racial segregation in the courtroom and systematic exclusion of Negroes from the juries which tried him.

Denial of the requests for new trials would clear the way for taking the case to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals at Richmond. The next step after that is an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington.

Holt is working with William M. Kunstler, New York attorney employed by the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. They expect to get a stay of Wansley's execution so they will have time to prepare his appeal.

Holt has asked the Corporation Court to grant Wansley new trials because of the death of his trial attorney, Reuben Lawson of Roanoke, Virginia. Lawson died March 23 but Holt notes that he was ill when Wansley was tried February 7 and 12.

Holt is also a former field worker for CORE.

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Editorial

The solution for these strains would be for the non-socialists to withdraw from the parties. However, such withdrawal has never been considered practical particularly where the party has won political power. In such circumstances the battle for the supremacy of scientific socialism is prolong and fierce and takes the form of an inner party struggle.

A study of the African scene reveals that because of the stunted growth of the indigenous capitalist class—a direct result of colonialism—the enemies of socialism strive hard to operate under the label of socialism. As a result, a good many brands of socialism have appeared and are being hawked by political leaders, by information centres of the imperialist powers and by church dignitaries. And even neo-colonialist regimes now strive to present themselves as socialist states.

In the light of this, socialist parties in

Africa must wage a relentless war against those vulgarisations and adulterations of socialist ideas which serve to undermine the foundations of scientific socialism. We must assert that socialism is international and its principles are universally valid. We must also admit that each country will apply socialism in a way to fit in with its history, its psychology and traditional institutions. But it must be made abundantly clear that such adaptations relate only to the APPLICATION and not to the PRINCIPLES of socialism.

The adulteration or so-called adaptation of socialist principles can only lead to the defeat of the socialist movement in Africa. Therefore all socialist parties in Africa must stoutly defend scientific socialism against all forms of revisionism emanating either from the open enemies of socialism or from within the ranks of the socialist party itself.

THE PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO

Continued from page 1

Two policemen and a photographer were hit by stones when the demonstration was being broken up, and the policemen taken to hospital.

The incident was followed by the arrest of more than 450 Afro-American school children as they paraded against the colour bar. Firemen got high pressure hoses ready but they were not needed as there was no violence when the children aged between six and sixteen, went quietly to jail and juvenile detention houses.

Reverend Fred E. Shuttlesworth, head of the Alabama Christian Movement for human rights, told reporters after the incident that the demonstrations would continue "until we run out of children."

All jails in Alabama are full. 1,000 teenagers and 1,400 adults are lingering behind jail bars.

The situation in Alabama is part of the culmination of race events in America. The explosion on December 1, 1955, the day Mrs Rosa Parks boarded the Cleveland Avenue bus in Montgomery, Alabama, and said no to the bus driver's demand that she get up and let a white man have her seat, is still fresh on our minds.

Recently eight Afro-American "Freedom Marchers" trying to complete the walk of the murdered Baltimore "integration pilgrim" William Moore were arrested. They were jailed at Gadsden.

The world will never forget Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett's efforts to block the enrolment of Mr James Meredith at the University of Mississippi.

These are numerous despicable criminal actions by

whites against Negroes. But the Alabama affair is a candid display of force and violence by those constant



Police manhandles anti-segregation demonstrator.

and conscienceless advocates of race supremacy—the masters and tools within the scheme of segregation in America.

It is shocking that for over three centuries now, the history of America is replete in the millions of Afro-Americans who were stolen from Africa, chained down like cargo, in the holds of ships and sent to America.

In this exercise children were taken from mothers, mothers from their children, wives from their husbands and families, husbands from their wives, homes and families. Children have been brutally murdered, mothers have been ravishly raped and men have been inhumanly tortured.

Today, those who survived the tortures and the slave ships, are still suffering. They live in the teeth of racial tensions, perilous and desperate economic and social positions and unemployment.

They lack equal opportunity for expansion and security, and are subjected to

abuses, segregation and discriminatory practices, civil and state disfranchisement, and racial intolerance. Only yesterday Mr Ralph Bunche said "all U.S. government efforts to end discrimination are not enough."

It is the honest view of many friends of America that she needs political changes of a far-reaching character. The strained relations between various racial groups; the sharp increase in crime and violence; the constant upheavals in every field, social, educational, political and economic—all these are the signs and proofs that things cannot continue as they are.

All people of America irrespective of race and colour should have equal share in government, exercise their rights through duly elected and accredited representatives meeting as a sovereign assembly of equals.

America must move forward towards a multi-racial democracy. In the growth of this lies the best guarantees for a peaceful America. It is the best guarantee for racial harmony.