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EDITORIAL

Welcome Decision

MAY Day is the workers' day. It is the day when the working class demonstrates its strength and solidarity. We therefore welcome the decision of the Ghana T.U.C. to celebrate it this year on the grandest scale in the history of Ghana's Labour Movement.

It was in 1889 that the First Congress of the Socialist International called upon the workers of the world to organise a great international demonstration on the same day in every country.

"May Day is the day on which the workers of all countries celebrate their awakening to a class-conscious life, their union in the struggle against all violence and all oppression of man by man, in the struggle for the liberation of millions of working people from hunger, poverty and humiliation", wrote Lenin, founder of the Soviet Union, the world's first Socialist state of workers and peasants.

"Two worlds face each other in this great struggle: the world of capital and the world of labour, the world of exploitation and slavery, and the world of fraternity and freedom.

"The workers of all countries are fighting for the emancipation of labour from wage slavery, from poverty and want. They are fighting for a social system under which the riches created by common labour will benefit all the working people and not a handful of rich men.

"Only a class-conscious and organised proletariat", Lenin declared, "can win genuine, not spurious freedom for the people. Only a class-conscious and organised proletariat can thwart every attempt to deceive the people, to limit their rights, and make them mere tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie."

Today May Day is celebrated throughout the world.

In the countries where capitalism still rules the workers will demonstrate their unity and strength in support of their demands for a better life.

* * *

In the countries still suffering under the yoke of colonialism, where in many cases workers' meetings and demonstrations of all kinds are banned, fighters for freedom will re-dedicate themselves to their great struggle.

In the Socialist countries, where the working class has already won power, it will be an occasion for reviewing the achievements of the past and for charting the way forward into the future.

We in Ghana, advancing along the road to Socialism in the eighth year of our national independence, have great achievements to point to.

All these achievements are our achievements, the achievements of Ghana's workers by hand and brain, achievements of which we can rightly be proud.

It is these achievements which we shall show to the world by model, picture, float and poster in our May Day demonstrations.

And we shall point the way to the future, re-dedicating ourselves to the fulfilment of Ghana's Seven-Year Plan which will lay the basis for a richer, fuller life for ourselves and our children.

But May Day is above all the day of international solidarity, when we shall pledge ourselves anew to the struggle for a world at peace, from the threat of nuclear war.

Once again we shall re-affirm our determination to abolish colonialism once and for all, and declare our solidarity with our brothers still fighting for freedom, wherever they may be.

Once again too we shall declare our solidarity with the workers of the capitalist countries who are our allies in the struggle against our common enemy, imperialism.

Above all, we shall re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of an Africa united, free and prosperous under a continental union government.

The Spirit of May Day lives on

by T. F. McWhinnie

IT is now ninety-nine years since the National Labour Union, the U.S. trade union centre of the day, declared at its constituent congress in August 1866 that:

"The legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvements and emancipation of the working class must prove abortive... The Congress proposes

ember 1888, this day is accepted for the international demonstration. The workers of the various countries must organise this demonstration according to conditions prevailing in each country."

Once again the root cause of the International taking up the issue was a report from

ed that other demands be also raised to cover the needs of the workers, and that the growing threat of a world war made the issue of peace a natural rallying point around which an international demonstration of the working class could be organised.

Today, despite the passage of time, May Day still retains

country which gave it birth the tradition of May Day is only maintained by small groups which, despite pressure and attacks, keep alive the great traditions of the American working class.

The situation did not arise accidentally, but was the result of a concerted campaign by the US Government in alliance with the top leaders of the American Federation of Labour.

The latter, backed by local administrations and State governments, fostered the celebration of the first Monday in September as Labour Day. Then, in 1928, Herbert Hoover, one of the most reactionary Presidents the United States ever had, proclaimed May 1 as Child Health Day. A laudable object you may say; but the 1928 report of the Executive Council of the AFL gives the game away when it says:

"The Communists still maintain May 1 as Labour Day. Hereafter, May 1 will be known as Child Health Day, as the President is directed by the resolution passed by Congress to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe May 1 as Child Health Day.

"The object is to create sentiment for year-round

protection of the health of children. It is a most worthy purpose. At the same time May 1 no longer will be known as either strike day or Communist Day."

It is a bitter reflection, too, when one thinks how, internationally, the dominant AFL-CIO group of leaders has become synonymous with reaction, that the origin of the great international festival of labour lies in the great battles fought by the American working class for social justice.

And it is only too easy to believe as American high explosive, gas and napalm bombs fall on the workers and peasants of Viet Nam, that the American working class has forgotten the principles of May Day.

Nothing could be more short-sighted or farther from the truth. While the AFL-CIO Executive Council can issue statements praising the "energetic retaliatory measures" of the US Government in Viet Nam, and can assure President Lyndon B. Johnson that he can "count on the complete backing of the American labour movement and you will receive it" a glance at the mounting public opposition to the Viet Nam war gives the lie to these statements.

(Continued on page 4)



On May Day the workers demonstrate their unity.

eight hours as the legal limit of the working day."

Two weeks later, the First International meeting in Geneva, went on record to transform this demand into "general platform of the workers of the whole world", giving as its reason the fact that "this limitation represents the general demand of the workers of the North-American United States."

Twenty-three years were to pass during which the First International was to go out of existence and the working class of the USA was to fight bloody and prolonged battles for trade union rights, shorter hours of work and better conditions before the same issue was once again brought upon the international trade union scene by the adoption of a resolution at the foundation meeting of the Second International in Paris on July 14, 1889.

At that meeting the delegates adopted the following resolution:

"The Congress decides to organise a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses shall demand of the State authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of the other decisions of the Paris Congress.

"Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon for May 1, 1890 by the American Federation of Labour at its Convention in St. Louis, Dec-

the American delegates on the struggle in the USA for the eight-hour day, culminating in the strike of May 1, 1886 in Chicago and the framing and hanging of the militant workers-Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel.

During subsequent meetings of the Second International the May Day resolution was added to and strengthened, the last occasion being in 1904 when the resolution read:

"The International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam calls upon all Social-Democratic Party Organisations and trade unions of all countries to demonstrate energetically on May First for the legal establishment of the eight-hour day for the class demands of the proletariat, and for universal peace.

"The most effective way of demonstrating on May First is by stoppage of work. The Congress therefore makes it mandatory upon proletarian organisations of all countries to stop work on May First wherever it is possible without injury to the workers."

It can be seen from the 1904 resolution that the international working class movement had added the "class demands of the proletariat and universal peace" to the single demand of the eight-hour day around which the original demonstration had been held.

The additions reflected the understanding that conditions in individual countries requir-

its magic pull. Wherever democratic rights exist, workers and their organisations fill the streets with bands and banners proclaiming their strength, their joyous confidence and their determination to abolish poverty and war.

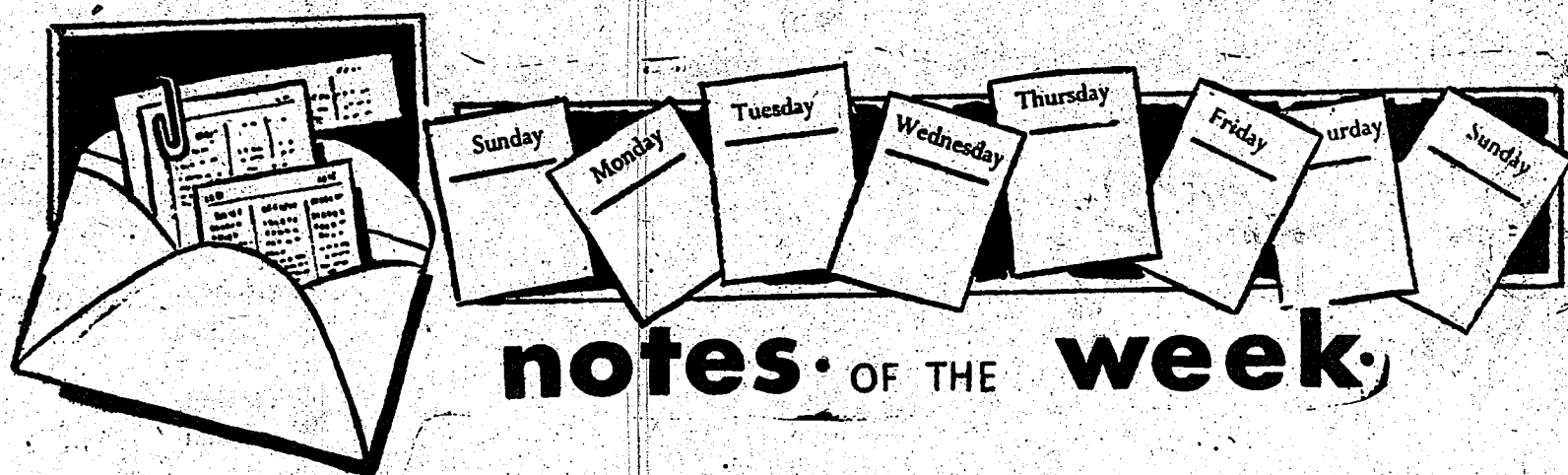
In the socialist countries May Day is a great annual public holiday when the workers celebrate the taking of power and the gains of the new social system; in the capitalist countries the demonstrators express their confidence in the strength of their organisations and make their social and political demands known; in the newly-independent countries the determination to maintain political freedom, to fight against neo-colonialism and to build a strong and independent nation are the main issues.

But in all countries, May Day is celebrated as a day of working class internationalism, of solidarity and of class brotherhood. It is the day when we remember that the demands of the workers in other countries are our demands too, the day when we remember those who still labour under the whip of colonialism and the iron heel of Fascism, the day when we celebrate as our victory the existence of the socialist third world.

The deep-rooted fear which May Day instills in the hearts of the capitalist class can be seen in the frequent attempts to abolish its commemoration, as in the cases of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar, Franco and others. It is an irony of history, too, that in the very



International Solidarity—keynote of May Day.



PRESIDENT Yameogo, fresh from his trip to the United States, is now travelling about the African continent seeking to sabotage the Accra O.A.U. Summit meeting scheduled for September.

This, too, was the aim of the monstrous attempts to link Ghana with the recent attempted assassination of President Hamani Diori of the Niger Republic.

Now the Nigerian Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, has added his voice to the chorus of those who do not want to come to Accra. In a cable to the Secretary-General of the O.A.U., Mr. Diallo Telli, he voices the opinion that O.A.U. members "do not feel inclined to attend the September summit."

Sir Abubakar alleged that this was because of Ghana's attitude to other African states. He has called for an extraordinary meeting of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers to discuss as he terms it, "arrangements" for the September Summit.

In the circumstances, it is legitimate to ask whether the purpose of Sir Abubakar's proposed extraordinary meeting is indeed to make "arrangements" for the success of the September Summit or for its burial.

The decision to hold the Summit in Accra was taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which is the supreme organ of the Organisation of African Unity. The Council of Ministers has no power to revise any deci-

The First Casualty

FACED with a rising tide of world protests against the continuing—and steadily mounting—U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam, U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara has felt it necessary to find new pretexts to justify American aggression.

His new allegations do little except confirm the point already made by *New York Times* commentator James Reston—that truth is the first casualty in any war.

The U.S. Secretary of Defence claims that a regular North Vietnamese battalion is operating in South Vietnam, and that more and more weapons and men were being infiltrated from North to South.

Even the Washington correspondent of the *London Times* (27.4.65) could not conceal his scepticism: "The Defence Secretary marshalled the deployment figures with his usual computer-like precision, but they were so surprising that one could only conclude that the computer had played a trick or that bombing had encouraged, rather than impeded, the infiltration from the north", the correspondent observed.

There were now, said Mr. McNamara, from 38,000 to 46,000 "regular" guerrillas operating in South Vietnam and 100,000 "local part-time guerrillas".

This, the *Times* correspondent noted, meant that in less than two months since the publication of the official U.S. White Paper with which the U.S. first tried to justify its aggression "the hard-core has been increased by 20 per cent and the local volunteers by rather more than 40 per cent."

"No explanation was offered for the increase of South Vietnamese support", said the *Times* correspondent—but he

sion taken by the Assembly. For it to attempt to do so would constitute a violation of the O.A.U. Charter and a step towards its break-up.

As President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria has noted, African states are morally bound to attend the September Summit in Accra unless the original decision is rescinded. "We all agreed to hold the O.A.U. September Conference in Accra and before we decide to boycott it there must be compelling reasons", he said.

It is not necessary to convene any extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers to make "arrangements" for the September meeting; a Council of Ministers meeting for this very purpose is already scheduled for August.

The unspoken aim of those who call for some other "extraordinary" meeting can only be to launch yet one more attempt to undermine the September Summit.

Only the enemies of Africa can profit from such attempts. Their sponsors would do well to reflect that by joining in the imperialist-inspired smear campaign against Ghana and its President they are playing into the hands of the enemies of African freedom and progress.

They are playing into the hands of those in Washington, London, Brussels, Paris and Bonn who want to see an Africa divided because an Africa divided is an easy prey.

It is high time that African statesmen stopped playing the neo-colonialists' game and acting as the travelling salesmen of imperialism.

went on to observe that "a picture published in the *New York Times* today of a terrified peasant woman clutching a baby and fleeing from American marines as they charged into her hut is perhaps one explanation."

The *Times* correspondent goes on to draw three far-reaching and significant conclusions from Mr. McNamara's latest series of allegations designed to justify the U.S. attacks:

"First: The bombing was begun to stop interference from Hanoi and a temporary cessation has been rejected because North Vietnam may draw the wrong conclusion. Nevertheless Mr. McNamara admits, or claims, that the flow of men and weapons has increased. To say the least, the lesson of the bombing of London and Hamburg, which only strengthened the will to resist, has been ignored.

"The Secretary doubts that there have been any North Vietnamese civilian casualties, but this is plain nonsense. Recently I was told by a very senior official of the Defence Department that much of the bombing was disappointingly inaccurate (twenty-four bridges is not much of a score for two months of bombing by aircraft comparable to the wartime B17 in load capacity) and the misses must have hit something or somebody.

"Secondly: The White Paper was written to disprove the idea that the Vietcong was mainly equipped with captured French and American weapons. Less than two months later Mr. McNamara has discovered that the vast majority come from China. How this has been done with most of the bridge unusable and with one of the world's largest fleets patrolling the North China Sea

was not explained.

"The White Paper made much of the sinking of a ship with a cargo capacity of 100 tons, and no subsequent hauls have been announced. The Secretary said today that since 1960 the Vietcong have captured 39,000 weapons from Government troops and lost 25,000. This represents a net gain of some 14,000 weapons, no mean armament for such a small force, and presumably of American manufacture.

"Thirdly: The White Paper insisted that the war was not a spontaneous and local rebellion but an undisguised attack from the north. Today the Secretary said that the Vietcong has lost 89,000 men in the past four and a half years.

"If the latest estimate of Vietcong strength is accepted, it represents a casualty ratio of about 200 per cent. *This sombre picture must surely suggest that the struggle is essentially a civil war in spite of the help that comes from the north*" (italics ours—Ed.).

We have quoted these remarks at some length because they constitute an important indication of the way in which even those who are in sympathy with American aggres-

sion in South-East Asia are increasingly being obliged to voice doubts about U.S. propaganda.

On the same day that this report appeared, Clare Hollingworth, the *Guardian* correspondent in Saigon, reported that troops of America's South Vietnamese puppet army "are becoming increasingly reluctant to get involved in the war at all."

Vietnamese sense, she said, that "the war is becoming increasingly an American show. They feel that their blood and soil are being used for world issues which do not interest them. These suspicions were confirmed by Mr. McNamara when he made the grim error of announcing in Washington that the Vietnamese Army would be increased in size by 120,000 men."

The picture is tragically clear: the war in Vietnam could end tomorrow—indeed, would never have begun—were it not for U.S. interference. For President Johnson to talk about "unconditional negotiations" while insisting on U.S. troops remaining in Vietnam is like a burglar forcing his way into a house and then offering to talk about the terms on which he will stay.

More Western Bases

IN January of this year "The Times" wrote that "The Royal Navy could be called McNamara's Navy because it is doing precisely what the Secretary of Defence wants done East of Suez."

There could be no more revealing commentary on the Labour Government's grovelling subservience to Washington. In exchange for U.S. backing over Malaysia (where there are British investments worth £400 million) the Labour Government condones every criminal act of aggression by America in Vietnam.

There are over 70,000 British troops in South-East Asia (compared with some 25,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam) plus a British V-bomber force and the greatest-ever peacetime concentration of British naval power in Far Eastern waters.

Now there is talk of the establishment of a new chain of British bases stretching across the Indian Ocean, to be used in co-operation with the United States.

An Anglo-American survey team has just visited a number of Indian Ocean islands aboard a Royal Navy vessel. Among the places inspected with a view to the construction of new bases were:

1. The Cocos Islands, south of Sumatra, administered by Australia;
2. Diego Garcia, in the Chagos Archipelago, half-way between Indonesia and Africa;

Return of Belgians

"STANLEYVILLE: The Return of the Belgians" was the eloquent headline on a report published in the *New York Times* earlier this month.

The sequence of events is clear: first the Belgian paratroops, flown in by U.S. aircraft, did for Tshombe what Tshombe could not do for himself—occupied Stanleyville and followed up with a wholesale massacre of patriots; then the Belgian officials move in to take back the jobs they left

when the Congo became independent.

"Former Belgian colonial administrators are returning to the Congo to take up positions they left at the time of independence five years ago", *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Lelyveld reported from Stanleyville (8.4.65).

"They have been recruited by the Belgian Government which will pay their salaries as part of its technical assistance programme.

"The plan is to place them

in key government posts in areas regained from the rebels in order to prevent the gross administrative failures that gave the rebellion its start. The Belgians will be responsible to Congolese officials only at the highest level."

The man in charge of the programme in the north-east of the Congo is Lucien Hembrechts "who started his career here (in Stanleyville—Ed.) as a colonial administrator in 1946 at the age of 21.

"When independence trun-

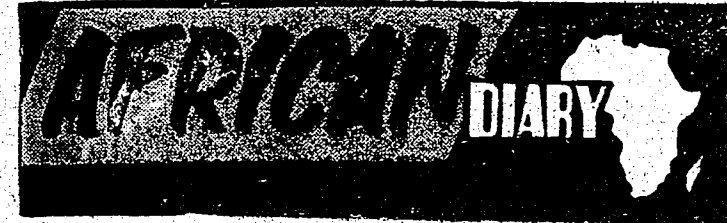
cated that career 15 years later, he was a district commissioner and still rising in the colonial administration."

By the end of April there will be twelve Belgian administrators in the north-east Congo; in three months' time forty and in six months seventy-five.

"All of them, Mr. Hembrechts says, will like himself have been here before. How long will they stay? 'I expect to finish my career here, just as I always did', he replies. 'I have fifteen years to go'."

More Belgian officers and N.C.O.s are also being attached to the Congolese Army. "The Belgian Government, in discussions in Brussels with W. Averell Harriman of the United States, recently agreed to increase to 300 the number of officers and noncommissioned officers it had posted to the Congolese Army."

This return of the Belgians constitutes an eloquent commentary on Tshombe's "democratic" and "patriotic" pretensions.



20th APRIL:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Nathan Sharnuyarira, a petitioner from Southern Rhodesia has stressed at the U.N. General Assembly's special committee on colonialism that Africans in the Southern Rhodesia will fight tooth and nail against the present development in their country to effect majority rule. He also hinted about the possibility of setting up a government in exile.

SOUTH AFRICA: Fifteen Swedish county councils have banned the purchase of South African goods for their hospitals, schools, and other official institutions, a United Nations report released in New York today has said.

MOROCCO: Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, speaker of the Federal Republic of Germany has arrived in Rabat today to have two-day talks with King Hassan of Morocco.

TUNIS: The Executive Committee of the Union of African News Agencies has opened its three-day session in Tunis today. According to reliable sources the Executive will discuss among other things the ways and means of carrying out recommendations by the General Assembly of the Union.

MAURITANIA: An agreement on judicial, cultural, air and commercial relations between Guinea and Mauritania has been signed today in Conakry after some talks between Guinea officials and a Mauritanian delegation led by Mr. Yahya, Transport Minister.

GHANA: In a message sent to about 600 Ghanaian students in U.S.S.R. released in Accra today President Nkrumah has called on the students to study hard in a country which has sympathy and aspirations for the peoples of Africa and assisting them to attain their socialist aims.

GAMBIA: Britain is to grant £400,000 loan to Gambia for her development projects, a release from Gambia has said.

21st APRIL:

IVORY COAST: Some French speaking countries will soon hold a summit conference in Abidjan, Mr. Philippe Yace, President of Ivory Coast's National Assembly has said in Dakar, Senegal.

ZAMBIA: In order to deal effectively with security problems, Zambia has renewed her special Powers assumed last August for further six months.

TANZANIA: Following a suggestion by Ethiopia's representative at U.N., Dr. Tefaye Gebbe-Egy, that it would have been more realistic if the U.N. special committee on colonialism held a session in Africa, Tanzania's representative has announced in New York today that Tanzania is prepared to offer the committee Dar-es-Salaam to hold a session.

CONGO (Leopoldville): A golden specimen of 100 million ten-Franc Congolese coins being minted in Brussels for Congolese national bank has been handed over to Mr. Kahamba, Congolese Ambassador to Belgium today. The obverse side of the coin bears the engraving of a lion and words "justice, peace and labour".

DAHOMEY: The Dahomey-Togo co-ordination committee has met in Cotonou for further discussion on the construction of the River Mono Dam.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Britain has re-affirmed her resolute

opposition to any unilateral declaration of independence by the Ian Smith's white settler minority regime.

22nd APRIL:

KENYA: Kenya has become 30th country to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, it has been announced in New York today.

NIGERIA: Alhaji Issa Wali, Nigerian High Commissioner to Ghana has reiterated that Nigerian University students together with Ghanaian counterparts should work hard towards the progress of the two sister countries and achievement of African Unity.

MOROCCO: A three-day meeting of the International Council of the World Without the Bomb has opened in Rabat today.

GHANA: President Nkrumah of Ghana has sent a letter to President Diori of Niger expressing shock and horror at a statement by the latter that the former had hand in the abortive coup against the latter. President Nkrumah asked President Diori to "dismiss this frame-up story from his mind".

* Lord Listowel, former Governor-General of Ghana has sharply criticised *London Times* of its short-sightedness in dealing with Ghana's economic expansion.

KENYA: Kenya has accused United States educational agencies of interfering in the educational future of 29 Kenyan students who recently returned home from Soviet University of Baku.

23rd APRIL:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Security Council of the United Nations will meet next Wednesday to consider a request of more than 30 African states to stop Southern Rhodesian bogus general elections scheduled to take place on May 7.

SUDAN: Fourteen people have died in election troubles in the city of Khassm El Girba, it has been announced by Radio Sudan.

TANZANIA: President Nyerere has said that Plans for the Economic Developments in Africa should meet the basic requirements of human dignity.

TOGO: June 20 has been fixed for the municipal elections in the Togo Republic, a Government release has said in Lome today.

SOUTH AFRICA: "South Africa will ultimately become an African Republic", Mr. Patrick Duncan, Algerian representative of Pan-African Congress has stressed at Copenhagen.

CONGO (Brazzaville): The L'Entente delegation touring African states with the aim of winning support to boycott the O.A.U. Conference scheduled to take place in Accra, Ghana, next September, has been greeted with violent protests by the working class of Congo Brazzaville.

GHANA: A Government spokesman has warned that outburst of groundless suspicion among African leaders will hamper African Unity and for that matter serve the imperialist purpose.

* President Nkrumah has in a message urged teachers of Journalism who are holding a seminar in Accra to spare no time to educate the new generations in techniques and ethics of true journalism.

24th APRIL:

GHANA: The Ghana High Commission in Lagos has warned

Presidents Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta and Hamani Diori of Niger that the plot they are hatching against Ghana is not Ghana which will suffer by it but the whole Africa.

TANZANIA: President Julius Nyerere in a statement to press in reference to the recent suspension of Federal German Government's aid projects to Tanzania because of establishment of Diplomatic Relations with G.D.R., has announced that Tanzanian pilots will now be trained in Canada instead of West Germany.

MOZAMBIQUE: Mozambique Liberation Front in a communiqué issued in Dar-es-Salaam, has announced that Mozambique Freedom Fighters have shot down two Portuguese military planes and killed more than 20 Portuguese soldiers.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Ian Smith, Premier of Southern Rhodesia, has declared that if United Nations persist in trying to interfere in the internal affairs of any country it may lead to the downfall of the world body.

SOUTH AFRICA: A prima facie case has been made against Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the racist bloody Prime Minister of South African Apartheid regime to stand trial before international court of the public opinion in Algiers, Algeria.

NIGERIA: Nigerian Labour Party has advised Nigerian Federal Government to defend Ghana against the enemies of Africa and prevent O.A.U. from becoming a tool in the hands of imperialism.

26th APRIL:

CONGO (Leopoldville): Leopoldville elections which were postponed about a month ago, will be held tomorrow, Radio Leopoldville has announced.

KENYA: Mr. Oginga Odinga, Vice-President of Kenya Republic, has called for an organization which could offer protection, diplomatic support, economic guidance and social advice for African countries.

U.A.R.: President Tito of Yugoslavia has arrived in Cairo from Algiers for intensive talks with President Nasser of the United Arab Republic.

* President Nasser of Egypt has agreed to visit Malaysia after expressing his country's support for that country in her dispute with Indonesia, it has been announced in Cairo to-day.

SOMALI: Mr. Adam Iskah Ahmad, Minister of Defence, has strongly condemned the existence of foreign military bases in Africa and Asia and expressed his government's willingness to take part in the proposed conference of the emerging forces (C.O.N.E.F.O.) next year in Djakarta.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Arthur Bottomley, British Commonwealth Secretary, has re-affirmed Britain's determination to launch an economic boycott against Rhodesia if she takes any unconstitutional action against the interest of the Africans who form great majority of the population there.

GHANA: Ghana exported 11,833 tons of cocoa beans worth £2 million to Czechoslovakia during last year in exchange of nearly £4 million of capital and consumer goods imported from that country, Mr. J. Y. Ghann, Minister of Internal Trade has announced to-day.

TUNISIA: Following a proposal released by President Habib Bourguiba on the dispute between Arab nations and Israel, an announcement from Cairo to-day says there will be Arab Summit Meeting in Cairo next month to discuss President Bourguiba.

A CHAIN REACTION FOR PEACE

We have heard a lot about your plan. It is of great interest to us to know that it has received popular support in Europe. Please, can you tell us in precise terms what your plan means?

THE interest shown by your weekly in the problems of the security of Europe indicates that in both Ghana and Poland our lines of thought are similar namely, that there are two cardinal problems of our era; the problem of peace and the problem of the complete political and economic liberation of nations from all forms of colonial dependence. Both are closely linked.

The peoples desire for peace, independence and free economic, social and cultural development are opposed by the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces which would like to turn back the wheel of history.

These forces stubbornly cling to the bankrupt but most dangerous "position of strength" policy directed against both socialism and the freedom movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This policy, which constitutes a serious threat to peace and to the world, is undergoing a deep crisis, because it is at variance with the laws of the development of the present era, the development of socialism on a world scale and the irrevocable disintegration of the colonial system.

TWO TENDENCIES

The many-sided development and consistent policy of peaceful co-existence pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been of decisive importance.

Two tendencies have emerged in the West. The first is towards a new, more realistic policy which would to a greater degree take into account the existing relationship of forces, taking into account what a nuclear war would be and striving to avoid it.

But what tendency is by no means predominant. There is

another tendency which aims at overcoming the crisis of the "positions-of-strength" policy by using the methods of the same "position of strength policy".

We see it in the Congo, we see the sinister and shameful activities of the colonialist forces in Angola, Mozambique, the Republic of South Africa. Above all we are now witnessing American intervention in South Vietnam and the unprecedented acts of aggression of the United States against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

We see it in the acts of aggression which cannot solve the Vietnamese problem, but which threaten a wide conflict and constitute a real danger to all of us and to world peace.

SERIOUS STEP

In Europe the line of the aggressive policy of imperialism manifests itself, among others, in proposals for the creation of so-called N.A.T.O. collective military forces.

The implementation of these projects in any form would mean the strengthening of the most aggressive forces within the West. It would increase the pressure towards new armed intervention directed against the countries of the third world.

It would make any efforts to secure the limitation of the dissemination of nuclear weapons impossible. It would mean bringing the finger of the Federal Republic of Germany closer to the atomic trigger as a step towards direct control of atomic weapons by revenge-seeking West German circles.

In short, it would be a serious step along the road which could bring the world to the brink of the abyss, if not farther.

We highly value the fact that President Kwame Nkrumah and public opinion in Ghana realise what a threat to all countries of the world the plans for the creation of the Multilateral Nuclear Forces pose and that they resolutely

Poland's Foreign Minister Mr. ADAM RAPACKI, discusses his plan for an atom-free zone in an exclusive interview with "The Spark"

condemn these plans.

As against the plans for the creation of collective nuclear forces—in other words, for a chain reaction of unilateral military measures of a tension and armaments race, Poland and other socialist countries offer another chain reaction—

one of relaxation, of disarmament and of collective security. It is precisely to achieve a turning point which could change the unfavourable course of developments in Europe—and not only in Europe—and to direct developments into the channels of peace, security and disarmament that we proposed an atom-free zone in Central Europe—that is, in the region in which our country, Poland, is situated.

It is worth recalling here that two world wars originated in Central Europe. Today, in this region, the forces of two military groupings—the Warsaw Treaty and the Atlantic Treaty both powerful and equipped with most modern weapons, directly confront each another.

MILITARY GROUPINGS

At the same time we have to take into account the unrealistic but extremely dangerous policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles, a policy of not recognizing the facts, a policy which under a hypocritical slogan of "self-determination" aims at the annexation of the German Democratic Republic by the German Federal Republic and a revision of the Eastern Frontiers of Germany, established as a result of the Second World War unleashed by Hitlerite Germany.

All this makes Central Europe an area which is particularly susceptible to the out-

break of a conflict. A conflict which flared up in this area would inevitably turn into a nuclear world catastrophe, which would spare no country or continent.

The relaxation of tension in Central Europe is a vital matter not only for the nations of that region, or only for the rest of Europe; it is of world-wide significance and also concerns, among others, the peoples of Africa.

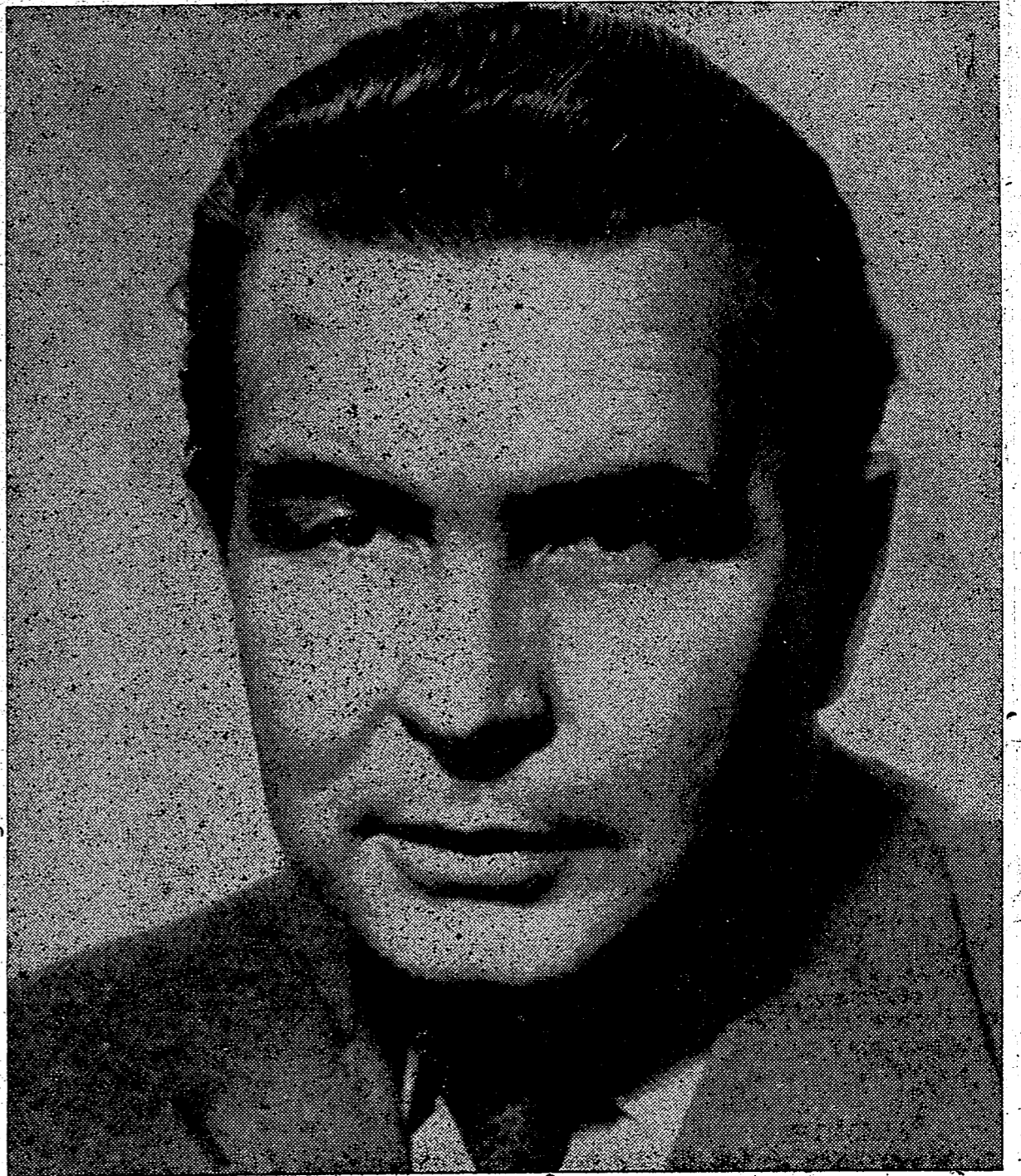
This is why we proposed in 1957 the creation of an atom-free zone on the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic.

Under this proposal no nuclear weapons nor installations for their employment would be produced or stockpiled on the territory of the zone. Use of nuclear weapons against the countries of the zone would also be prohibited. Appropriate obligations would be undertaken by the states of the zone and by the states whose armed forces are stationed in the area (France, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union).

These obligations would be carried out under strict international control. In 1958 we submitted a modified version of the plan on the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe dividing it into two stages.

In the first stage we called for a "freeze" of nuclear weapons and installations in the area. In the second stage we called for their removal from the zone with a previously agreed reduction of conventional forces in the area.

Although the new version of the Polish Plan made it possible to remove all fears with regard to any "disturbance"



Poland's Foreign Minister, Mr. Adam Rapacki.

of the balance of forces, nevertheless it has not been accepted by the Western countries owing to the resistance of those forces in the German Federal Republic and the West which do not want to renounce the positions-of-strength policy.

We still consider our plan to be relevant. However, since it encountered difficulties and resistance, we have put forward a new proposal the aim of which is at least to prevent further spread of nuclear weapons and to arrest the nuclear

arm race in Central Europe. In 1964 we submitted the Gomulka Plan on the freezing of nuclear armaments in the area.

The freeze—that is, the

Continued on page 6

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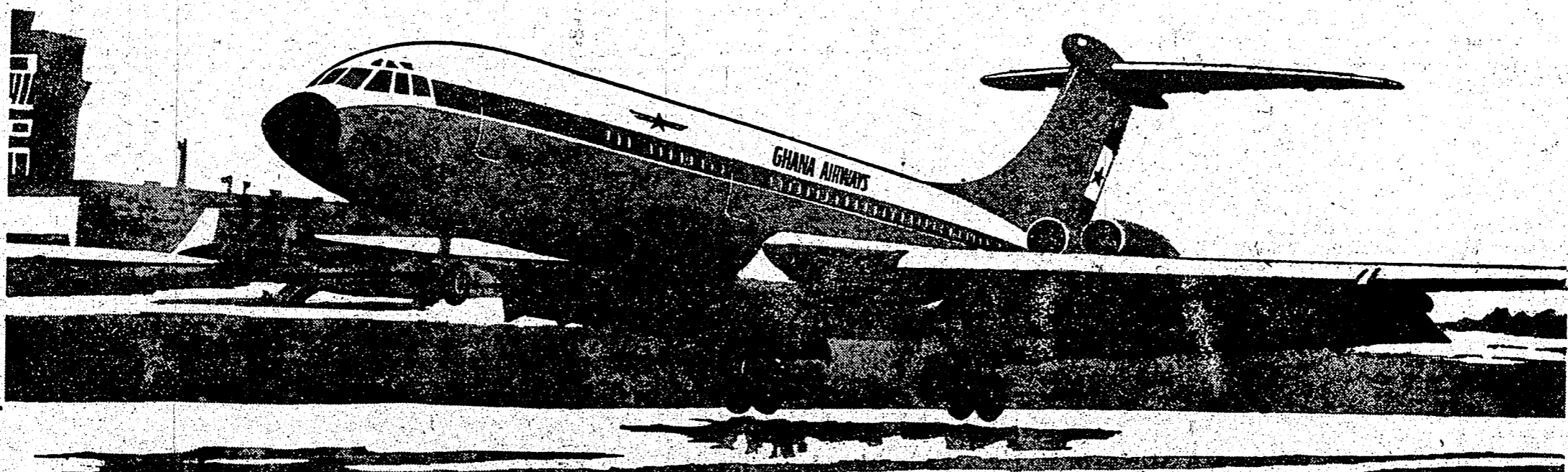
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	THU/SAT.	WED.	MON
ACCRA	0900		0900
ROME		1515	
ZURICH			1555
AMSTERDAM			1800
LONDON	1625		1850
			1945



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BRITAIN AND THE HUNGRY MILLIONS

by Idris Coa

DURING the long years of Tory rule, Mr. Harold Wilson waxed most eloquent on the need to extend far more "economic aid" to the under-developed countries, to assist in raising their living standards, and so provide an expanding world market. His original plan was to devote 2 per cent of Britain's national income to an "international fund for economic development". In Labour's official policy this was reduced to one per cent—at that time about £160 million a year.

In actual practice, total "economic aid" under Tory rule reached £160 million only colonialism. Great political victories have been won against imperialism, but the distorted economic pattern of the capitalist world still remains. Apart from the socialist world (where the economy and living standards are rapidly growing) poverty and hunger still remains in all the under-developed countries. The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, is doing its utmost to assist the new states to transform the backward economies and low living standards which they inherited from colonial rule. The strategy of neo-colonialism is to maintain this gap, and even to extend it. Together with the gigantic profits of the big overseas monopoly firms and banks drained from the new states

"Britain's future depends upon an expansion of world trade, upon making effective the vast potential demand of 1,500,000,000 customers in under-developed territories. The age of exploitation is over; we must raise the standards of those to whom we hope to sell." (Labour's Colonial Policy: Economic Aid June 1957).

On the contrary, they have had to pay more for cocoa, coffee, chocolate and rubber. The benefit of the steep decline in prices has gone into the coffers of the big overseas monopoly firms dealing in these products.

principles, Britain and the USA voted against or abstained on 11 of the first principles, and 8 of the second. The Soviet Union voted in favour of all the "special" principles, and all but one of the "general" principles.

the real causes, and to enable imperialist exploitation to increase the volume of world hunger. So at the end they are back behind the starting point!

Even the most zealous champions of imperialism cannot conceal the widening gap between the living standards of the "developing" countries and those of the "developed" capitalist countries. But they try to hide the process of imperialist robbery by means of all kinds of schemes for "economic aid" to the "developing" countries. These range from the "multilateral" schemes of the United Nations, World Bank, the Colombo Plan, and the Organisation for European Co-operation and Development (OECD) to the "bilateral" schemes of the United States, Britain, and other capitalist countries.

DECADE "PLANS"

In December 1961 the United Nations launched a "development decade", for which the aim was set for the "developing" countries to increase their national income by 5 per cent in the first half and by 6 per cent in the second half of the decade.

Taking into account an estimated population rise of 2½ per cent, it was calculated that this would double living standards within 25 to 30 years. It was estimated that it would take 80 years for living standards in these countries to reach the PRESENT level in Western Europe, and 120 years to reach the present level in the United States.

All these estimates assume that the imperialist system of exploitation will go on forever. Just as United Nations estimates of dates for colonies to achieve their independence were shattered by the rapid advance of the liberation struggle throughout the world, so it is also possible that new political victories will shatter their estimates of the rate of economic advance.

Within only five years, liberated Cuba, with vast socialist economic aid, has already destroyed these forecasts. And in Algeria, Ghana, and other countries, living standards are increasing rapidly in the process of advancing towards socialism, even before it is actually achieved.

The two main United Nations "economic aid" schemes are, first, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) and second, the Expanded Technical Assistance Fund (ETAF). Then there is the World Bank (dominated by United States banks) whose full title is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). It created a special agency, the International Development Association (IDA) to extend loans at commercial rates for "developing" countries.

All these schemes count for little or nothing in contrast with the total sums allocated in the "bilateral" economic aid schemes of the capitalist countries. They constituted only seven per cent of the total "economic aid" schemes of the capitalist world in 1956, rose to the peak figure of 13 per cent in 1961 (after the big jump in 1960 in the number of independent states) and

dropped again to six per cent in 1963.

The Colombo Plan for the non-socialist region of south and south-east Asia is not really a plan, for all the trumpet-blowing. It is not even British. It is simply a co-ordination of "bilateral" aid from Britain, U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, combined with the normal budgets of these countries.

The "bilateral" schemes of the United States and Britain account for more than two-thirds of the total capitalist world. So an analysis of U.S. and British "economic aid" schemes (with minor variations) gives the basic pattern.

The channel for the United States is the "foreign aid programme" which has to be approved every year by Congress. For the ten years from 1946-1955 inclusive, it reached the colossal total of \$51,300 million. This covered every conceivable aspect of "foreign aid"—Mutual Security Programme, Marshall Plan, UNRRA, Point IV plan, etc.

When this huge sum is broken down, it is revealed that 70 per cent went to Europe, 20 per cent went to Asia, only eight per cent went to Africa and the near East, and a bare two per cent went to Latin America.

Moreover, the bulk of all this had nothing to do with "economic aid". Nearly 80 per cent was for direct military expenditure, an unspecified amount was for economic aid to military projects, less than five per cent was for "development assistance", and four per cent was for technical co-operation.

In the succeeding eight years of 1956-63, the annual average declined from \$5,000 million to \$3,000 million, with a total of \$22,541 million for the whole period. The main difference was less for Europe, but considerably more for south-east Asia; especially in military expenditure. Early in 1963 President Kennedy appointed the Clay Committee to examine the U.S. "foreign aid programme", and when its report was presented the London Times made this comment:

"American aid is just not aid, but part of foreign policy. The committee calculated that 44 per cent of American aid in 1962 was military and economic support for allied countries bordering the communist bloc, and if the sums spent in Vietnam and Laos and other border countries which wish to retain their independence though not allied with us are included, the share of total appropriations comes to 72 per cent." (March 28, 1963).

The leopard has not changed its spots. President Johnson's request for \$3,380 million for the current year 1965-66 was cut by Congress to about \$3,000 million, one-third of which is openly for military aid—apart from further "economic assistance" for direct military projects. The Economist on January 23rd, 1965, pointed out that:

"In the reduced total the amount allocated to military assistance is actually larger, having been allowed to rise to \$1,170 million from \$1,055 million, requested and granted last year."

With the enormous "escalation" of military equipment and troops into South Vietnam since January, it is obvious that "military assistance" now takes a bigger slice than ever of the "foreign aid programme".

Successive legislative Acts have made provision for British overseas "economic aid". The first was the Colonial Development Act (CDA) in 1929 "to aid and develop agriculture and industry in the Colonial Territories, and thereby to promote commerce with, or industry in the United

Kingdom." This provided only for £1 million a year. It was replaced in 1940 by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA). This provided for grants of £5 million a year, but in the first six years the total allocation was only £10 million.

In the ten years 1946-55 inclusive, the total grants reached £150 million. At the rate of £15 million a year, this worked out at that time to less than a penny a week for 82 million colonial peoples! Even so, only £545,202 of this amount was spent on direct "industrial development"—less than £1 in every £300. Thirty times more was spent on roads, 22 times more on water supplies, and 15 times more on surveys and reports.

CHIEF AIM

In other words, the chief aim was to build an "infrastructure" (including schools, hospitals, houses, etc.). This enabled overseas monopoly firms to have cheap public services—roads, bridges, power, irrigation—and also provided a growing labour force. The undoubted benefit to the colonial peoples, though limited, was really a by-product of imperialist economic aims.

Another channel was the Colonial Development Corporation Act 1948 (CDC) which had the power to borrow £150 million. This Act was replaced in 1963 by the Commonwealth Development Act (CDA). This makes no grants, but extends loans only on strictly commercial terms. Actual commitments of long-term loans since 1948 amount only to £117 million. This Act is almost entirely restricted to private firms within the Commonwealth.

Since 1958 a new system of "Commonwealth Assistance Loans" came into operation, administered under Section 3 of the Export Guarantees Act, 1949, and as since amended. This extends loans to independent states of the Commonwealth, but strictly at commercial rates, plus one-quarter per cent service charge. Most loans are tied to the purchase of British goods.

Then there is the Department of Technical Co-operation (DTC), whose function is to provide technicians, experts, and teachers—for which allocations have increased in recent years in contrast to cuts in total "economic aid". In September 1960 came the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP), prompted by increasing victories for political independence in Africa that year.

All these specific channels are now co-ordinated within the new Ministry for Overseas Development created under the Labour Government, and for which Mrs. Barbara Castle is the Minister. Judging from the motion presented by Mrs. Castle in February to the House of Commons for the extension of the CDWA to 1970, it does not seem to indicate that any basic change is contemplated.

Looking back over the past 18 years the official total for all forms of British "economic aid" came to £1,367 million—an average of £76 million a year. This is in contrast to the rising total in recent years for military expenditure overseas; from £200 million in 1962, to £350 million. Even this figure covers only the foreign exchange cost (money actually spent abroad), but the real cost is far more.

Overseas private investment has also risen rapidly, from an official rate of £320 million in 1963 to a rate of £456 million in 1964—£344 million in the first nine months. This estimate is also much lower than the average £550 million a year given in the annual report on Balance of Payments 1958-61.

Continued on page 6



Poverty and malnutrition bitter fruit of colonialist exploitation.

in the peak year of 1962, but due to the rapid rise in Britain's national income this was far less than one per cent. In 1962-63 the total dropped to £148 million, and is likely to have been less for 1963-64. There is every sign it will be lower still during the first year of the Labour Government.

In the eight years since 1957 the tragic problem of world hunger and poverty has become even more serious. The United Nations gives a moderate estimate that in 100 of the under-developed countries, with a total population of 1,250 million, the average national income per head is less than £40. On the other hand, in Western Europe and the United States it is more than £400, ten times as much.

Economic transformation lags seriously behind the political transformation in the pattern of world relations. Since 1957 the world scene has changed rapidly. The majority of the former colonies have won political independence, and nearly 60 new states have emerged since the second world war.

Within the United Nations the new states, together with the socialist countries, are making a tremendous impact on world affairs. Faced with this rising opposition the imperialist states apply the dual strategy of making minor political concessions while resorting to new methods to maintain their domination. In other words, the strategy of neo-

(politely termed the "developing" countries) there is the widening gap between what the new states get for their exports and what they pay for their imports. Few have reached the stage of exporting manufactured goods, and those who do can export only a tiny fraction. In the main they are dependent on the export of raw materials and primary products, and have to import most of their manufactured and capital goods.

The volume of exports from the "developing" countries rose from the index figure of 70.7 in 1951 (taking 1960 as 100) to 111.2 in 1962. In the same period the value of these exports dropped from 125 to 95. Taking both together, the developing countries went down from 116 in 1951 to 96 in 1962. Prices rose slightly in 1963, but dropped again in 1964.

Put in more graphic terms, what the developing countries had to export for every ton of steel imported from the "developed" countries is given in the following revealing contrast:

Product	1951	1961	Per cent
GHANA (lbs of cocoa)	202	571	283
BRAZIL (lbs of coffee)	158	380	240
MALAYA (lbs of rubber)	132	441	334

This serious drop in the prices of raw materials and primary products on the capitalist world market brought no benefit to British consumers.

By this process it is estimated by United Nations experts that the developing countries have been robbed of no less than \$13,000 million between the years of 1951 and 1961. If this trend goes on, they calculate that by 1970 this widening gap will have robbed these countries of no less than \$7,000 million in one year alone.

No wonder the "developing" countries (which include the new states and the Latin American Republics) have exercised the utmost pressure in recent years within the United Nations to change this pattern of world trading relations. They had the full support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—in contrast to the strongest opposition from the imperialist countries.

Despite this opposition the United Nations was obliged to convene an International Conference on Trade and Development (UNTAD) at Geneva during April-June of last year. Reluctantly forced to take part, the representatives of the imperialist countries did their utmost to oppose and sabotage

all the proposals made to ensure more equitable world trading relations. In the final voting on 15 "general" and 13 "special"

REAL CAUSE

What is essential to change these colonial types of economy into an independent balanced economy is the creation of an industrial base, and a diversification of agriculture, with the most rapid expansion of the public and co-operative sector of production. This is not just a matter of blue-print plans, though well-prepared economic plans are the first steps. It is primarily a matter of carrying forward to a higher stage the solidarity struggle to end the imperialist system of exploitation.

The political effect of all the philanthropic schemes to feed the "hungry millions" has been to conceal the real cause of world hunger and poverty, and enable imperialist robbery to continue on an increasing scale. The Duke of Edinburgh is a patron of the "Feed the Hungry Campaign", and the Queen is a patron of the "Save the Children Fund". OXFAM Famine Relief (OXFAM) raised just over £2 million in 1963, which works out at a penny divided between three people for a whole year!

True, there may be thousands of well-meaning people who sacrifice money, time and effort for this altruistic aim. But it is important to convince them, not only that their self-sacrifice fails to touch even a tiny fringe of this vast problem, but that their genuine efforts are actually being exploited to cover up

VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

He guided first break-through by a Spark Correspondent

APRIL 22nd 1965 saw the 95th Anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the first head of the first Socialist state in history. The Soviet Union, now one of the greatest powers of the world, and the most advanced socialist state, is the testimony of his brilliance as theoretician, and practitioner. His grasp of scientific socialism, his courage and his close ties with workers, peasants and intellectuals, helped him to mobilise the Russian people to win political power and construct their socialist future.

First, it is necessary to understand the laws of social change, discovered by Marx and Engels. Secondly, it is necessary to have a political party which in ideology and organisation is equipped to lead the people to win political power in their own country and replace it by socialism. Lenin's struggles in the Russian revolutionary movement to win acceptance for the idea of a vanguard party were very bitter indeed. He understood that a revolutionary Party must be highly disciplined, based on democratic centralist principles. It must be capable of giving leadership to the people in all their day-to-day struggles against the tyranny under

This determination to enrich Marxist science and to understand its relevance to his own country, led him to produce his very great work, which is not so widely known as many others, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. He carried out detailed research into this subject and his conclusions helped him to understand the relation of forces within his country, helped him see which groups could be combined together into a force for revolutionary change.

IMPERIALISM

Lenin also showed how Marxism illuminated the world situation. His work *Imperialism* which has such great relevance for us in Africa, demonstrated the new features in the capitalism system since Marx and Engels made their study. His research led him to understand that Imperialism was the final stage of the capitalist system, it enabled him to show how world war arose and how the struggle against imperialism, called for the widest solidarity and support of all people's of the world for each other.

One of the things which distinguishes scientific socialism from other socialisms is their attitude towards the state. Even when Labour Parties and their equivalents had socialism as their aim, they were unable to achieve it, partly because of the illusion that the old system of ruling would serve their purposes just as it had served the previous Government. Lenin's work *The State and Revolution* teaches us how every state serves the needs of its ruling class. Now in the struggle to achieve national reconstruction and build a socialist Ghana we have come face to face with the character of the state apparatus left by colonialism. The two-Party Westminster system has been seen to be inadequate for the tasks of socialist construction which we have undertaken. Because we understand this in Ghana we have set out to strengthen our national independence by re-creating our state apparatus. It is clear that to overcome our present difficulties we need to change the form and content of our civil service, our police force, our armed forces and the centres of education and propaganda. We face, in a sharp form,

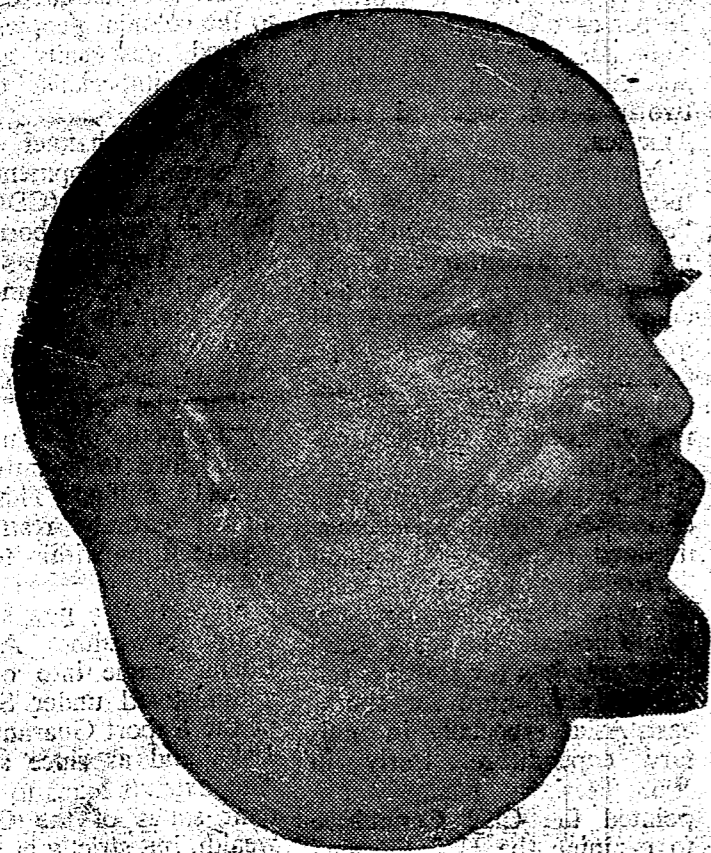
what Lenin discussed in this classic work. Those who understand and apply its lessons will succeed in building a new socialist society; those who ignore its lessons will find that nothing basic in their countries will change. At present, Ghana is the target of attack from imperialist countries and their stooges in Africa. Now when opponents of the Convention People's Party who have left Ghana are receiving assistance of all kinds from our enemies, when our economic difficulties are being presented as the stage before collapse, though we know they are problems of economic readjustment and growth along new lines, it might be useful to think back to the problems Lenin faced in leading the Soviet Union to building socialism in one country. When our enemies forecast failure we know they are wrong. The same anti-socialist elements forecast collapse and failure for the Soviet people in their efforts to build Socialism in a sixth of the world. Of course our problems in Ghana are not a carbon copy of those in Russia. Indeed our problems are less complicated precisely because Socialism already exists in one-third of

the world where Lenin's principles of developing and applying Marxism have been followed. In Ghana we are having new experiences, we are faced with the new world situation, more favourable to us than Lenin faced in 1917. Lenin and the Soviet Communist Party which he so ably led, applied the basic principles of scientific socialism to their conditions. We try to do the same for Ghana. The application of Marxism-Leninism to the problems of de-colonisation and development in Africa is to be found in *Consciousness* and in the other works and practice of Kwame Nkrumah.

confidence because of his close links with the people. Humble men and women came to him with their problems, he sought the opinions, views and experiences of ordinary people, he learned how to listen to what they had to say. He felt as they felt and shared their aspirations. His confidence in the future of socialism in the young Soviet Socialist Republics really arose from his confidence in the people, in the socialism's power of attraction, and in the creative political force of the masses once they are liberated from exploitation. Lenin was perhaps the most loved and the most hated personality of his time. Socialists, ordinary men and women of all lands loved him, the hatred that was felt for him was felt only by the tyrants and the exploiters who hate the people as well. Lenin, born 95 years ago, is still alive in the hearts of the Soviet people and all those who today are fighting for their liberation, for a better future and for the construction of socialism in their own countries. His example, his life, his skill and devotion to the cause of humanity inspires all progressive mankind, in every continent in every land.

WITH CONFIDENCE

Why was it possible for Lenin to face the future with confidence after 1917? His great country was to face terrible famine, the ravages of civil war, intervention by the armies of the West, economic and diplomatic boycott. He faced these problems with confidence born of knowledge, born of his understanding of the laws of social development, born of science. He also faced the future with



VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

It may seem a far cry from Lenin's birth in 1870 in Tsarist Russia to modern Africa emerging from the shadows of imperialism in 1965. The Russia Revolution however, of which Lenin was a chief architect, was the first break in the front of the Imperialist system. Hitherto it had dominated the whole world. Then in 1917, in one country, covering a sixth of the world, a break-away was made. This break marked the beginning of the end of imperialism, creating the world conditions in which growing numbers of people would also be able to take their destinies in their own hands and throw imperialism off their backs.

which they suffered and of presenting a Socialist perspective. It must be able to draw up demands and policies which corresponded to people's real needs and which encouraged them to take revolutionary political actions. It must be able to listen to the people and organise them effectively.

PROBLEMS

It must unite all sections of the people on the basis of a carefully prepared programme to act against the common enemy, their Tsarist oppressors. There was tremendous resistance to Lenin's ideas among some Russian revolutionaries, and he even had to threaten to break up the existing Social Democratic Party because of basic differences on questions of principle. Lenin's fight for this new type of vanguard Party, was consistent with his fight to defend Marxism against those who distorted it, either by diluting its revolutionary content, or by oversimplifying it through failure to grasp it in all its complexities. While fighting to defend its scientific principles, he understood what Marx and Engels often tried to explain: that their discoveries were not dogmas, that their opinions were not fixed and unchanging and that every real scientific socialist must apply Marxist principles to an ever changing political situation. Lenin was creative in the fullest Marxist sense. He studied, learning from the works of others and he applied his theories, learning from subsequent experiences.

Continued from page 5
The reliability of official figures can best be judged by a letter appearing in the *Financial Times* last September from the Malayan Rubber Growers Association, which stated that the "book value" of £104 million given for British investments in Malaya was hopelessly inadequate, and the minimum total was no less

than £260 million. What is clear from all this is that the combined total of overseas military expenditure and overseas private investment has reached a minimum of £900 million a year. This is £100 million more than the £800 million peak deficit in the balance of payments—and is now used as a pretext for all kinds of "economies" and wage restraint. Overseas mili-

tary expenses alone for Aden and "East of Suez" are more than £200 million a year, which is £40 million MORE than the peak annual total of all forms of British "economic aid". The U.S. presents a similar pattern, with a market value of \$66,400 million in foreign investments in 1963, with an estimated profit of 10.2 per cent of \$6,000 million. It is

not surprising that the U.S. also has a balance of payments problem! Greater secrecy conceals the total profit from British overseas investment, now estimated by the Bank of England at £10,000 million. The 1963 balance of payments report gives an annual average profit of £1,130 for the five years 1958-62 inclusive, but "invisible" earnings are more likely to be in the region of £2,000 million.

per cent rate of interest announced by Barbara Castle in presenting her new Bill in February. She was present at the Geneva UNTAD conference last year and attacked the World Bank Rate of 5 per cent to 6 1/2 per cent, which revealed that more than £1,000 million was due in interest payments in 1963 on total loans of £3,200 million advanced in 1962.

DEBT REPAYMENT

Debt repayment and interest charges due from "developing" countries on "economic aid" loans from all sources rose from \$900 million in 1956 to \$3,100 million in 1963—more than 10 per cent of their total export earnings. Barbara Castle strongly protested that "this means we have to go on pouring out future aid just to enable the poor countries to pay for past aid." What is more, the former pattern of roughly 50 per cent each in grants and loans is changing with the growth of independent states to the bulk of "economic aid", being in the form of high-interest loans. Even the boosted "economic aid" is declining. The future of the new states is not only a serious challenge to Britain; it has a direct bearing on the future of Britain itself. We have to decide whether Britain can survive on the old basis (which still goes on) of imperialist exploitation at the expense of the underdeveloped countries and world hunger and poverty, or establish new relations of mutual interest, based on genuine economic co-operation and the common struggle to end all forms of imperialist domination. This is the real issue behind what is termed the "balance of payments crisis". It is the price the British people have to pay for being at the centre of a vast imperialist system. It is not simply an economic problem. It lies at the heart of the entire struggle now facing the British people, and it is the responsibility of the organised Labour to ensure that the movement goes forward along the path of ending imperialist exploitation.

The Hungry Millions

Continued from page 5
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REACTION FOR PEACE

Continued from page 3
maintenance of nuclear armaments at the present level—would cover all types of nuclear and thermonuclear charges irrespective of the means of their employment or delivery, under an appropriate international system of supervision and safeguards.

tion of disarmament from the present standstill, thus free tremendous sums being spent on armaments, and devote them to the assistance to economically developing countries.

At the O.A.U. conference at Addis Ababa, the African leaders emphasised the need for the creation of a nuclear free zone in Africa. In practical terms how do you think your plan is applicable to the African situation?

NEW PROPOSAL

Its implementation would in no way upset the existing balance of forces, or infringe the security of any of the parties. It could become a starting point for a process of relaxation. With the same aim of halting the dangerous developments taking place in Europe, we have recently put forward a proposal to convene a conference of European states with the participation of the United States of America to discuss the problem of the security of Europe as a whole. Such a conference could consider not only the disarmament proposals of Poland and other socialist countries, but all other constructive proposals. It could also deal with the political and eventually economic problems of Europe. The establishment of collective security in Europe, the normalization of relations in Europe would make it possible to move forward the ques-

POLAND supports all initiatives aimed at the creation of atom-free zones in other parts of the world, considering them to be an important contribution to the consolidation of peace and the security of the world. Therefore, we warmly supported the initiative of President Kwame Nkrumah at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations as well as the initiative of the African countries at the UN 16th Session concerning the transformation of Africa into a denuclearized zone. We consider the position of the African leaders who at the conference of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa stressed the need for the creation of an atom-free zone in Africa to be wholly correct. The imperialist countries

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Establishment of an atom-free zone in any region of the world could set in motion a chain reaction with similar zones being created on other territories. It would thus contribute to the elimination of nuclear weapons. Obviously, the situation varies in particular regions and hence the means of solving concrete problems connected with the creation of denuclearized zones must be different. It depends, of course, upon the interested parties. The Polish Plan refers to the specific situation existing in Central Europe, but some of its elements could also be applied to the denuclearization of Africa.

What the developing countries need is not military bases and aggression on their soil, or private investment from abroad for the extraction of huge profits, but an equitable price on the world market for their exports, outright grants and interest-free loans for economic development, and long-term agreements at stable prices. At the Geneva UNTAD conference last year, it was revealed that from 1950 to 1962 exports from socialist countries to "developing" countries had risen from \$405 million to \$2,150 million—430 per cent—and from the developing countries to the socialist countries from \$610 million to \$1,630 million—167 per cent. These have grown even more rapidly in the past three years. Apart from its colossal economic aid to brother socialist countries the Soviet Union alone has assisted in the construction (or is in the process of doing so) of 480 industrial establishments and other installations in the new states, and has provided them with credits amounting to 3,000 million roubles (a rouble is roughly equal to the U.S. dollar). Long-term credits are at the low annual interest rate of 2 1/2 per cent, repayable in the currency of the country concerned or in kind. On occasions, the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries, extend loans entirely free of interest. Contrast this with the 6 1/2