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THE SPARK



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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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

No. 150 2p.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1965

COMMENT :

FORWARD IN UNITY (2)

Take the High Road to Union

Their struggles were landmarks on the way to Freedom

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, Sekou Toure of Guinea and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya—four who have led their nations to freedom. To-

day the surest way to defend and consolidate that freedom is through African Unity—the road to Africa's total liberation and complete independence of imperialism.



GAMAL ABDEL NASSER of the U.A.R.



KWAME NKURUMAH of Ghana



JOMO KENYATTA of Kenya



SEKOU TOURE of Guinea

THE history of a people is an unending book. As time passes so new chapters are added, chapters both noble and and ignoble, glorious and inglorious. So it is with the people of Africa.

For centuries this continent has been the eldorado of sojourners from outside it, sojourners who have come here under different guises but with one central purpose—to extract the riches of Africa for themselves and their peoples.

In this process of pitiless exploitation, Africa was trodden underfoot, dishevelled and humiliated.

These episodes, which have gone on for centuries, constitute the sombre chapters of our history.

But a new turn in our fortunes as a people came soon after the Second World War. Our continent has been rent by the struggles of our peoples against foreign oppressors and exploiters.

Our people have at last risen in arms against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

These struggles represent the noble chapters in the history of our people. These chapters, to name but few, include: positive action and the birth of Ghana; the Egyptian revolution of 1952;

The epic seven-year patriotic war of the Algerian people; the heroic resistance of the Kenyan people; and the undaunted courage of the African population under the heels of apartheid.

Out of these struggles new African nations are being born.

The emergence of sovereign African states, however, has coincided with the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism. The leopard has tried to change its

spots but it remains a leopard.

Hence the inevitable march of history has involved the African peoples in a mortal struggle with neo-colonialism. And this battle proceeds alongside the more direct fight against colonialism and majority race oppression.

For one brief moment since the Cairo Summit last year, it seemed as if imperialism had succeeded in casting its spell around us.

The unity of Africa was being undermined from outside and from inside. The pace of the liberation movement was slowing down and its development exhibited some jerks.

Imperialist manoeuvres through military coups d'etat, through misuse of the U.N., through spurious offers of aid and economic assistance, through fomented attacks on leading African statesmen conducted by other African leaders—imperialist manoeuvres seemed to be succeeding and finance capital of the Western world looked as if it was getting the better of us.

The face of history in Africa must change. From a humiliated people playing the marionette to behind—the stage manipulators in the West, we must overnight reassert our personality.

The 1965 Accra Summit of African leaders must go down as a most glorious chapter in the struggles of the African peoples for self-determination and for equality with all peoples in the modern world.

The significance of the Accra Summit should be that Africa must announce to the whole world in a clear and unequivocal voice that she has taken the high road of revolution.

She must show that

she is determined to break the shackles of imperialism however subtle and to assert herself as a strong, united, modern and ever-to-be respected continent.

First and foremost, Africa must settle down to a concrete consideration of a continental political union as the logical climax to the African Revolution.

We have been convinced by argument or by events, that reliance on ourselves is the only sure road forward. But reliance on ourselves yield no lasting results if we remain balkanised.

Hence we now see continental unity as the only framework within which reliance on ourselves can have real meaning.

We have also seen, again through argument or by experience that inter-African institutions, useful as they may be, need some unified political direction if they are to serve our emerging continent.

To create these institutions without unified political direction could easily mean the erection of highways for the deeper penetration of Africa by imperialism, old and new.

Secondly, we must acknowledge the few defects and ineffectiveness of the Liberation Committee of Nine. We must take steps to bring the Liberation Committee more firmly under the influence of radical African nationalism.

Thirdly, Africa must come out even more effectively than hitherto in defence of world peace through a realistic attack on the conditions that breed world insecurity.

Apart from a renewed onslaught on imperialism, Africa must liquidate all military ties with foreign countries.

(Continued on page 4)

Mobilising our People to Build a Socialist Ghana

by K. AMOAH-AWUAH (Minister of Labour)

TO build a socialist society it is necessary to co-ordinate all social and productive forces, to mobilise them to ensure their maximum utilisation in the advancement of our society and the emancipation of mankind.

For this reason, Ghana's Ministry of Labour is responsible for the maximum mobilisation of our human resources to satisfy the social and economic needs of our rapidly developing country.

The prime concern of the party and government is to promote and ensure the welfare, safety, health and well-being of the working people.

Ghana won her independence to build a nation dedicated to the progress and prosperity of her people. The Government's efforts to raise the standards of living of the Ghanaian people lie in revolutionising and modernising her economy to provide abundant work and happiness for her increasing population.

The promotion and maintenance of full and productive employment is of paramount importance, with the creation of the basic requirements necessary for sustaining and maintaining the enjoyment of a good life by the people to make them strong, healthy and prosperous, since they are the reality of national greatness.

EFFICIENCY

The efficient development and deployment of manpower are of strategic importance in the successful implementation of the Plan. Ghana has a labour force which is about one-third of the size of its population. By 1970, the labour force of the country, it is estimated, will have increased by a little over one million over the 1963 level.

The Plan aims to provide more than one million employment opportunities. About 439,000 of these will be new positions and 600,000 will be replacements due to normal wastage during the plan period. This addition will be provided by our educational system as a result of the accelerated development plan. Out of the total new employment opportunities, 10 per cent will be for high-level manpower in administration, management, professions, sub-professions, technology, skilled trades and education; 40 per cent for middle level manpower; 50 per cent will be for unskilled manpower and self-employed persons.

A department in my Ministry, the National Employment Service Department, is responsible for the organisation of the employment market as an integral part of the programme for full employment and is charged with promoting

the mobility of labour, which is essential for the increase of national productivity.

The present rate of our industrial expansion demands an efficient machinery to ensure that the right person is placed in the right job with the minimum delay. It also demands that temporary unemployment and the waiting period between jobs be reduced to the barest minimum, that there is proper vocational planning and guidance and that as much comprehensive information as possible about the extent and nature of unemployment and the supply of and demand for labour in every sector is available to the Government, to maximise our efficiency.

The National Employment Service has powers for the registration, obtaining employment etc., of physically handicapped persons and of highly qualified professional, administrative, managerial and other related workers.

This is carried out in consultation with the Ministry of Social Welfare in the former case and with the Scholarships Secretariat in the latter.

Facilities exist for unemployed persons seeking assistance in finding appropriate or improved positions suited to their abilities, qualifications, aptitudes, interests and desires.

Young persons who will eventually take over the production of goods and services in the country must be well prepared for this responsibility.

The Youth Employment Service section of my Ministry offers Vocational Guidance to young persons through school talks on occupations and employment opportunities, film shows, visits to work sites and school-leaving interviews all aimed at ensuring that young persons are placed in the right jobs to make satisfactory progress in life.

PREPARATION

The Youth Employment Service ensures through its specialised Centre that young persons about to enter the employment market, are well informed and prepared for placement in employment without waste of their abilities, in line with the needs of the economy as a whole.

Mistakes made in choosing careers by those new entrants, would result in a serious waste of manpower resources.

Consequently one of the greatest needs of our time is to re-define the role and status of the Youth in the world of work, in relation to the changing pattern of employ-

ment opportunities for all workers.

We should re-examine and improve the vocational preparation of the youth for work life, a key factor in integrating the Youth into national economic and social life.

It has always been the policy of the Government to encourage workers and their employers to regulate wages and conditions of employment through collective bargaining and peaceful and healthy industrial relations as pre-requisites for a harmonious industrial growth. With this aim in view, the Government, through the Industrial Relations Branch of my Ministry, has encouraged and assisted the development of independent and responsible trade unions.

Another step by the Government has been the passing of the new Industrial Relations Act which forms the basis of

this, has intensified the technical and vocational training programmes to ensure rapid production and to raise the general standard of skilled workers.

It has created machinery to enforce systematic and uniform apprenticeship training. In this connection, the Ministry of Education and my Ministry have a joint responsibility.

ECONOMY

Ghana's economic development is expanding with incredible rapidity. The Government's investments in state-owned enterprises and other business organisations are increasing daily.

The main objective for this industrial revolution is to offer employment to our people and improve their skills, so as to contribute towards the raising of their living standards.

THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING... (1)

industrial relations in the country. Under this Act, all workers have the right to join together in trade unions to protect and defend their interests.

The trade unions and employers' organisations are also guaranteed the right to take part in the preparation and development of labour legislation and discussion of matters affecting the well-being of our workers.

Ghana today has an increasing need for skilled workers. New industries, the building of our houses and factories, the provision of food and distribution of our goods, the maintenance of vehicles, buildings, plant and machinery—all call for an adequate supply of well-trained personnel.

The Seven-Year Development Plan envisages the need for at least about 40,000 professional and skilled personnel by 1970 in the various industrial establishments. Vocational training is the only way by which the supply of skilled men can be assured.

The Government, aware of

To tackle this problem realistically, the Government has set up the National Productivity Centre under the aegis of my Ministry to provide Training and development in the fields of management, efficiency and productivity of workers, foremen, supervisors and top executives in both the public and private sectors.

The second task of the Centre is to set up Consultancy Services to investigate existing operations, to locate ineffective time, whether due to management or workers, and set performance standards as a basis for Planning and Control of Utilisation of Plant, Labour Costs Control and Incentive Schemes. The Centre promises to play a vital role in the development of the national economy.

Increased productivity is a vital factor in the nation's growth and progress. To execute the Plan on schedule and to achieve the required minimum growth rate of 5.5 per cent per annum, it is necessary to eliminate all the fac-

tors which prevent our workers from increasing their output.

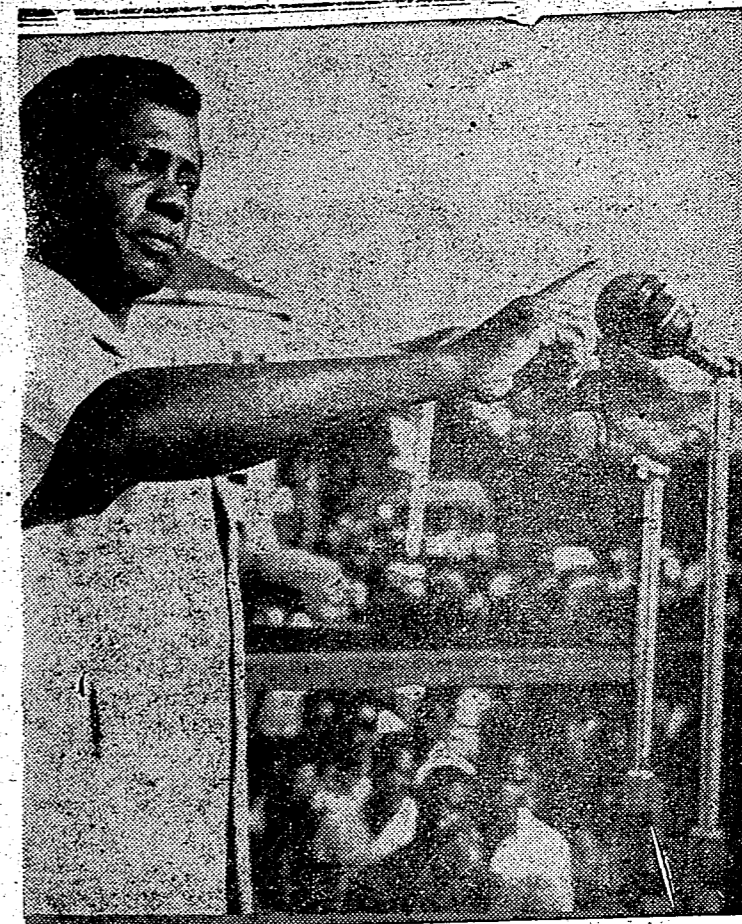
This has engaged the attention of my Ministry for some time, and I am endeavouring, in consultation with workers and management representatives, to find ways and means of raising labour productivity and reducing labour cost.

To create the necessary conditions for increased productivity and raising the national income, the Government has decided to introduce moral and material incentive bonus schemes into the country to stimulate extra effort.

The Black Star of Labour for meritorious workers has been established and my Ministry is actively working out a programme marking the gradual processes for the introduction and installation of incentive bonus schemes on a national basis in all types of work in the country.

The Programme gives priority to the need for more and efficient supervisors and work-study surveys. The National Productivity Centre aims to produce the trained supervisors needed for the installation of the schemes and conducting the work-study surveys. We already operate a systematic programme for training supervisors and work-study surveys.

Pursuing its fundamental aim of a socialist society and realising the role of workers in the national crusade, the Government is to guarantee all citizens the right to work including the right of choosing their own occupation and place of work; to equal wages for equal work, to vocational training, qualification, recreation, maternity, health protection and work safety.



Minister of Labour, Mr. Amuah Awuah addresses a workers rally, setting out the aims of the Seven-Year Development Plan.

of my Ministry is the principal legislation fighting against such accidents, bad working conditions and dangers to health. This legislation is designed to protect health and ensure safety as well as to provide reasonable welfare standards for all industrial workers.

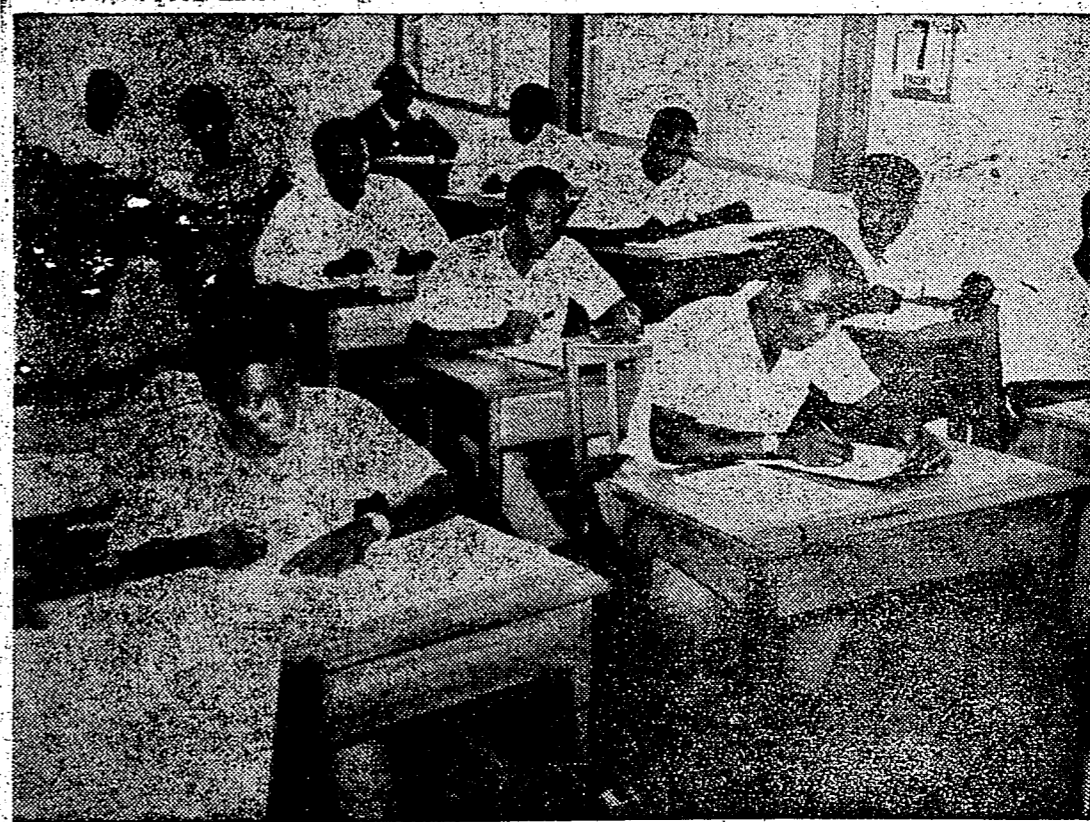
Socialist education of the workers is essential and vital to the re-construction of this country. The creation of a deep sense of awareness of their responsibility and acknowledgement of their obligation to the state, the development of a sense of pride and devotion to duty and the firm establishment of norms of socialist behaviour and morality are inconceivable without advancement in the consciousness

and the workers. This is a great achievement in which the Ghana Trades Union Congress shares.

The Ghana Trade Unions since the achievement of independence have been in the forefront of the struggle to achieve African Trade Union unity.

The Government of Ghana, in consonance with its declared policy, has given every encouragement and assistance to our workers and trade unions in the search for a Continental Trade Union Movement independent of all non-African trade union internationals.

Our trade unions in Ghana have borne great responsibility in spearheading together with other progressive trade unions in Africa the formation



Students hard at work at one of the classes organised by the National Productivity Centre. Higher productivity in a Socialist society is the path to improved living standards.

The Government guarantees these basic rights regardless of age, sex, or religion. These fundamental rights of the citizen will be given further practical expression in a new Labour Bill inspired by socialist principles which will be enacted during the next session of parliament.

The Government has provided legislation guaranteeing the workers' right to compensation for industrial injuries, and to the payment of financial benefits when their gainful employment is interrupted by retirement due to old age, or permanent incapacity for work.

Modernisation and mechanisation in industry have brought many hazards as well as benefits. Accidents at work exact a heavy toll in human suffering and economic waste.

The Factories Inspection legislation with allied Regulations administered by the Factory Inspectorate Department

and cultural attainments of all members of our society.

The higher the consciousness of the members of our society and the fuller and broader their productive creativeness, the better and more rapidly shall we reach the targets in the Seven-Year Development Plan and thus achieve our national aspirations.

Because of their unique role in nation building, the workers have been provided with facilities for improving their educational levels and skills and every endeavour is being made to awaken their national consciousness by ideological education so that they can apply their knowledge for the benefit of society.

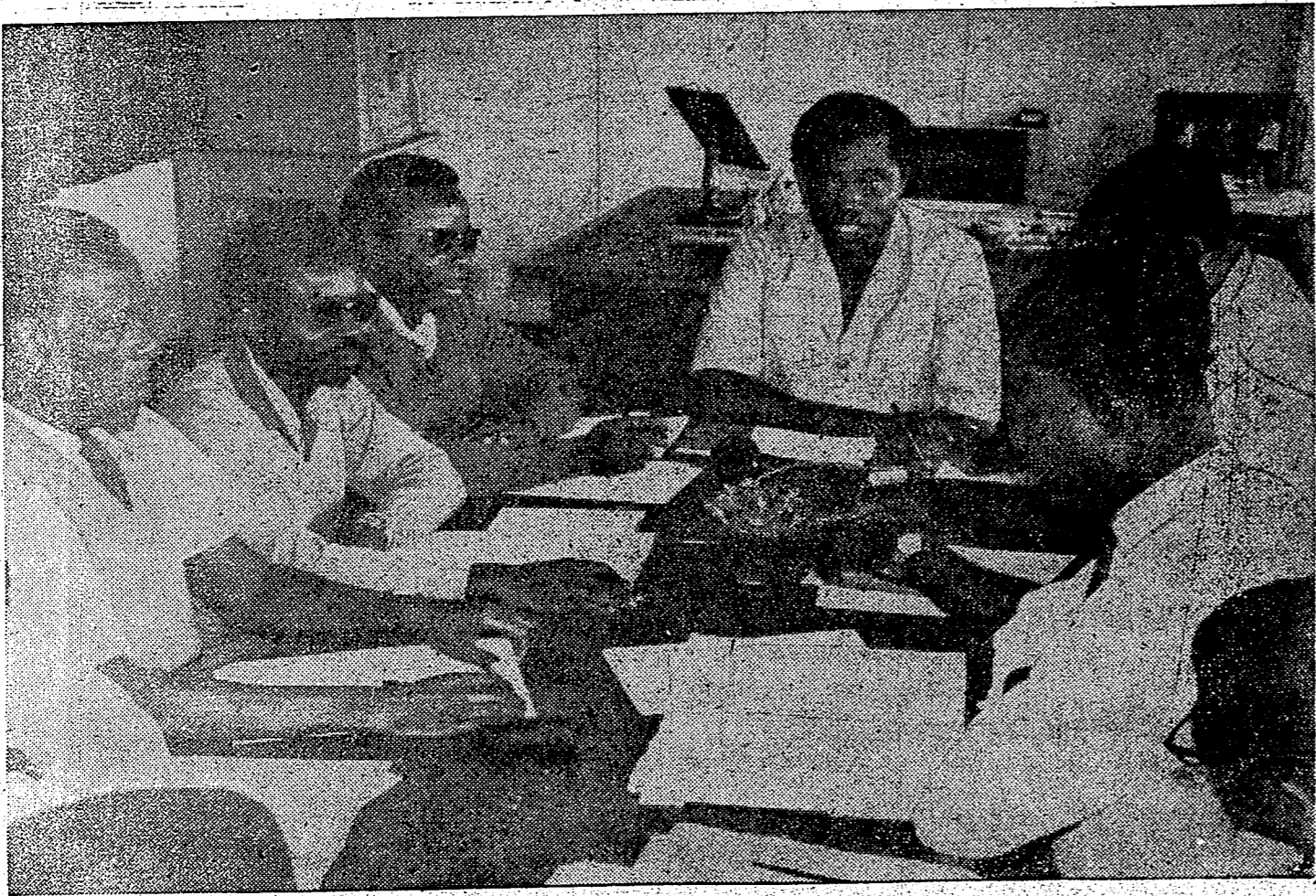
Such re-orientation has given our workers a new attitude towards work. Consequently, a high degree of industrial peace, an atmosphere of good understanding and love for dignity of labour now prevail amongst managements

of the All-African Trade Union Federation.

The All-African Trade Union Federation is a continental trade union movement. As a labour movement, its contribution in the struggle for African Unity and liberation can not be ignored.

The Fourth Conference of African Labour Ministers has been scheduled in Accra in January, 1966.

As labour has assumed a significant position in the context of African development and unity and since the functional value of this conference has been established, there is the hope that when properly organised, mobilised and politically directed within the framework of the African Labour Ministers' Conference and the All-African Trade Union Federation, African Labour will have tremendous impact on our stride for Continental African Unity and emancipation.



The Minister in the chair at a meeting with T.U.C. leaders Kwaw Ampah and G. A. Baigun (on Ministers right).



Economic Unity— Path to Progress

Extracts from documents which have become landmarks in Africa's fight for Peace, Freedom and Unity

FOR FREEDOM

The First Conference of Independent African States, Accra, April 15—22, 1958:

Recommends that all participating Governments should give all possible assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence.

Recommends that the Independent African States assembled here should offer facilities for training and educating peoples of the dependent territories;

Decides that the 15th April of every year be celebrated as Africa Freedom Day.

The Second Conference of Independent African States, Tunis, June 15—24, 1960:

Desires to pay homage to all victims of the shameful policy of apartheid and discrimination;

Decides to assist the victims of racial discrimination and furnish them with all the means necessary to attain their political objectives of liberty and democracy;

Calls upon Member States to sever diplomatic relations or refrain from establishing diplomatic relations, as the case may be, to close African ports to all vessels flying the South African flag, to enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports, to boycott all South African goods, to refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government and companies registered under the laws of the Union of South Africa and to prohibit all South African aircraft from flying over the air-space of the Independent African States;

Invites the Arab States to approach all petroleum companies with a view to preventing Arab oil from being sold to the Union of South Africa and recommends that the Arab States refuse any concession to any company which continues to sell petroleum to the Union of South Africa;

Invites the Independent African States which are members of the British Commonwealth to take all possible steps to secure the exclusion of the Union of South Africa from the British Commonwealth;

Recommends that appropriate measures be taken by the United Nations in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter;

Appeals to world public opinion to persevere in the effort to put an end to the terrible situation caused by apartheid and racial discrimination.

Decides to instruct the Informal Permanent Machinery to take all steps necessary to secure that effect shall be given to the above recommendations and to furnish full information on cases of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa, so that the outside world may be correctly informed about such practices.

FOR UNITY

The First All-African People's Conference, Accra, December 5—13, 1958:

Whereas the unity of Africa will be vital to the independence of its component units and essential to the security and general well-being of African peoples;

Whereas the existence of separate states in Africa is fraught with the dangers of exposure to imperialist intrigues and of resurgence of colonialism even after their attainment of independence, unless there is unity among them;

And whereas the ultimate objective of African nations is a Commonwealth of Free African States,

Be it resolved and it is hereby resolved by the All-African Peoples Conference that the Conference;

- (a) endorses Pan-Africanism and the desire for unity among African peoples;
- (b) declares that its ultimate objective is the evolution of a Commonwealth of Free African States;
- (c) calls upon the Independent States of Africa to lead the peoples of Africa towards the attainment of this objective; and
- (d) expresses the hope that the day will dawn when the first loyalty of African States will be to an African Commonwealth.

Constitutions and programmes for promoting African Solidarity:

Be it resolved and it is hereby resolved by the All-African People's Conference that the Conference;

- (a) calls upon all States and countries in Africa which are in a position to do so to implement the following programme forthwith;
- (i) abolition of passport requirements and other travel restrictions for bona-fide African visitors, tourists and students;
- (ii) reciprocal rights of citizenship for Africans from other territories;
- (iii) reciprocal teaching of the English and French languages and the history of other African nations in the Secondary Schools of each territory;
- (iv) organisation of inter-territorial enterprises;
- (b) urges the organisation of regional Conferences respectively of political parties, trade unions, youth organisations, journalists and writers, women's organisations, etc.
- (c) calls upon all Africans wherever they can to use the radio, the press and other media of mass communications to promote the ideals of Pan-Africanism.
- (d) urges political parties throughout Africa to provide in their constitutions and programmes for the promotion of African solidarity.

FOR PEACE

The First Conference of Independent African States, Accra, April 15—22, 1958:

We, the African States assembled here in Accra, in this our first Conference, conscious of our responsibilities to humanity and especially to the peoples of Africa, and desiring to assert our African personality on the side of peace, hereby proclaim and solemnly reaffirm our unwavering loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration of the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung.

We further assert and proclaim the unity among ourselves and our solidarity with the dependent peoples of Africa as well as our friendship with all nations. We resolve to preserve the unity of purpose and action in international affairs which we have forged among ourselves in this historic Conference; to safeguard our hard-won independence sovereignty and territorial integrity; and to preserve among ourselves the fundamental unity of outlook on foreign policy so that a distinctive African Personality will play its part in co-operation with other peace-loving nations to further the cause of peace.

NO sooner had the African countries rid themselves of colonial oppression than they were confronted with the problem of economic integration.

The experience of free development demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of the African states cannot shake off the exploitation by Western monopoly capital and achieve economic independence single-handed.

By joining their efforts in the sphere of economic development the African countries would create better pre-requisites to catch up with industrially developed States. Of the numerous advantages that integration offers, the following two seem to be of major importance:

1. It opens up a prospect of utilising Africa's rather limited capital reserves and material resources for the development of the basic industries such as power, steel metal working and chemical industry. Since these industries require big capital outlays, few African countries can at present afford to develop them. In the absence of these industries, however, there can be no question of eliminating Africa's economic lag and ensuring her independent economic progress.

2. It provides a large market, which is necessary for the normal operation of big industrial enterprises. Such enterprises should eventually appear in Africa since they are the most profitable and are best able to resist competition. As a rule, the market of each individual country is very limited and is unable to consume any appreciable amount of goods.

CONFERENCES

Public opinion has forced the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to take up the problem in earnest. In July 1962, the Commission convened a conference in Niamey, Niger, on co-ordinating the programmes for West Africa's industrial development, followed by other conferences of West African states which considered the possibilities of expanding economic co-operation.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa also sponsored a series of conferences on questions of finance, natural resources survey, scientific research and training of labour.

The formation in May 1963, of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) created a favourable climate for stepping up inter-African economic co-operation. The Organisation's Charter urged the necessity to co-ordinate and intensify the co-operation efforts of the African states with a view to ensuring their peoples better living conditions.

The idea of inter-African co-operation has found perhaps its clearest expression in the establishment of the African Bank of Development (ABD), the first-ever all-Africa financial concern.

AFRICAN STATES

The ABD sponsors were exclusively African states with whose deposits the Bank's 250 million dollars initial stock was made up. Each contributing state has a different share of the capital.

Thus, the United Arab Republic is entitled to 3,000 shares to the total

*A Soviet economist
N. GAVRILOV
discusses the problems of
African economic integration,
which he sees as the road to
economic independence.*

sum of 30 million dollars (each share is equivalent to 10,000 dollars); Algeria, also 3,000 shares; Nigeria—2,410; Morocco—1,510; the Congo (Leopoldville)—1,300; Ghana—1,280; Ethiopia—1,038. Other African countries' contributions are considerably smaller.

Besides representatives of the U.A.R., Algeria, Nigeria, Morocco, Ghana, and Ethiopia, the Bank's Board of Directors includes representatives from Tanzania (530 shares) Liberia, (260 shares) and Dahomey (148 shares).

This demonstrates the sponsors' intention to take equal account of the interests of all African nations, whether big or small.

DEVELOPMENT

In 1964, concrete decisions were taken on industrial development in West Africa. The 11-nation conference held last October in Bamako and attended by representatives of Ghana, Guinea, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Liberia, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo adopted by a majority vote a recommendation on the joint construction in West Africa of two steel works, one of them, with the annual capacity of 200,000 tons, at Guin (Mali) and the other, with a capacity of 400,000 tons of steel, at Lava-Buchanan (Liberia).

The Conference worked out recommendations for the siting in West Africa of chemical plants, textile mills, cement factories and other industrial enterprises.

The Bamako Conference formulated the principles of sectional economic co-operation, which can be briefly summed up as follows:

to ensure priority development of the basic industries;

to promote the development of versatile inter-African economic links to help provide the future enterprises with raw material and market for their products;

to secure a well-balanced development of both coastal and inland areas.

These principles show that the emerging states emphatically refuse to follow some Western experts' advice to give priority development to their agriculture along with small handicraft type enterprises, operated principally by manual labour.

OTHER STEPS

During 1963-64 some other steps were also taken to expand the African states' economic co-operation. In Dakar, the All-Africa Institute of Economic Development and Planning was inaugurated with the support of the ECA; the Institute trains the national cadres of economists.

In October, 1964, Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia agreed to set up a permanent advisory committee to co-ordinate their policy on economic planning and industrial development and service.

Also in 1964, representatives of the Cameroons, Niger, Nigeria and Chad elaborated a joint land reclamation scheme to be carried out around the Lake

preserving these zones in which they enjoy a number of economic—and often political—privileges.

Throwing a smoke-screen over the neo-colonialists' true aims, some Western scholars, together with the monopoly press insist that it is the African countries themselves that benefit from the continuation in Africa of the Western spheres of influence, which circumstance, it is alleged, opens up broader prospects for regional co-operation.

The imperialist countries would like this state of things to continue for as long as possible.

It is alleged by some Western experts that membership in different imperialist-imposed currency and economic blocs does not in the least prevent African countries from setting up economic organizations of their own. This, however, is far from true. The following is a typical example.

Some time ago four neighbouring West African countries, viz. the Ivory Coast, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, wanted to have a joint free trade zone. The proposition was unanimously approved by these countries' Heads of State at their conference held in August, 1964.

THE FUTURE

Nevertheless, the project is still waiting to be carried out, as it has proved impossible for the countries to overcome the partitions of the different currency areas to which they separately belong.

In order to prevent economic integration in Africa the imperialists seek to undermine the very foundations of African unity, to split the OAU.

The practicability of African economic integration depends on which forces in the continent will prevail: those that would steer the young states along the path of independent national development, or those bound up with foreign monopoly capital, which strives to make Africa continue as an economic appendage of the West.

It would be ill-advised to underestimate the African reactionary forces, committed to imperialism and neo-colonialism. But the fact that the tendency for economic unity, once conceived, has been gaining in scope and growing in popularity among the African peoples proves that it has an assured and promising future.

To implement the idea of Africa's economic integration, it is necessary in the first place to disband all pro-imperialist political groupings in the continent and abolish the imperialist currency and economic associations.

The African countries' opportunity for economic co-operation with one another will grow as fast as their economic and political dependence on the imperialist states will diminish.

The success of economic integration largely depends on the introduction in Africa of profound socio-economic reforms of a socialist nature.

As Mr. Seydou Badian Kouyate, Minister of Development of the Mali Republic, has justly noted in his recently published book *Leaders of Tropical Africa Face Their Peoples*, economic progress at the inter-African level requires strict equality between states regardless of the economic weight each of them may pull today and concern for common interest which can only be achieved in the conditions of a socialist system.

Chad. Plans are being laid for the development of a common African railway network.

What then, are the difficulties?

The most difficult thing is, perhaps, to establish zones of free trade, to reach agreement on cutting down and removing customs, currency and other economic barriers. The question is the establishment of a common African market which will make it possible widely to co-ordinate economic activity and the free movement of capital, commodities, and manpower.

The African common market is a long-debated point. In 1963, the Fifth Session of the ECA adopted a resolution which noted the African countries' unanimous desire to set up a common African market.

The Addis Ababa, 1963, Conference of the African Heads of State and Government voiced the same desire. The Conference resolved to form an economic preparatory committee to investigate the possibilities for the creation of an African free exchange zone, the introduction of a common tariff quota to protect the budding industries, the organisation of an African clearing union—a pan-African currency zone.

The problem of a common African market was looked into at the Cairo session of the OAU Economic Committee held last January, in which the Ministers of Economy of over thirty states took part.

For all that, the problem is still at the discussion stage. The Western press tries to explain the emerging states' "indecision" by certain factors which they call "objective" and, in the first place, by the alleged "hopelessness" and "impotence" of African economic integration.

'UTOPIA'?

For example, the French economists V. Vineil and M. Servoise assert that the African common market is "a dangerous utopia inevitably doomed to failure as a result of certain prevailing economic and political conditions".

What are the arguments of the opponents of the African common market?

They would have us believe that the national interests of individual African states dominate over the all-African interests, that economically more advanced countries will inevitably try to impose their will upon their weaker partners, and that the similarity of their output makes the young African states indifferent to barter.

The efforts of these apologists of imperialism are dictated by the selfish interests of Western monopoly capital. At present, 15 out of the 36 independent African states belong to the franc zone; Liberia is tied to the U.S. dollar, the Congo (Leopoldville), Burundi and Ruanda are in varying degrees connected with the Belgian franc.

Eighteen African states are associated members of the European Economic Community. The imperialists are keenly interested in

NEED FOR UNITY STRESSED

N.A.T.O. backing for Salazar, Verwoerd rapped

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

THE bitter price the African peoples are paying for disunity, both among the free nations of Africa and within the national liberation movements in the countries still striving for freedom, was spotlighted in the report on developments in territories under colonial domination submitted by the Liberation Committees to the O.A.U. Council of Ministers now meeting in Accra.

It painted a sombre picture of mounting campaigns of terror and repression being waged by colonialist and racist regimes, while the strength of the freedom movements is sapped by factionalism and the all-too-frequently inadequate and ineffective solidarity movement.

The report is said to have voiced strong criticism of the N.A.T.O. Powers, notably the United States, Britain, France and West Germany, for their continued support of Verwoerd's racist regime.

France has now become the principal supplier of arms to South Africa, while despite its declared embargo, Britain is still supplying aircraft and spare parts. It also provides training facilities for South African forces. The United States has also supplied aircraft for the South African police.

WEST GERMANY

While the African countries have been enforcing economic sanctions, the trade between three countries—West Germany, Japan and Italy—and South Africa has shown a striking increase.

The report is also said to have made clear the Committee's view that Portugal would be unable to carry on its war of extermination in its African colonies were it not for the backing of its N.A.T.O. partners.

Portugal is using arms, ammunition and planes supplied by N.A.T.O.; Portuguese troops are participating in N.A.T.O. training exercises and then applying the lessons learnt against Africans.

The report is believed to have demanded that N.A.T.O. Powers should clear themselves of responsibility, either by expelling Portugal from N.A.T.O. or by making sure that weapons supplied to Portugal through N.A.T.O. are not used against the freedom fighters.

The situation in South Africa has further deteriorated during recent years. Meanwhile the United Nations, owing to the reluctance of South Africa's major trading partners (among them the United States, Britain and West Germany) has been unable to take action.

According to delegates, the report declared that despite parliamentary trappings and the flood of rose-coloured propaganda from Verwoerd and his foreign backers, the present situa-

tion in South Africa is akin to—in fact worse than—that in Hitler's Germany.

Special emphasis was placed on the flood of foreign investment now pouring into South Africa, notably from the United States, Britain, West Germany and France.

Companies said to have been named include General Motors, Ford, Leyland Motors, Rover, Renault, Caltex, British Petroleum and I.C.I.

They are helping to build up South Africa's arms industry, and also developing other industries which will enable South Africa to withstand economic sanctions.

And because they are making enormous profits out of the cheap African labour provided by *apartheid*, they have become ardent apologists for Verwoerd's regime.

The report is believed to have called for new steps to ensure the imposition of economic sanctions, and to have called upon all O.A.U. members to set an example.

It is believed to have suggested the establishment of a special committee of the Council of Ministers to check on the full implementation of the boycott decisions.

According to some delegates, the report called for immediate implementation of the Cairo Summit Conference regarding the refusal of facilities to aircraft and shipping going to or from South Africa.

Many delegates believe that a total ban on overflights to and from South Africa would induce many of the airlines concerned to end services to South Africa, and would be a dramatic demonstration of the African countries' determination to end *apartheid*.

African states should also bring their influence to bear to prevent France supplying arms to Verwoerd, and to ensure that Britain severs all military links with South Africa and strictly enforces the arms embargo.

HOSTILE ACT

It should also be made clear to Italy that her aid to the Pretoria regime in the creation of a South African military aircraft industry is incompatible with her undertaking to support the arms embargo and constitutes a hostile act directed against all African states.

African members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, it was suggested, should be charged with pressing for an embargo on petroleum exports to South Africa.

The report is also understood to have refused to the Western press campaign regarding alleged trade between South Africa and countries supporting sanctions.

There have during recent months been constantly re-

curring reports of alleged trade between South Africa and the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other countries, including some African states.

The report made it clear that these are part of a deliberate campaign of falsehood and exaggeration designed to divert attention from the fact that it is South Africa's major trading partners such as Britain, the United States and to an increasing extent West Germany who are obstructing the imposition of effective sanctions.

NEW ELEMENT

An exhaustive study by the General Secretariat has shown that if the newly-independent Zambia and Malawi are excluded, trade between South Africa and the countries supporting sanctions, despite all means of evasion, cannot now constitute more than 3.5 per cent of South Africa's total trade.

The report is likewise said to have expressed the view that there has been no sign of any amelioration in the situation in the territories under Portuguese domination.

A new element in the situation is the fact that Portugal has threatened to extend its genocide policy to independent African states bordering on Angola, Mozambique and so-called "Portuguese" Guinea.

There have been reports of a growing number of violations of the air space and territory of Guinea, Congo (Brazzaville) and Senegal, with the burning of villages and crops.

Portugal, it was said, is able to continue with its policy of extermination only thanks to the direct and indirect assistance which it is receiving from its N.A.T.O. allies.

Despite assurances from Portugal's allies that they do not supply her with arms, it is clear that she is in fact using arms, ammunition and planes provided by N.A.T.O.

What is more, Portugal's own economy could not conduct a large-scale war. The Western Powers are helping not only with military supplies, but also with investment, trade and other forms of economic aid.

In this connection, the report is said to have noted that while Portugal claims that Portugal and her African territories now constitute a single economic unit, Portugal in fact for example accounts for less than one-third of Mozambique's imports. The rest comes from the United States, Britain, South Africa and other countries.

The report is also said to have called attention to the reports of secret military, political and economic agreements concluded between Portugal, Southern

Rhodesia and South Africa.

According to delegates, the report in its assessment of the liberation movements in the various Portuguese-dominated territories repeatedly pointed to the grave consequences of the absence of unity and to the need for the creation of co-ordinated common fronts.

In both Angola and Mozambique the liberation movement is suffering because of factionalism and disunity and the lack of determination to establish a common front.

The recognition of one or another section is not a satisfactory solution; the only solution lies in the hands of the various liberation movements themselves.

The report noted that the struggle for independence is stronger and more effective in so-called "Portuguese" Guinea than in Angola and Mozambique. Under the leadership of Mr. Amilcar Cabral, P.A.I.G.C. has liberated a large part of the territory.

The report surveyed recent political developments in Southern Rhodesia, which is to be the subject of a special discussion. Here, too, the problem of unity between different sections of the liberation movement is vital.

On the High Commission Territories (Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland) the report is said to have noted that South Africa hopes to absorb these territories into a "Commonwealth of States of Southern Africa" embracing Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories.

It underlined the difficulties the High Commission territories face thanks to their geographical position, and is understood to have expressed the view that the present session of the Council of Ministers should find ways and means of reducing their economic and political dependence on the South African regime.

Assistance, either directly or through the United Nations specialised agencies, must be provided to prevent the absorption of these territories by Verwoerd.

Opinion among delegates was that the report, with its emphasis on the need for unity and effective action, coupled with its outspoken condemnation of those Western Powers which are themselves either colonial Powers or are backing colonial and racist regimes marked a considerable advance in the Liberation Committee's work.

It is now up to the Council of Ministers and the subsequent meeting of Heads of State and Government to give flesh and blood to this new approach.

Many observed that the report provides new proof of the need for a United Africa.

Imperialism's face in Africa and Asia



All taken from Western publications, these

pictures show the real face of imperialism—the truth behind all the pious talk about the

"civilising" "peace-keeping" mission of the West. The top picture shows one of Tshombe's European mercenaries leading two captured Congolese freedom fighters.

The picture on the right shows their fate—hanged without even a semblance of a trial.

The pictures below depict the torture of prisoners alleged to be National Liberation Front fighters by South Vietnamese puppet troops armed, paid and "advised" by American officers.



HIGH ROAD TO UNITY

(Continued from page 1)

And Africa must call on the whole world to respect its territory as a de-nuclearised zone of peace, to stop all nuclear tests, to destroy all stockpiles of nuclear weapons and to use nuclear materials only

for peaceful purposes.

Africa must come out boldly for the consummation of the African Revolution. We must take the high road that leads to a continental union government.

These indeed are great events that can shape the destiny of our

280 million people for centuries to come.

The events of the next twelve months will be breath-taking. Imperialism will redouble its efforts in an attempt to blunt our offensive, hold us at bay, and if possible rout our armies.

This is to be expected. But the African Revolution must rise to the challenge. We must match wits with imperialism and swop punch

es at every turn.

We must make sure that the 1965 Accra Summit of African leaders gives us a union government, the complete answer to all our ills.

Gradually the blueprint of the New Africa is being assembled. Let us hope the Summit will see the cutting of the first sod for this new edifice—the continental union government of Africa.