

VITAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME

L. FYODOROV

**Africa
Forging Unity**



NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY PUBLISHING HOUSE

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Unity Need Realised in Struggle

The strenuous and incessant struggle for freedom of peoples inhabiting the long-suffering Black Continent has been crowned in the post-war years by political independence for most countries of Africa. Chains of slavery have been torn asunder and young sovereign states have emerged in the place of former colonies.

Abolition of colonies is an irrevocable process. This fact has been recognised even by some political figures of former metropolitan countries. Michael Stewart, British Foreign Secretary, addressing the National Press Club in Washington on March 23, 1965 was forced to admit that the empires were disintegrating and birth of new countries would continue. The question which confronted the empires was not whether they would remain intact. History has already decided this question. The question is: will the empires crumble in chaos or

will they be transformed to some extent, in a spirit of goodwill, into groups of independent countries?

History indeed has decided the fate of the colonial peoples. But the way in which this question was decided differed from Mr. Stewart's definitions. What he referred to as "chaos" was really armed struggle of the African peoples for freedom. And what he characterised as transformation into independent countries was in effect a concession enforced from the colonialists, who had no other alternative.

An important condition for securing political independence by the African peoples was the rallying of all patriotic anti-imperialist forces into a united freedom front. By the mid-fifties such national anti-imperialist fronts took shape in many African countries.

The fight against colonialism developed along different lines in various countries. For instance, in Kenya it was a fight for the return of lands to the people—lands seized by the colonialists. Both in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland the people fought above all against imperialist plans to unite the colonies into puppet federations. In Egypt and the Sudan the progressive forces demanded withdrawal of foreign troops. In Nigeria and the Gold Coast the masses insisted on constitutional reforms. However, in all countries the concrete primary objectives were pursued to achieve one ultimate goal—abolition of colonial oppression.

The forms of struggle adopted by African peoples in their fight for freedom also varied. In a number of countries the people fought the oppressors arms in hand, whereas in other countries colonial regimes crumbled before mass political action—defiance of colonial laws, boycotts of metropolitan countries' goods, rallies and demonstrations. However, all these varied forms of struggle helped achieve one main aim—abolition of colonialism.

The appeal of the Pan-African Congress convoked in Manchester in October, 1945, indicated that the participants believed in the right of all peoples to govern themselves. They confirmed the right of all colonial peoples to exercise control over their own fates. All colonies should be free from foreign control, both political and economic. The peoples of the colonies should have the right to elect governments free from limitations imposed by foreign powers.

The imperialist press asserted that the congress was but a small group of terrorists who did not enjoy the support of peoples, and that in any case Africans were not yet ready for independence. But this was a vicious lie. The decisions of the congress reflected the broad scope of the national-liberation movement. Millions upon millions prepared for the final assault on colonialism in Africa. The peoples united in democratic national political organisations.

In Algeria the National Liberation Front came to the fore. In the Gold Coast the mas-

ses rallied round the People's Convention Party. National political parties appeared in practically every country of Africa.

The National Liberation Front in Algeria is a vivid example of how national unity was moulded in struggle against the colonial regime. Resistance detachments appeared in Algeria as far back as 1947. By the end of 1954 conditions favoured broad development of armed struggle. An Underground Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action was formed. It called upon the people to fight the colonialists. This marked the beginning of the anti-imperialist people's revolution in Algeria.

A mass political organisation—National Liberation Front—was formed on the initiative of the Revolutionary Committee. In this democratic national organisation peasants, workers, intellectuals, urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and some sections of the middle bourgeoisie were united, the working people forming its main body. Revolutionary democratic-minded intellectuals closely connected with the people played the main role in leadership of the Front.

The National Liberation Front created a National Liberation Army. The peasants, workers and people from other sections of the population were the soldiers of this army and the more experienced soldiers became its commanders. Imperialist propaganda asserted that it was only a bunch of mutineers that opposed the colonial regime. But in reality it was the entire nine-million Algerian people who were fighting for freedom. This is precisely why the

small group of guerilla detachments soon turned into a mass army.

In the struggle the National Liberation Front expanded. It was joined by members of various patriotic organisations. The Algerian Communist Party actively supported the Front. The Communist Party and the Front entered into an agreement, in keeping with which all the detachments controlled by the Party were transferred to the National Liberation Army, under the Front's command.

The seven-year war of liberation ended in the victory of the Algerian people. This victory was won thanks to the unity of the people who repulsed all subversive attempts undertaken by the colonialists and their agents to split this unity.

Anti-imperialist unity of the people impelled the colonialists in a number of cases to grant independence to some African countries before development of mass armed struggle. The British colony, the Gold Coast, was a case in point. After World War II the British colonialists, in an effort to weaken the people's struggle, created an Advisory Council at the Office of the Governor-General. This ineffectual reform aroused the indignation of the people who demanded the colonial regime's complete abolition. The whole country was holding rallies and demonstrations.

In June, 1949, the People's Convention Party was formed. The uncompromising fighter against colonialism, Kwame Nkrumah, became its leader. This party headed a broad move-

ment for national independence. Its programme won nation-wide support, for it demanded not only political independence, but also abolition of capitalist exploitation.

Late in 1949 the party convoked an assembly of representatives from all organisations of the country. After the British Government rejected the demand of the Assembly for independence the People's Convention Party and Trade Union Congress organised in January, 1950, a general strike and launched a boycott of British goods. The colonialists retaliated with arrests of party and trade union leaders.

These reprisals only enhanced the party's prestige in the eyes of the masses. During the February 1951 elections Kwame Nkrumah and other party leaders were elected to the legislature. Fearing further popular action the colonial authorities released arrested leaders. Kwame Nkrumah became Prime Minister of the country's first government.

However, colonial oppression was not yet abolished. The British Governor-General still enjoyed right of veto. That is why the party, relying on nation-wide support, advanced in May, 1953, through the legislature the demand for political independence.

Certain tribal chiefs and feudals connected with British imperialism tried to split the popular movement. They opposed the demand for independence. But at the next elections in July, 1956, the masses again voted for independence. As a result, on March 6, 1957, the

new state of Ghana proclaimed its independence. Victory in the struggle for political independence was ensured by the unity of the masses who rallied round the People's Convention Party.

Thus facts reveal that victory in struggle against imperialism will be achieved only if broad unity of the popular forces has been moulded on a national scale. This is the first condition of victory.

The second condition of victory is solidarity of all revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism. The Algerian people's struggle testifies to this. In the entire course of the heroic struggle the Algerian people never stood alone. They always felt the support rendered to them by true friends and comrades-in-arms. The socialist countries, the peoples of Africa and Asia insisted on the recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. The Soviet Union supplied arms for the Algerian People's Army. Colonialism was abolished by the working people with the help of arms manufactured by the working class of a socialist country.

The working class of France rendered considerable aid to the Algerian people. Under the leadership of the French Communist Party the working class waged a struggle for a just peace in Algeria. Many French soldiers refused to fight against the Algerian people, although they were thrown into prison for this.

The action of the French people to end the colonial war in Algeria was closely linked

with the struggle against the growing threat of fascism. The French fascists—the ultras—seeking to preserve colonialism in Algeria plotted a fascist coup in France. Thirteen million working people of France staged a general anti-fascist, anti-war political strike to show the fascist ultras that it would not be easy for them to realise their reactionary schemes.

Algeria is one of the many African states which received aid and support of the world socialist system, the international working-class movement and the other detachments of the national-liberation movement. It was thanks to this aid and support that most African peoples, like the people of Ghana, managed to win political independence by non-military means.

Let us recall the balance of world forces late in the fifties. It was obviously not in favour of the imperialists. The successes of the national-liberation movement in Africa were largely due to the growing might of the world socialist system. This circumstance came to the fore in 1956 when Britain and France attempted by armed intervention to wrest from the Egyptian people the achievements of the people's revolution. The imperialist powers hoped to remove the UAR Government which pursued a course of strengthening political independence and which in July, 1956, nationalised the Anglo-French Suez Canal Company.

Nationalisation was Egypt's legal right and purely her own internal affair. However, the imperialist powers launched fierce attacks on

the Egyptian Government. They declared an economic blockade of Egypt and recalled their pilots from the Suez Canal. In this difficult period the Soviet Union extended a helping hand to the Egyptian people. It sent Soviet pilots who helped to ensure uninterrupted traffic in the canal.

In August, 1956, an international conference was convened to discuss the Suez Canal question. At that conference John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, submitted a proposal which deprived Egypt of her sovereign rights to control over the canal. The Soviet Government exposed the colonialist character of the US proposal to set up a so-called international managing body for the Suez Canal. The Soviet Union defended the rights of the Egyptian people in the Security Council too, where a similar Anglo-French draft was rejected, because the Soviet representative vetoed it.

Since economic pressure failed to yield the desired result the imperialist powers launched an armed attack on Egypt from the territory of Israel. The Anglo-French Air Force savagely raided Egyptian cities. The position was exacerbated by refusal of ruling circles of Britain, France and Israel to carry out the decision of the Emergency Session of the General Assembly for cessation of hostilities. The world's progressives condemned imperialist aggression against the freedom-loving Egyptian people. On November 5, 1956, the Government of the USSR issued a serious warning to the aggressors. The Soviet Union stated that it was

prepared to use force to bridle the aggressors and to restore the peace. This warning had a sobering effect on the imperialists. Already on November 6, the governments of Britain, France and Israel were forced to discontinue military action and later to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory.

The peoples of Africa drew from these events a correct conclusion: the assistance of the world socialist system, including military assistance, constitutes a vital condition for victory in the liberation struggle against imperialism. As many African political leaders point out, strengthening cooperation with the socialist countries meets the vital interests of their peoples. As President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana put it, were it not for the Soviet Union the movement for liberation in Africa would have experienced the full force of cruel and savage suppression.

Historical experience reveals that those peoples of Africa who managed to rally their anti-colonial forces achieved most in speeding independent development. The idea of unity and cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces in Africa developed into a material force after the sovereign countries of Africa began to rally on a continent-wide scale. The first Conference of Independent African States organised on Ghana's initiative in Accra in April, 1958, gave a vivid illustration of the successes scored in the fight against imperialism. The conference was attended by the representatives of eight independent African states. It concentrated

main attention on stepping up the struggle against colonialism.

The opening day of the conference—April 15—was proclaimed Freedom Day of Africa. The idea of uniting all independent countries against imperialism won steady support. The Second Conference of Independent African States was held in Addis Ababa in June, 1960. It was attended not only by the delegates of nine politically independent countries, but also by the representatives of peoples still in colonialist grip. The decisions of that conference furthered African unity and promoted the national liberation struggle.

The broad representative forums of African public organisations played no small part in the fight for political independence. The forums, later referred to as African Peoples' Conferences, were held in Accra in December, 1958; in Tunis in January, 1960, and in Cairo in March, 1961. These forums helped secure anti-imperialist unity of the African peoples.

The scope of problems on which African public circles acted jointly continued to expand. Whereas the first of the above conferences discussed winning political independence in the first place, the second and third conferences, brought to the fore the struggle for economic independence, against neo-colonialist goals of the imperialists. The policy of positive neutrality and struggle for peace now constituted the basis on which the unity of the African peoples was furthered.

The idea of uniting all anti-imperialist for-

ces has exercised a beneficial effect on the national-liberation movement in Africa. The anti-imperialist struggle is assuming ever more active forms. It would be appropriate to recall that some delegates to the First African Peoples' Conference insisted on adopting non-violent tactics. However, the conference was held under the motto: "Independence within the lifetime of our generation!" The second conference already approved the recommendation on creating a corps of volunteers to assist Algeria and the peoples of other countries fighting for freedom with arms in hand. This conference advanced the slogan: "Independence without delay!"

The crumbling of colonialism in Africa limited the sphere of imperialist domination in that continent. However, even to this day Western countries still have considerable colonial possessions there. The largest colonies belong to relatively weak and economically backward Portugal.

Other imperialist powers with colonies in Africa are Britain, France and Spain. A vast territory in South-West Africa, unlawfully occupied by the South African racialists, is still under colonial oppression.

Downfall of colonialist regimes does not yet signify the end of colonialism. Political independence does not automatically bring economic independence. The economic backwardness of newly-liberated countries, their dependence on the world capitalist market are a potent instrument in the hands of imperialists

who continue to plunder peoples who have established their own statehood.

The classical image of the colonialist in a pith helmet is now a thing of the past. Old methods of colonial oppression have been replaced by new, more subtle methods. Among these are, above all, continuing domination of foreign capital in a number of developing countries, imposition by imperial financiers of enslaving loan terms, "aid" with strings and unequal trade terms.

Neo-colonialism is bolstering its political influence by introduction of puppet regimes in some newly-liberated countries that remain dependent on capitalist monopolies. This is achieved above all by foreign military agreements imposed on the young states and maintaining military bases on their territories, at which foreign troops are stationed. Discord is incited between separate states and tribes. It is a tried and tested tool of colonialists who live by the motto: "Divide and rule."

The imperialists are conducting an intensive ideological campaign among the peoples of Africa to preserve the continent for capitalism. Anti-communism is the keynote of the ideological offensive launched by the Western Powers. The neo-colonialists are trying to tear away independent African states from the world socialist system, from the international working-class movement. To this end they make use of racialist slogans and try to oppose the coloured peoples to the whites.

The peoples of Africa consider it their main

task to defeat neo-colonialism and to complete the second stage of the national liberation revolution. As many African political leaders point out, to achieve this it will be necessary to win economic independence, consolidate state sovereignty, radically change the social structure and abolish the privileged position enjoyed by sections that used to be the pillars of the colonial regime and are now being used by the neo-colonialists. It will also be necessary to raise living and cultural standards.

Unless unity of all anti-imperialist forces is achieved it will be impossible to accomplish these vital tasks. To pave the way to Africa's destined progress and to break down imperialists' resistance, it is vital to preserve and promote this unity. Africa's consistent fighters against imperialism are arriving precisely at this conclusion.

Cohesion of National Anti-Imperialist Forces—Vital Condition of Victory

Disintegration of colonial empires in Africa is due to a number of factors. This process is above all the outcome of a prolonged and selfless struggle of the peoples oppressed by colonialism. The international situation of the late fifties and early sixties benefited Africa's national-liberation struggles. This situation was characterised by the decisive influence exerted by the socialist system on the entire course of world history, by the powerful anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement which developed on an international scale, by the assistance rendered to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in the colonies by the international working-class movement. All these factors are of an external, objective character. They contributed to the successful outcome of

the struggle waged by African countries for political independence. But these external factors alone would not have ensured success, if it were not for existence of such a vital internal political factor as national anti-imperialist unity of peoples fighting against colonialism.

That these propositions are valid is proved by the example of the Republic of Mali, one of the oldest countries in Tropical Africa. The people of that country are now solving the tasks of the second stage of the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist revolution; they are building up a developed national economy and are transforming outdated socio-economic relations. The Government of Mali has not only proclaimed its intention to guide the country along a path which would bypass the capitalist stage, but has already implemented practical measures to that end. The main condition for the practical realisation of the programme announced by the Government of Mali is unity of the people who have firmly resolved to put an end once and for all to the aftermath of colonial oppression and to build up a new society.

The Sudanese Union which is the ruling party of Mali was founded in 1946 when the movement for political freedom grew active. Persistent and irreconcilable struggle for national independence won for that party the support and confidence of the overwhelming majority. The other political parties whose leaders compromised themselves by collaborating with the colonial administration lost the

confidence of the people and disintegrated. That was how a one-party system took shape in Mali. This system embodied the anti-imperialist unity of the people. The rules of the Sudanese Union say that the Union is a "political organisation of the whole of the people of Mali." The rules lay down that "the party is the leader and organiser of the Mali people. It sets as its task to bring the people as soon as possible along the road of socialism to well-being and prosperity in conditions of Peace, Unity and Fraternity."

The fact that the people of Mali chose the socialist path is not accidental. They inherited from the colonialists a backward economy and an outdated social structure. The French colonialists who dominated the country for many decades held up social progress at the stage of feudalism and primitive society. At the proclamation of independence 90 per cent of the people were illiterate. The vast majority of the people regard capitalism as a symbol of unbridled economic exploitation, political and racial discrimination, misery and backwardness.

The decision of the Sudanese Union to lead the country along the socialist path reflected the desire of the working people to rid themselves forever of exploitation and oppression and to raise living standards. The statesmen and political leaders of Mali indicated in their statements that the purpose of socialism would be not to benefit any single group, but the entire people. They pointed out that transition

to socialism would be the result of joint effort by the whole people of Mali.

In laying the foundation of socialism the Sudanese Union set the task of gradual ousting of the foreign private capitalist sector from the country's economy. However, the Government of Mali maintains that at present it will be unable to meet the material needs of the population without a national private sector. Nevertheless, in an effort to limit as much as possible exploitation of the working people by traders who take advantage of economic difficulties to inflate prices of consumer goods the party has decided to develop the cooperative sector in commerce, which in time will oust the private traders. The party does not regard the traders as enemies. It is seeking to use their capital and experience and to give them an opportunity to take an active part in the upbuilding of a new life.

That political sovereignty will be fictitious and illusive, unless it rests on the firm foundation of economic independence has become an axiom today. After the breaking of relations with Senegal, a step provoked by the colonialists, the Republic of Mali was forced to surmount considerable economic difficulties. The only railway line which connected the country with the outlet to the ocean was blocked. It was only after the Organisation of African Unity was founded that the Government of Senegal agreed to open negotiations with the Government of Mali. The outcome of the talks was the re-opening of this vital transport line, so indis-

pensable to Mali. The economic difficulties of the Republic of Mali were aggravated by French commercial firms which had transferred their capital from Mali. Despite intrigues of the colonialists the people of Mali rallied around their ruling party and managed to overcome the numerous obstacles standing in their way.

The Government of Mali has done much to strengthen the state sector in the country's economy. Industrial enterprises have been nationalised. Of particular importance was the nationalisation of the Office du Niger, a large producer of cotton.

The output of the wood-working and machine shops and also of the canning factory is rather high. Several city slaughter-houses with cold storage space will soon be completed, together with a few creameries and a textile mill. The overall number of industrial enterprises is 130. Many of them were built with the economic and technical assistance of the socialist countries. In the last year or two a few of the capitalist states found it no longer expedient to ignore the growing economic cooperation between Mali and the socialist countries. They have agreed to build a number of projects there.

Thus, relying on the unity of the people and taking advantage of extensive economic cooperation with the world socialist system, the Government of Mali has been able to put a stop to the exploitation of the people by foreign capitalists and to compel the monopolies to make concessions.

Several enterprises of light industry have been built in Mali. By drawing the handicraftsmen into cooperatives the state has been organising on an industrial basis the output of traditional leather and woollen goods and national costumes. Transport both leaving or entering Mali, which used to be in French hands, is now handled by the state. The state effectively administers the nationalised transport system. In Mali there are state bodies which have been charged with management of power stations and geological prospecting. State shops have been opened in the towns. The country's finances are fully controlled by the state.

Mali is proceeding with the cultural revolution. Whereas before independence, only six children out of every hundred were able to attend school, today this number has increased fourfold. The children of the nomads have gone to school for the first time.

The government of Mali is also introducing far-reaching social changes. A new Labour and Social Security Code has been adopted. Under the Code each enterprise has a council on which the administration and trade unions are represented. This council is called upon to take an active part in the solution of questions bearing on production activity of the given enterprise. The rights of the working people in managing the affairs of state have likewise been extended.

All the measures of the Government of Mali for socio-economic changes are aimed at abol-

ishing within the shortest possible time the consequences of colonial dependence. At the same time they are designed to cement anti-imperialist unity of the people. It is a fact that there are still forces in the country eager to create obstacles in the way of socialist construction. They are represented by small sections of traders and tribal chiefs.

Since independence was won the reactionary forces have time and again opposed building up of socialism. Immediately after the new Mali franc was introduced in 1962 the Bamako traders staged a demonstration to compel the government to abandon this measure, because it limited the operation of national private capital. In 1963 the feudal chiefs of the nomadic tribes in the northern part of the country organised an armed insurrection. The immediate cause of this action was the government's ban on taxes levied by these chiefs on the settled population that cultivated land which by tradition was regarded as the property of the nomadic tribes. But the government suppressed the counter-revolutionary attempts of the reactionaries in no time.

Early in 1964 President Modibo Keita of Mali said that certain sections of the population were not as enthusiastic about the building of socialism in 1964 as they had been in 1960. This was due to the fact that with progress towards the new society old class divisions and privileges were being abolished. But the people of Mali, the vast majority of the population whole-heartedly support the social-

ist course pursued by the government and the Sudanese Union.

The Sixth Congress of the Sudanese Union in 1962 proclaimed the programme for transformation of the country.

The political report of the party Secretary read: "We have set ourselves the aim to pass over from the colonial stage to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage... We shall not be stopped by difficulties, because the courage, patience, firmness and honour inherent in our people will enable us to secure victory in the future as it has enabled us to win in the past... The people will emerge victorious when their hearts are full of hope, and no difficulties can impel them to depart from the path they have chosen."

In spring, 1964, the people of Mali were to go to the National Assembly polls for the first time since independence. The Sudanese Union advanced a single list of 80 candidates. 99.9 per cent of the voters voted for the candidates of the party which proclaimed socialism as its goal. The unity of the Mali people and their whole-hearted support to the ruling party ensure success in the struggle for economic independence of the country and consolidation of its political sovereignty. Soon after the elections the paper *L'Essor* wrote: "The people of Mali have a very good saying: 'It is difficult to approach a person if you have no respect for him.' The party respects each of us and the opinion of each of us. Herein lies the 'secret' of our strength, confidence and enthusiasm in

the persistent execution of the socialist revolution in Mali."

Cohesion of patriotic forces and unity of the masses play an important role also in the African countries still fighting for genuine political independence. This is obvious from the tragic experience of the Congo, Leopoldville.

On June 30, 1960, a ceremony for official proclamation of the Congo's independence was held. At the ceremony Kasavubu—a politician closely associated with the American and Belgian monopolies—addressed many words of gratitude to the Belgian authorities. But he did not say a single word about the sufferings of the Congolese people under the colonialist yoke. The speech of the Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was of a totally different character. It was a passionate call never to forget the immeasurable sufferings and calamities experienced by the people of the Congo under the Belgian colonial regime. It was an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the Congolese people. These two speeches reflected two totally different approaches to the future development of the young republic.

The Lumumbist National Congolese Movement (otherwise known as the National Lumumbist Party) urged the rallying of democratic forces and creation of a united people's front. What frightened the colonialists most was that the National Congolese Movement was developing into an influential political force in the whole country. They realised only too well

that if the party headed by Patrice Lumumba grew strong it would put an end to domination of foreign capital in the Congo. This was precisely why the colonialists and their Congolese stooges decided to deliver their first blow at the National Lumumbist Party.

The imperialists used their puppets to split the country. The Katanga government under Moïse Tshombe proclaimed its independence. Katanga is the richest province of the Congo. The reactionary forces together with the Belgian troops opened armed action against the supporters of Patrice Lumumba. The colonialist stooges arrested and assassinated with great savagery Patrice Lumumba and his comrades-in-arms. Their bodies were thrown into a deserted mine near Elisabethville.

The heinous crime of the colonialists did not break down the will of the Congolese patriots. Although the lawful government headed by Antoine Gizenga, comrade-in-arms of Patrice Lumumba and leader of the African Solidarity Party, was deposed by the pro-imperialist groups, the democratic forces of the Congo were still carrying on the struggle.

As a result of imperialist action the economic situation in the country is grave. Trade and industry are not developing. Prices of prime necessities are soaring. In the 1962-64 period alone they skyrocketed sevenfold, whereas wages of workers increased only 2.5-fold. The foreign monopolists are plundering the country's wealth. The peasants and the urban population are suffering extreme privations as a

result of the despotism of the Tshombe gendarmes and hired hangmen.

The elections organised by Tshombe in April-May 1965 were held in conditions of terror and intimidation. The results of these elections will not deceive anybody. The country is in the grip of a deep political crisis. The situation will be normalised only if subversive activity of the imperialists, who are splitting the country and inciting inter-tribal feuds, is stopped. The numerous political parties and groupings (of which there are about 200) only create additional obstacles to the unity so essential for success in the fight against imperialists and their agents.

The resistance movement of the people against imperialist aggression in the Congo has been weakened by lack of unity and cohesion in the ranks of the Congolese patriots. However, in 1965, after holding several meetings, leaders of the patriotic forces reached agreement on organising a unified revolutionary government, to be headed by Gaston Soumialot and Christophe Gbenye. The armed struggle of the democratic forces against Tshombe's puppet government is enjoying mass support.

The Congolese people are learning from their own experience that anti-imperialist democratic unity is a vital condition for final victory over colonialism.

To achieve national unity, so essential for defeat of imperialism, is not so easy. The colonialists undertake subversive action to prevent the achievement of unity. This is obvious

from the example of those countries where colonial domination remains.

The Portuguese colonies in Africa have territory of 2,069,700 sq km and population of 11,760,000. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands are still suffering from the horrors of colonialism, although the Portuguese Government terms these colonies as "overseas provinces."

The fascist regime in Portugal is pursuing a policy of genocide in the colonies. In Angola alone the number massacred by the colonialists has reached 250,000. These people were killed not only in action, but also during bombing raids on the peaceful villages and as a result of tortures in concentration camps. 600,000 Angolans, mostly women and children, have fled for their lives to neighbouring countries.

Portugal is in a position to carry on her dirty colonial wars thanks to the support rendered to her by international imperialism. Only this aid allows this small country to maintain in Africa an armed force of 100,000. To meet the costs of maintaining this army Portugal has to spend more than one-third of her budget. It is obvious that without the financial and military aid of their NATO allies the Portuguese colonialists would not have been able to hold their positions on African soil.

The peoples of Africa suffering under Portuguese colonialists are full of resolve to win freedom. When the conflagration of the national-liberation struggle started in the mid-fif-

ties in Africa the first national political organisations appeared in Angola. They set themselves the aim of attaining freedom for their country.

Early in 1956 a group of revolutionary intellectuals founded a political organisation in Luanda. Later as a result of a merger with other underground organisations it developed into the Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola (also known as the People's Liberation Movement). The Popular Movement began to work actively among all sections of the population and it was soon transformed into a United National Front. In the early sixties it already had a membership of 50,000. Its programme provided for the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Angola, introduction of equality for all its citizens and the building up of an independent economy. A leading committee headed the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. Agostinho Neto, a prominent public figure, was elected chairman of the committee.

From the very first day of its existence the Popular Movement urged unity of all the patriotic forces in the struggle against Portuguese colonialists. But the achievement of unity is being prevented by the leaders of another organisation—the Angolan People's Union founded in 1954. As distinguished from the Popular Movement the Angolan People's Union has not become a national political organisation, for it unites only the peasants of the northern regions.

Holden Roberto, Chairman of the Angolan People's Union, has rejected the numerous proposals of the Popular Movement on joint struggle against the imperialists. Taking advantage of inter-tribal feuds Holden Roberto has even issued the order to exterminate the insurrectionist detachments of the Popular Movement. Holden Roberto receives arms and money from the United States. He has gradually given up active struggle against the colonialists and is now overtly collaborating with the imperialists.

The pro-imperialist position of some of the leaders of the Angolan People's Union headed by Holden Roberto has undermined their prestige in the eyes of the independent African countries. At the same time the prestige of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola continues to grow. Relying on political support and material assistance of progressive independent African states and socialist countries the leadership of the Popular Movement has taken over the initiative in combat action against the colonialists. The armed struggle of the Angolan people, which started in February 1961, is being intensified under the leadership of the Popular Movement. The earth is shaking beneath the feet of the colonialists. The time will come when the patriots of Angola will unite their forces to throw out the colonialists. The only thing that is standing in the way of the successful completion of the national-liberation struggle is lack of unity in the ranks of the anti-imperialists.

Unity of patriotic forces has not yet been

achieved in other Portuguese colonial possessions, such as Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). However, experience shows that success of the people's struggle in fighting the armies of the colonialists depends on the degree of cohesion of all the anti-imperialist forces. This point is vividly brought out by the events in Portuguese Guinea.

The African Independence Party headed by Hamilcar Cabral, a prominent political figure, has developed a wide network of underground organisations. This party enjoys the all-round support of the population. Backed by broad sections of the working people the African Independence Party is waging a successful struggle against a 20,000-strong army of Portuguese colonialists. The Party has organised a regular army and a number of guerilla detachments which are numerically weaker than the enemy. But thanks to the assistance of the people and the political and material support of progressive African states and the socialist countries the independence forces have managed to liberate from the colonialists about 40 per cent of the territory of Bisau.

The national-liberation movement in the African countries has entered a completely new stage. The last bastions of colonialism are now threatened with destruction. The lesson that national unity of all patriotic anti-imperialist forces is a primary condition for political liberation and consolidation of the economic independence of the young African countries is being taken to heart.

Achievement of African Unity, an Urgent Task

Collective neo-colonialism is one of the main forms of imperialist policy today. The imperialist policy of collective neo-colonialism was most flagrantly manifested in Western intervention in the Congo internal affairs.

According to the plan of the imperialists the Congo was to become the stumbling block in the way of the national-liberation movement in Africa. The imperialist powers with the United States at the head decided to create in the Congo a base for exerting pressure on the liberated countries. This is the key to understanding confused events of the Congolese tragedy.

In June, 1964, when the UN forces were withdrawn from the Congo, the American imperialists made an attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the country without the cover of the UN flag. They sent planes piloted by American airmen to strafe the patriotic detach-

ments operating in the province of Kivu. This criminal act aroused unprecedented wrath in the independent African countries. As a result, the American Government, to accomplish its aims in the gamble, hastened to secure the support of the other imperialist states. Late in 1964 three imperialist countries—the United States, Belgium and Britain—took part in the Stanleyville punitive operation. The imperialists launched their armed intervention on the pretext of a "request" from the puppet government they themselves had set up.

The neo-colonialist base which the imperialist powers managed to secure in the Congo constitutes a grave threat to the peoples' liberation movement in Africa. The aim of the imperialists now is not to restore direct colonial rule in countries where it has been abolished. They are seeking to prevent consolidation of national unity and achievement of economic independence. To secure these anti-popular aims the colonialists have not hesitated to use armed force.

In Gabon the French paratroopers have put down with fire and sword the revolutionary action of the masses. They have managed to restore to "power" the hated venal puppet, Leon Mba. In a number of East African countries British troops performed colonialist functions on the excuse of preserving the existing state regime and suppressing disorder in the army. The fact that the British troops were replaced by Nigerian units did not change in principle the aggressive character of that mili-

tary action because these units were commanded by British officers.

Imperialist unity should be opposed by unity among the fighters for African independence. The progressives who adopted consistent anti-imperialist views have long realised that to secure success in the struggle against colonialist intrigues unity of African peoples on a continent-wide scale is essential.

The colonialists who cut up the African continent in conformity with their own interests managed to isolate one African country from another so effectively that until recently the fastest way to get from one African country to another was to fly via Europe.

Africa's political disunity was complicated by economic, ethnical and language segregation. Colonial Africa was divided into some 50 territories where hundreds of languages were spoken by several thousand nationalities. The colonialists took full advantage of segregation of peoples and tribes to consolidate their domination. They incited local and inter-tribal strife. They would arm one group of tribes against another group. The colonialists sowed seeds of discord and distrust and carefully cultivated them. And now these seeds are bearing fruit on African soil.

But the same soil is yielding other fruits, too. The forward-minded people of Africa realised that disunity shackled the strength of the African peoples and their desire for freedom. The call to unity had already been sounded at

the First Pan-African Congress, held in 1919 at Paris. It was organised by the late Dr. William Dubois regarded as the father of African unity. They say that when the French Premier Clemenceau was asked what his attitude would be to convocation of that congress in Paris, he replied: "Let it be convened, but not publicised..."

But the idea of African unity did not need publicity. It was winning more and more supporters every year. And when the Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England, 25 years later, Dr. William Dubois and his friends could be well satisfied with the work they had done, for the slogan of unity became the pivot of the national-liberation movement in Africa.

The post-war years, marked by turbulent development of the anti-colonial struggle, witnessed particularly great successes by the movement for African unity. But these successes have a dark side, too. It is a fact that they have given rise to feelings of self-content among certain African leaders. Some of them have tried to withdraw the question of unity from the agenda. One of these leaders said that the bouquet of Africa would flourish even more richly if each flower were to bloom and retain its own fragrance.

However, there were no reasons for such complacent comparisons, for the colonialists have not laid down arms. They have managed to create a real threat of a split among the African countries by hammering together a milita-

ry and political grouping of African states—the so-called Afro-Malagasy Union.

The need to cement unity is dictated by new important tasks confronting the peoples of Africa. The forward-minded African leaders realise that national liberation could not end at abolition of direct foreign domination, but must go further.

The countries that put an end to foreign domination were faced with new complex tasks stemming from the need to consolidate political independence by building reliable socio-economic foundations and help their brothers in the other African colonies to free themselves from the colonial yoke. The question of giving organisational shape to the African movement for unity was already on the agenda. The young working class of the continent is playing an increasingly great role in the struggle for African unity. The industrial proletariat of Africa is not very strong numerically; it comprises about seven million or slightly over two per cent of the population. But beginning with the late fifties, it has appeared as a united force on the all-African political arena. In 1957 an inter-African organisation—the General Federation of Workers of Black Africa—was founded. The largest and most influential trade unions of Guinea, Senegal, French Sudan, Upper Volta the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Togo, Niger and Mauritania joined the union. The union laid the foundation for African unity. The World Federation of Trade Unions and the General Confederation of La-

bour of France rendered considerable aid to the African trade union bodies.

Thus a real opportunity appeared to unite the trade union movement of Africa, whose membership numbers approximately four million. But unification of African trade unions was thwarted by two international trade union bodies—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, influenced by the right-wing socialists, and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, associated with the Catholic Church. The stooges of these international bodies, who head some of the national and regional labour union bodies in Africa, are hindering trade union unity in the continent.

The progressives are continuing to struggle for unification of Africa's patriotic forces. In May, 1961, an All-African Trade Union Federation was founded at a conference in Casablanca. Among leading political demands of the African national-liberation movement advanced by the conference was struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for political and economic independence, for democratic freedom and the vital interests of the working people. The Charter of the All-African Trade Union Federation proclaimed: "The working people will be able to fulfil their vanguard mission only if they become an effective, unified and indivisible force."

The Congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation, held in Bamako in June, 1964, endorsed the Charter and Rules of the organisation. The general resolution, voted for unan-

imously by the representatives of the trade unions of 33 countries, emphasised the solidarity of African workers with the working class of the whole world in the fight for national independence and unity. The resolution condemned actions aimed at splitting the anti-imperialist unity of the African peoples.

The untiring struggle waged by the working class of Africa for cohesion and activity of progressives for anti-imperialist unity of the African peoples have yielded positive results. In May, 1963, an All-African Conference of the Heads of State and Government was called at Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia. The conference was in the world spotlight. Although the participants differed on certain matters the decisions of the conference were adopted unanimously. This was because certain disputable issues were forced into the background by the problem of struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, regarded by conference participants as the crucial issue.

The Addis Ababa Conference established the Organisation of African Unity and unanimously endorsed its Charter which laid down basic principles on which the Organisation is founded. The Charter indicates that the main tasks of the organisation are promotion of unity and solidarity among African states, coordination of effort to ensure a better life for the people of Africa, abolition of all forms of colonialism in the continent, defence of sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the African states and international cooperation.

The members of the Organisation pledged further cooperation in political and economic spheres. The Charter proclaimed absolute fidelity to the cause of complete liberation of African territories still dependent. This document emphasises the close connection between the successful advancement of African unity and creation of conditions for ensuring world peace and security.

The Addis Ababa Conference laid a firm foundation for African unity, for unity of all anti-colonial, anti-imperialist forces of the continent. It undertook practical measures to coordinate cooperation between African states, having set up the supreme body of the organisation—Assembly of Heads of State and Government, a guiding executive body—Council of Ministers, and a standing administrative body—Secretariat General.

The founding of the Organisation of African Unity was a major achievement by the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces of Africa. But the Addis Ababa Conference went even further. It adopted a number of resolutions on combatting colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination. Questions of general disarmament and preservation of peace were emphasised. The conference determined the concrete tasks of the African states in the struggle for peace, namely, abolition of foreign military bases in Africa, cessation of French nuclear tests in the Sahara, fulfilment of UN decisions on the declaration of Africa as nuclear-free zone, and liberation of African coun-

tries from military agreements with foreign states.

The results of the conference in Addis Ababa were greeted by progressives of the whole world. Its decisions were supported by the political leaders of the socialist countries and the young sovereign states of Asia. The reaction of the Western politicians to the Addis Ababa conference was totally different. At first, they approved of its results, but several months later they changed their attitude and began to express their displeasure at the Organisation of African Unity.

This was caused by the fact that the organisation began to work actively for the realisation of measures to combat colonialism. In Dar es Salaam, capital of Tanganyika, a committee has been established for coordination of aid to be granted by independent African states to the national-liberation movement in territories still under colonial yoke.

The committee held its first session in June-July, 1963. It expressed itself in favour of resorting to peaceful means to achieve independence. But at the same time it warned the colonial powers that it would employ all available means to assist the oppressed peoples in securing their early independence, should the colonial powers fail to manifest their readiness to recognise rights of these peoples to self-determination and independence.

Another practical contribution made by the Organisation of African Unity to the struggle for political freedom of the peoples was the

establishment of a special aid fund for the national-liberation movement. After all the members paid their dues by February, 1964, the secretariat organised a collection of additional sums for the fund. The Addis Ababa Conference called on all African patriots fighting against colonialism to unite their efforts to step up the effectiveness of their struggles. The committee for coordination of aid managed to persuade six patriotic organisations in West Africa to unite into a common front of national liberation.

However, the process of rallying the anti-imperialist forces did not take place so smoothly in all the colonies that remain on the continent. In Angola and Portuguese Guinea the insurgent organisations did not succeed in uniting. The discussion by the Organisation of African Unity of the rallying of patriotic forces in these two colonies has not yet yielded positive results. The recommendation of the Dakar session of the Council of Ministers, Organisation of African Unity, to recognise Holden Roberto as head of the government-in-exile did not stimulate the unfolding of armed struggle by the working people of Angola against the Portuguese colonialists, because the leadership of the Angolan People's Union had adopted a conciliatory attitude towards imperialism.

In the struggles of the Angolan people against the colonialists the consistently anti-imperialist forces have grown stronger and the desire of the members of different patriotic or-

ganisations for unity has increased. Taking into account the difficulties standing in the way of uniting the different trends in the anti-imperialist forces of the colonies, the Organisation of African Unity adopted a course aimed at helping to unite their efforts. This decision of the Organisation stimulated the anti-imperialist struggle. In addition, some of the independent African states adopted a number of practical measures to assist the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in their armed struggle.

The independent African states have been exerting and continue to exert pressure on the fascist regime in Portugal and the reactionary government of the South African Republic, who are pursuing racist policies. In accord with the decision by the Organisation, governments of most African countries have adopted tactics of economic boycott and political isolation of Portugal and the South African Republic. On the insistence of the African states the representatives of Salazar Portugal and of the South African Republic have been expelled from a number of international organisations. The Security Council has adopted special resolutions on Portuguese colonies and on the situation in the South African Republic. It has been demanded of Portugal that it abandon forthwith reprisals in the colonies, withdraw all her forces and recognise the right of the peoples inhabiting these territories to independence. The Security Council has demanded that the Government of the South African Republic abandon apartheid and release

from prison all persons condemned for opposing apartheid.

The common anti-imperialist position of the African states has helped isolate the racists on the international arena. At its eighteenth session in 1963 the UN General Assembly adopted a declaration on the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination. The latter was the concrete embodiment of the UN declaration adopted in 1960 on the initiative of the USSR for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples. Despite opposition of the imperialist powers the nineteenth session of the General Assembly again condemned South Africa's apartheid.

The setting up of a common inter-state African organisation strengthened the anti-imperialist positions of the individual countries. Their role on the international arena increased. African states today display common attitudes towards such vital problems as disarmament and cessation of nuclear weapon tests, abolition of foreign military bases on alien territories and withdrawal of foreign troops. A most positive role in this respect was played by the Dakar session of the Council of Ministers, Organisation of African Unity. The session hailed the Moscow Treaty on banning nuclear tests in three media and recommended that all African states endorse it. The next regular session of the Council of Ministers, Organisation of African Unity, held in February, 1964, in Lagos, adopted a decision for legal confirmation of Africa's future non-nuclear status.

The decision of the Lagos session of the Council of Ministers to step up the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and to implement economic sanctions against South Africa, which were approved by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, was most important. The session also decided that if the British Government passed over the authority to a government of white minority in Southern Rhodesia the African states would rupture diplomatic relations with Britain. A decision on peaceful settlement of territorial disputes between the African states was adopted unanimously. It helped settle frontier conflicts between Morocco and Algeria and also between Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya.

In the very first years of its existence the Organisation of African Unity manifested its anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist character. The setting up of the Organisation helped consolidate on the international arena the positions of those African states which are most consistent in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Illustrative of this was the election of the Ghanaian delegate, Alex C. Quaison-Sackey, Chairman of the nineteenth session, UN General Assembly.

The strengthening of the united anti-imperialist front in Africa aroused grave anxiety among imperialist powers and their stooges in the African countries. Recently politicians who pursue a neo-colonialist line have become more active, although trying to disguise it by talk about non-interference of certain African

states in the internal affairs of other states.

The Congolese conflict has proved a severe test for the Organisation of African Unity. In the last few months the Council of Ministers, Organisation of African Unity, discussed this problem several times. A special commission for the Congo was set up by the Organisation. Such an approach to the developments in the Congo is by no means accidental, for it is precisely here that conflict between the new Africa and imperialists bound by mutual interest is particularly acute. The Congo is destined to be the touchstone in testing the strength of African solidarity.

The decisions of the Council of Ministers' sessions and the recommendations of the commission on the Congo showed that the Organisation of African Unity had adopted a clear-cut anti-imperialist position on the Congolese issue. The Organisation censured the American-Belgian intervention in the Congo, demanded cessation of foreign interference in the affairs of that country, withdrawal of all mercenaries, enforcement of a cease-fire, convocation of a round-table conference with the participation of all the Congolese political parties and holding of genuinely democratic elections under the observation of the Organisation of African Unity. Most of the African representatives upheld this line in the UN Security Council when it discussed the situation in the Congo in December, 1964.

All these facts prove that prospects for strengthening African unity are favourable.

And yet the achievements of the Organisation of African Unity would have, beyond doubt, been greater had not certain circles sabotaged its efforts. The activity of these elements is facilitated by the heterogeneous character of the membership of the Organisation of African Unity. Certain governments of pro-Western orientation have also joined the Organisation. And the enemies of African freedom are counting on them.

In the eyes of American imperialists and their allies in military blocs, the Organisation of African Unity should be a sort of "African equivalent" of the Organisation of American States. The Africans have already had the opportunity to take note that the policy pursued by the United States in respect to the Organisation of African Unity is distinguished for its double-dealing and hypocrisy. Official Washington manages to combine pledges of respect for the rights of African peoples with interference in their internal affairs, and promises of aid to the liberation struggle with participation in military gambles against the peoples of Africa. The Congo is a vivid example of such double-dealing. Bearing in mind the experience of the Congo the African states have concluded that it would be necessary to augment the Organisation of African Unity by a military establishment if repetition of tragedies such as the Congo's is to be prevented.

The neo-colonialists tried to create the impression that their flagrant intervention in the affairs of the Congo was caused by their de-

sire to assist the "lawful" government. The true character of this "clever" imperialist manoeuvre is absolutely clear and will not surprise anybody. According to them, "the end justifies the means." The imperialists are prepared to commit any perfidy to preserve their profits. What is surprising is that some of the African political figures have taken the bait of the neo-colonialists.

Some of the leading statesmen of Nigeria, Liberia, the Malagasy Republic, the Ivory Coast Republic, Morocco, Senegal and Tunisia have adopted pro-imperialist position in the Congolese crisis.

Late in 1964 differences manifested themselves in the Organisation of African Unity on a most acute political issue. Some African politicians could not see the distinction between imperialist intervention in the affairs of the Congo and joint aid by the Organisation of African Unity to the patriotic forces of the Congo.

At present a rather curious situation has taken shape. The Western Powers are in every way encouraging the pro-imperialist puppet Tshombe, who rules by terror and intimidation, whereas some of the African leaders making reference to the principle of non-interference and legality are trying to cover up their connivance at imperialist intervention in the Congo. The position of President Felix Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast Republic can only arouse a feeling of surprise and regret. When the Security Council was discuss-

ing imperialist aggression against the Congo he declared that communism constituted the main danger to Africa. Obviously, anti-communism could only be a hindrance to the struggle of the peoples of Africa against imperialist intrigues, and for strengthening their political and economic independence.

Anti-communism is a bugbear of the reactionaries. It has always been an effective tool in the hands of imperialists fighting the national-liberation movement. Anti-communism is a true ally of the neo-colonialists. And with its aid the imperialists often manage to impose unequal agreements on one African country or another. The events of the past year revealed that these agreements are being used by the imperialists to undermine African unity. In this connection it would be appropriate to deal in short with the history of the formation of the African-Malagasy Organisation and its activity.

The African-Malagasy grouping was created from the former French colonies soon after they were granted independence. It should be pointed out that it was not joined by Guinea or Mali. As distinguished from the other former French colonies these countries repudiated all unequal treaties, military agreements above all, which the colonialists had imposed on them. Soon after the founding of the Organisation of African Unity the African-Malagasy alliance was reorganised into an economic cooperation alliance. It is worth noting that the Ivory Coast, Niger and Upper Volta—

precisely those states which had the closest ties with France and were dependent on her not only economically but also politically—refused to join this economic alliance.

Nearly two years after the founding of the Organisation of African Unity a conference of the heads of state of the African-Malagasy alliance, held in Nouakchott, capital of Mauritania, in February, 1965, adopted a decision on reorganising it into a political Afro-Malagasy Organisation. This decision was not merely a challenge to the Organisation of African Unity, for it was in contradiction with its Charter, but a direct attempt by pro-imperialist forces to undermine the unity of the African peoples.

The next step along this path was a conference of the Afro-Malagasy Organisation in Abidjan in May, 1965. This meeting attended by the representatives of nine states decided not to participate in the Conference of Heads of State and Government of African Countries to be held in Accra in September, 1965. At the same time they decided to admit the puppet government of Tshombe to their Organisation. The splitting activities of some of the African political circles which drew their countries into the Afro-Malagasy Organisation were welcomed by the imperialist press.

The imperialists are going to extremes to disunite the African states and to sow discord between them. It is for this reason that they incited a campaign to be conducted by some members of the Afro-Malagasy Organisation against Ghana. It is not accidental that

independent Ghana was chosen as target in this provocative move by the neo-colonialists and their stooges.

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana time and again exposed imperialist interference in African affairs, particularly in the Congo. In his speech to the Parliament of Ghana in May, 1965, he urged stepping up of support to the insurgent forces; he condemned Tshombe's puppet regime and exposed his ties with international imperialist circles. President Kwame Nkrumah's statement served the cause of all seeking to abolish colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. That is why the butcher of the Congolese people, Tshombe, hastened to issue an "official warning" to Ghana. Tshombe declared that he would not "suffer any interference" in the affairs of the Congo.

Apparently the imperialists were not satisfied with threats being issued by their puppet. The Western press launched a campaign of slander against Ghana. To "substantiate" their attacks on Ghana the bourgeois papers and periodicals resorted to the meanest methods. For instance, many of the West European and American papers carried snapshots of a group of Africans in fetters. The caption claimed that these were victims of government terror in Ghana, inmates of a Ghanaian prison.

However, this attempt of the Western press was soon exposed as a gross lie. One of the men who was in the photo appeared before the journalists at a news conference

in Accra. It was revealed that he, like the other "prisoners," was a citizen of Togoland. The photo was taken at a time when he and his comrades were really in prison, not in Ghana, but in Togoland, where President Sylvanus Olympio was in power.

The subversive activity of the imperialists in Africa arouses righteous wrath on the part of the progressives and the democrats who resist it. Many of the African political leaders time and again emphasised in their speeches the theme: success in the struggle for the full abolition of colonialism and for economic independence of all African states depends on how soon all-African unity is achieved and gains strength.

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Unity of Africa is being forged in the crucible of struggle. The African peoples have friends—not only enemies. Among their friends are the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries who hailed the birth of the Organisation of African Unity and its efforts to uproot colonialism on the continent. Thanks to the courage displayed by African patriots, thanks to the support rendered by the sincere friends of African unity, the spirit of Addis Ababa triumphs over the dark forces of colonialism. Experience shows that firm friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries is a reliable guarantee of success in the struggle of the African peoples for anti-imperialist

unity. This idea has been aptly formulated by the French journal **France Nouvelle**:

"... Looking back at the recent past we can say without risk of error that any attempt to divide Africa on the basis of imperialist interests will be futile in the final count. The African peoples vigilantly stand on guard for their newly-won independence and, just like the Vietnamese and Cubans, they enjoy the support of the progressives of the whole world."

Historical events have confirmed this conclusion. The subversive manoeuvres of the neo-colonialism aimed at breaking up African unity have failed. National solidarity in newly-liberated countries which have adopted socialist paths of development is growing ever stronger. The African peoples fighting against colonial oppression are scoring ever new successes and it is anti-imperialist unity on an international scale that constitutes the foundation of these successes.