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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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GREAT DISHONESIY

EDITORIAL

NKRUMAISM TRIUMPH

KWAME Nkrumah and the policies for which he stands have during recent weeks become the target for an international smear campaign of unprecederated proportions.

No weapon has been too base. There have been lies about Ghana's alleged "subversion" of sister-African states, lies about Ghana's alleged deconomic crisis" and lies about allegin Ghana.

Why is Ghana singled out for these attacks? Why has Kwame Nkrumah become the target for this hate campaign?

The answer was given

by Charles P. Howard, U.N. correspondent of "The Afro-American." In an article headlined "British seek to discredit Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah" he declared: 'The colonialist in Bri-

tain hates Nkrumah because Nkrumah represents the unrelenting determination of black men in Africa to be free of colonial oppression and exploitation. know of no man in Africa who has done more in the struggle for the com-

than Kwame Nkrumah". Nkrumaism sees African unity as a potent, and rational formula for solving the intricate and urgent problems that face Africa. Nkrumaism sees African unity as the most effective weapon for attaining three principal objectives:

> of Africa from co-Ionial rule:

(2) Defeating neo-colonialism in the independent African states;

(3) Creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind.

It sees the achievement of these objectives through overall economic planning

a unified African military and defence strategy, and a unified African foreign policy. Economic planning on a continental basis would increase the industrial and

economic power of Africa. An All-African central bank would, in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "reed attacks on civil liberties orientate the economy of Africa and place it beyond the reach of toreign con

trol."

We in Africa, he declares, "have looked "outwards" too long for the development of our economy. Let us begin to look "inwards" into the African continent for all aspects of its development." The realisation of this

concept would mean an end to foreign exploitation of Africa. No longer would the wealth of Africa flow into the coffers of the City of London, Washington, Paris, Brussels and Bonn.

That is why Nkrumaism is hated and feared by the colonialists.

plete liberation of Africa sery because no single independence and a better African state can protect itself against imperialist aggression and intervention. It is the only safeguard against the new Congos that are being prepared.

A unified foreign policy is necessary "to give political direction to our joint (I) The total liberation efforts for the protection and economic development of continent." All talk of effective joint action between African states is wishful thinking if there is no agreement on political issues.

Effective joint action between African states is something the imperialist countries do not want to see, because it will mean

Why Ghana is the Target

'London Daily Express' of "prisoners in chains", a photograph to which it devoted half a page, allegedly showing that in Ghana today prisoners were "shacked together like slaves of a by-gone era", received a deserved repudiation from Kwame Nkrumah.

Then, on further investigation, the true story of the picture was revealed, and now all who wish to know can be fully informed on the whole story of how these former prisoners in Togo had posed fora photo for an entirely different purpose.

TRUE FACTS

But the publication of this vitriolic slander on Ghana by the Daily Express is in the tradition of capitalist press antics on socialism ever since 1917. To those who are not

THE publication by the aware of this, the following reminders may prove useful.

The facts is, that from the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, there has been a continuous stream of lies and slanders circulated by the world's capitalist press against socialism.

Being the first country to have a socialist revolution, the U.S.S.R. has come in for the. greatest share of these slanders. Exactly how many of them percolated through to the capitalist colonialist press of the Gold Coast during the colonial period, I personally do not know. Some readers may recognise one or two of the stories which I am about to relate.

One of the first major slanders against the Russian Revolution was featured in the Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail and other British papers, and described the "nationalisation of women".

By Pai Sloan

This was the capitalist press's attempt to divert attention from the fact that in the Soviet Republic, for the first time in history, women were being granted equal pay for equal work with men, and equal chances of promotion in

all occupations.

The "nationalisation" story circulated in the British press for years, and the Daily Telegraph cited as "evidence" the story of "a British officer recently escaped from Odessa" -just as the fraudulent Daily Express photograph was given 'authenticity'' by an ex-oppo sition M.P. from Ghana!

The next story I would like to mention because it exemplifies the unscrupulous way in

Africans also have be-

fore them the example of

South America, for de-

cades the happy hunting

Here were states enjoy-

ing nominal political inde-

pendence but their econo-

by a succession of dictato-

rial regimes whose leaders

got rich on American

handouts while the people

lived in poverty. Their na-tional wealth was drained

to fill the pockets of share-

holders in Washington and

imperialism and its African

puppets would like Africa

to follow. This is the fate

to which Africa and its

people would be condemn-

ed if their attacks on

Ghana and Nkrumaism

more people in Africa and

throughout the world are

coming to realise that the

current wave of attacks on

Ghana and Kwame Nkru-

mah are in fact attacks on

Africa, and on the hopes

and aspirations of all its

people.

achieve their purpose.

This is the path that

New York.

neo-colonialism.

The story first appeared apparently in the Sunday Chroni-cle at the end of 1932. At that time the First Five-Year Development Plan was nearing completion and a widespread press campaign was conducted to discredit Soviet foreign trade.

which religious sentiments are involved by the capitalist

A correspondent informed his readers of Moscow's "crowning outrage" committed "as part of his fanatical anti-God campaign", the Soviet Government "is now making mockery of the figure of Christ as a trade-mark on match-box."

CAMPAIGN First Company of The Control

The correspondent claimed that these matches were being sold "openly in London ... On the lid is a picture of Christ crucified on the Cross. Above it are the words: "Jesus Christ Safety Matches".

The correspondent then elaborated his story with the following comment : "I understand that thousands of these boxes have been smuggled into the country in foreign-made coffins."

Terrible—not only "Jesus Christ Safety Matches", but even "smuggled" in "foreignmade coffins"!

- The story was taken seriousgrounds of U.S. predator ly in Britain. The Morning Post entered into the campaign. A question was asked in Parliament by an M.P. who called the match-boxes "part and parcel of a deliberate campaign of blasphemous poimies entirely dependent upon the U.S. were ruled son gas from Moscow."

The whole story was denied by Arcos, the Soviet trading organisation, and about a month later, one of the few progressive newspapers in Britain, 'Reynolds News, revealed the origin of the slander. (For, like the "Ghanaian prisoners", there is usually some fact behind a slander that explains everything quite simply.)

It turned out that one or two boxes of "Jesus Christ Safety Matches" had, in fact been brought into Britain. But not in foreign-made coffins, but in somebody's pocket. And they were not in any way blasphemous, and the figure of That is why more and Christ was in no way distort-

> What in fact had happened was that in India, a country of many religious faiths, some Indian merchants had adopted the habit of issuing series of match boxes in honour of great religious leaders.

> There were "Buddha Safety Matches" for example for

Buddhists, and the Sunday Chronicle, which had started the scare, had finally one month later to admit that "the matchbox labels were printed in India at the request of certain Indian Christians".

It should be added that, in the case of the Jesus Christ Matches, the Sunday Chronicle was the paper that started the slander and then in fact published a denial. Other papers that publicised the slander never made any further mention of the case, and never informed their readers of the real facts.

Another example should be given because this was directly motivated against Soviet exports at the time of the First Five-Year Plan.

A whole series of slanders were released at that time to try to discredit Soviet goods. There was a "tick" in Russian butter, fruit for Soviet jams was picked by children with "syphilitic fingers" as one foul pamphlet put it, and, above all, Soviet timber (one of the main Soviet exports to Britain) was felled by "slave 'labour''.

CLEVER MANOEUVRE

This latter story received endless publicity, and it finally became clear that the whole campaign was a clever manoeuvre of rival timber exporters (Canadian, Scandinavian Finnish) in order to try to discredit Russian timber on the British market.

In fact the Timber Trades Journal of March 13, 1931 wrote that Scandinavian exporters "see the possibility in certain quarters, of a boycott sufficiently extensive to put a premium on Scandinavian wood", while Finnish exporters were hoping "that the intensive political campaign against Russian wood may bear fruit."

AIM OF FORGERY

These examples of press campaigns in Britain against the U.S.S.R. show that the recent Daily Express forgery is no exception, but is the tradition of the lowest capitalist press devices in their attempt to discredit Socialism.

Of course, the actual motives and timing of the attacks vary. In 1918, with the "nationalisation of women" slander, it was the very fact of the Bolsheyik Revolution that was under fire, and the way was rapidly being prepared for

large-scale armed intervention. In the 1930's, it was the

(Continued on Page 2)

the end of their influence in Africa. They will resort to every means, including the most vicious attacks on its foremost advocate, to prevent its achievement.

Nkrumaism teaches that political independence is not enough. It calls for a radical re-construction of the national economy of each newly - independent country to defeat neocolonialism, wipe out the A unified military and legacy of imperialism and defence strategy is neces- ensure genuine economic life for all.

The drive to economic reconstruction must place along the socialist path. Socialism, Kwame Nkrumah has declared. "is our only alternative".

For a developing country to follow the capitalist path would mean that con- can.

trol of its national economy would remain in the hands of foreign private capital with a neo-colonialist regime the inevitable result.

Nkrumaism thus slams the door on imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The capitalist path of development means that a large section of the population would be deprived of the full fruits of their labour.

Claims that mere foreign capital means more freedom and a higher standard of living are refuted by the case of South Africa. South Africa has received more foreign capital than any other African country—but it has brought neither freedom nor prosperity to the Afri-

V.I. LENIN

It has been necessary for us to comment on the mounting smear campaign being conducted against Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah by the imperialists and their puppets. Therefore our article dealing with the 95th anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il ich Lenin, one of the founders of Scientific Socialism has unavoidably been held over till next week.

—Editor



SUDAN, 12th APRIL:

A twelve-man commission probing the Affairs of Southern Sudan is to begin a tour of the three Southern provinces of Bahr El Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile on Saturday April 17, it has been announced.

ALGERIA: Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN) and the United Arab Republic (UAR) Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.) have declared their unqualified support for the struggle of the peoples of Congo, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and South Africa.

ZAMBIA: The United National Independence Party (U.N.I.P.) of Zambia has passed a resolution calling on the O.A.U. to take vigorous action to solve the Congo problem through its special committee set up for this

GHANA: The Premier of the fascist Pretoria regime, Hendrik Verwoerd, will be tried in absentia at an international seminar of African Youth Leaders to be held at the Ghana Law. School from April 20-23, Mr. Duncan Williams, head of the Bureau of Youth Organisations, has announced in Accra.

U.A.R.: Delegates from 15 African Trade Unions representing Unionists Seminar are to attend the first African Seminar of the Trade Union Studies in Cairo on April 17.

ALGERIA: President Ben Bella has reprieved Hocin Ait Ahmed, the leading Algerian counterrevolutionalist, who was sentenced to death.

13th APRIL:

GHANA: The Accra Assembly of "The World Without the Bemb" has welcomed American President Johnson's offer to negotiate on the Vietnam issue without conditions hitherto insisted upon by the United States.

MALAWI: The Prime Minister of Malawi will have the right to decide what kind of punishment should be imposed on a guilty person according to the second clause of the Malawi penal code amendment bill presented to Parliament by Premier Kamuzu Banda.

U.A.R.: Thirty-eight people have been sentenced to total of 237 years imprisonment and fines of £E40 million in Cairo for smuggling gold and foreign currency out of the country.

NIGER: An unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of President Hamani Diori today. When he was praying in a mosque a grenade was thrown at him which exploded instantly killing a child and wounding many but the President escaped unhurt.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The White settler minority Rhodesian Government has detained a further 34 African Nationalists, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Z.A.U.) has said in a statement in Dar-es-Salaam.

14th APRIL:

GHANA: President Nkrumah in a message to the pass-outs of the Ghana Air Force today has said that the people of Africa look forward to early establishment of a Continental Union Government.

*. The All-African Trade Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.) has condemned the U.S. Air raid on North Vietnam and called for immediate withdrawal of the U.S. military personnel and equipment from South-East Asia. A statement issued in Accra by Mr. J. K. Tettegah, Secretary-General of the AATUF, this morning said. * President Nkrumah has sent a message of good wishes to the Chairman of the 14th Pugwash Conference being held in Venice, Italy.

NIGERIA:

A Lagos High Court presided over by Mr. Justice Fakayode, has quashed the sentence and conviction of Dr. Victor Allen, British industrial economist.

* Several persons were wounded and property destroyed in riots which broke out between the Villagers of Akpioga and Owo in the Idi Division of Eastern Nigeria over protracted dispute on a piece of farmland.

NIGER:

A man has been arrested in connection with the abortive attempt on the life of M. Diori Hamani, Niger's President yesterday.

TUNISIA:

About 147 Tunisian peasants who refused to join Co-operative farms and demonstrated against the Government's Agricultural policy last December have been granted amnesty by President Habib Bourguiba.

GHANA:

An International Monetary Fund mission is due in Ghana within the next few days for talks with the government.

FORTUGUESE GUINEA:

The leader of the African freedom fighters in Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Island, Mr. Amilcar Cabral, has said in London that within six months of operation, the freedom fighters have been able to bring under their rule more than 40 per cent of the terri-

17th APRIL:

GHANA: \ President Nkrumah has sent a message to President Hamani Diori of Niger expressing shock and sorrow at the abortive attempt made on his life last Tuesday.

* In another message to President Modibo Keita of Mali, President Nkrumah said I have learnt with regret the serious injuries suffered by three members of the Mali basket-ball team which played against Niamey.

* President Nkrumah has sent a special delegation to Paris, Moscow and Peking. The delegation is led by Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

* President Nkrumah in an Easter message to the Nation has called on leading members of the Party and the state machinery to stop using their influence and the position given them to coerce or induce persons connected with the trade machinery and with price control into handing over lucrative but nefarious trade to their relations, wives and friends.

KENYA: President Jomo Kenyatta has officially opened the new £25,000 Residence for Ghana High Commissioner in Nairobi. Speaking at the function President Kenyatta said the relations between Ghana and

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

Joshua Nkomo, Rhodesian nationalist leader, has reiterated in Salisbury that his party (ZAPU), would not take part in the elections of May 7 and any elections held under the 1961 Constitution, a statement published in the latest issue of the Zimbabwe Review has said.

SUDAN: Mr. Abdel Rahaman, Chairman of the Sudanese People's Democratic Party, has urged all non-aligned countries to make effective contribution to the struggle against United States aggression in North Vietnam.

UGANDA: Uganda has concluded talks on the use of £5,600,000 loan from Soviet Union.

U.A.R.: President Nasser has entertained Malayasian King Syed Putra and his wife in Cairo today.

18th APRIL:

TANZANIA: President Nyerere of Tanzania speaking at a farewell reception held in his honour in Bamako today declared that Africa would be one state.

GHANA: Exposing the imperialist false propaganda against Ghana and its leader, in connection with the forged photograph published by Daily Express purported to have been taken at a Ghana's prison, Mr. Kwesi Armah, Ghana's High Commissioner to U.K., stated in a press release that the numerous crimes plotted against President Nkrumah by his enemies would not deter him from demonstrating this rare quality of his leadership.

19th APRIL:

GHANA: The head of German Democratic Republic Economic and Trade Mission in Ghana, Mr. Karl Heinz Kern, has given a dinner to G.D.R. Socialist Uinty Party delegation now on J a visit to Ghana.

* A five-man Dahomey Government delegation led by Mr. Jones Gbogbohoundada, director of Dahomey Youth has arrived in Accra from Cotonou to attend a five-day African youth leaders' conference which opens in Accra today.

* Ghana's Foreign Kojo Botsio, has called at rally Djakata, Indonesia, on foreign powers to leave Congo and Vietnam alone.

MOZAMBIQUE: African freedom fighters in Mozambique have killed 25 Portuguese soldiers and wounded many more, a release from Mozambique Liberation Front has said.

CONGO: African delegates attending current committee meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) have apponited a three-nation committee to draft resolution on Congo and problems facing Africa.

Kenya is more than friendly.

NEARLY three million words have been poured out in the trial of the twelve white South Africans, accused of being members of the banned South African Communist Party. The three million words stand as an indictment of the Verwoerd regime and a testimony to the courage and devotion of the twelve to the

cause of freedom.

These men and women drawn from the more privileged section of the population of South Africa have nevertheless seen through the horror of the policy of apartheid; they have made their stand for the unity of all races and peoples in the freedom fight. They recognised that freedom is indivisible and that their own freedom maintained at the expense of the African peoples, is an illusion.

Verwoerd is now trying to intimidate the white South Africans who fight against his policies. He resorts to the familiar tactics of fascism by launching his Suppression of Communism Bill.

To be persecuted as a Communist in South Africa today is a badge of honour. It reflects the growth of the struggle which draws in ever widening sections of the population, black and white and co-loured, linking it with the necessary perspective of a social policy which alone can guarantee the winning of real freedom and the transformation of the present vile social and economic system which needs racism and apartheid to guarantee a flow of profits for South African capitalists and the imperialist profiteers of the Western world.

Many of the twelve have already suffered imprisonment, solitary confinement and interrogation including torture, but they have fought back. One of the accused, Bram Fischer, declined to present himself at his trial and continues the fight still within South Africa itself.

This is now the time for a new round in the campaign for forcing the most powerful capitalist governments to change their policy. To impose a ban on trade with South Africa, strikes at the heart of many American and British concerns whose investments, exploiting the cheap labour provided by the policy of apartheid, have been booming.

The African and socialist states and the protest movement in the capitalist countries, will see this latest trial and the sentences as the signal for a new stage of pressure to be imposed on these hypocrites of the West who mouth their platitudes about freedom and the Western way of life while they cynically amass their profits from Verwoerd's South African regime of terror.

We salute the Twelve, their courage will inspire yet more support for the great cause for which they suffer, the cause which will overcome. Socialism will Triumph

delegation from the International Monetary Fund is to visit Ghana has set the prophets of Ghana's doom dancing for joy, yet again. It would be an interesting

notes of the week

exercise to count the number of times these "authoritative voice" have been heard prophesying collapse for the growing number of countries who have set out on the socialist path.

In spite of all their forecasts, socialism somehow continues to exist, even to flourish and

It is true that Ghana has a balance of payments problem; so have Britain and the United States. But we do not see the same journalists forecasting anarchy and economic collapse for these two countries, even though they have both borrowed of late from the International Monetary Fund, Britain to the tune of £1,000 million and the United States 300 million dollars.

Why do the pundists express cautious opitimism when they are discussing Britain and America, but hail our difficulties as chronic and incapable of solution?

It is because they fear our

THE announcement that a success. Our problems are those of economic re-alignment, we face the tasks of changing the whole pattern of our economy, ours are the problems of growth, these of Britain and America, reflect the crisis of a dying system.

One thing our critics should remember; we shall not accept loans or assistance which has political strings attached. The International Monetary Fund is a U.N. agency designed to provide medium-term loans to countries which have balance of payments problems, which will help them to tide over their immediate difficul-

The Fund is made up of contributions from various countries and is of course subject to pressures from international capitalist bankers. We in Ghana, however, will not dance to their tune.

Our mood of determination, and our refusal to deviate from our socialist aims was expressed in Kwame Nkrumah's Easter Broadcast.

His warning to these inside our country who try to xploit. our difficulties should be heeded by those abroad who would like to do the same.

Western Press Dishonesty

Continued from page 1

Soviet economy and Soviet foreign trade that were the target. The whole capitalist press was bent on proving that the Soviet economy was a failure and that there were good reasons to refuse to purchase exports.

How things have changed in this respect today! In the past few years in Britain the Institute of Directors, the Institute of Bankers, the Federation of British Industries and a whole host of Chambers of Commerce have published reports on Soviet progress and prosperity and urged a fuller development of British-Soviet trade.

The fact is that the present strength of the U.S.S.R. provides such good trading opportunities for British capitalists that more and more of them now are publicly recognising Soviet progress, however, regretful they are that this is the result of scientific socialism in action.

The current campaign against Ghana has a rather different cause. The capitalist world knows that a successful Conference in Accra this autumn, laying the foundation for a Union of African States, will be one more nail in the coffin of capitalism because it will be fatally weakened in its most vital part-neo-colonial-

There is therefore every reason why the imperialists and their propagandists should at this stage be trying to discredit Ghana just as at an earlier phase in socialist history, they strove to discredit the U.S.S.R.

At each stage of history the imperialist press in every country directs its slanders against those whom it most fears. There is no doubt that, at the present stage, Ghana will continue to be a victim of this sort of unscrupulous attack, for two reasons; Ghana is giving a lead to the rest

of Africa in its decision to advance on the basis of scientific socialism.

of All-African unity, which means gradually wiping off the face of Africa all those artificial divisions drawn by the imperialists to suit their own convenience and to settle the

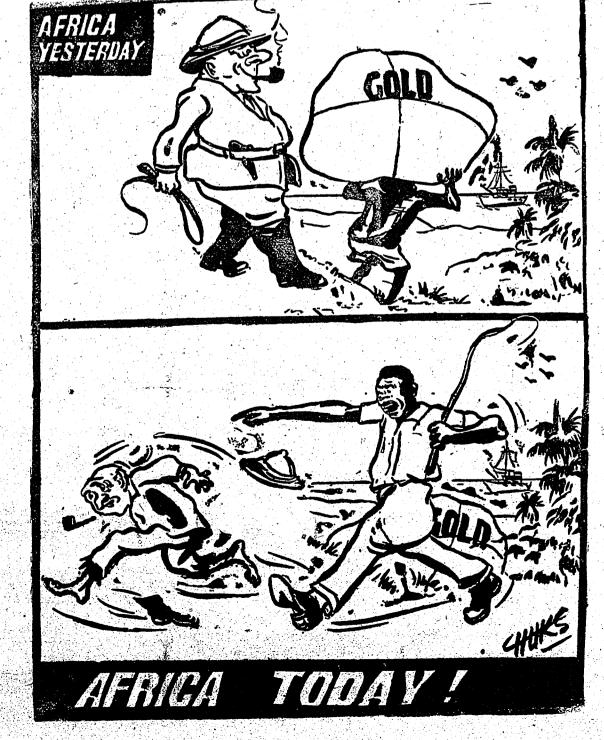
rivalries that existed among Until a United Africa has

Secondly, Ghana is giving its own government, and the a lead to Africa in the cause frontiers within Africa are gradually lessened in importance as unity develops, until then an important vestige of colonial period will remain.

The traditional imperialist slogan is "Divide and rule"

and they are doing their very utmost to keep Africa divided today. To the imperialist slogan the Africans must reply Independence and Unity".

But in the meantime every worker for socialism and African unity must not be surprised if the Daily Express incident is repeated, in other forms by other newspapers, for that is the way of capitalist newspapers when trying to defend their dying system.



frica and Socialism Serminar

processors conservations of the processors of

On August 6th. 1965, a seminar on "Africa and Socialism" will be held in Accra sponsored by the weekly "Spark" (Ghana) and the international Marxist journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism". Public figures, scholars and journalists from various African countries will for eighteen days discuss a wide range of fundamental problems of the social, economic and political development of the continent.

The problems to be discussed include neo-colonialism, the role of the state sector in the achievement of economic independence, industrialisation and methods of implementing it, planning agrarian reforms and the development and political systems of various states, the one-party system, the ideological struggle, concepts of African socialism and the dissemination of the ideas of Scientific Socialism, the links between the liberation struggle of the African peoples, the world socialist system and the labour movement. the second secon

Kwame Nkrumah's Easter Message the Nation

EASTER is usually a time for meditation and reflection. I speak to you this evening in order to bring to your notice something that requires the serious reflection of us all.

It is common knowledge that this nation of ours, our Ghana, is numbered among the leading nations of Africa. We are regarded as part of the vanguard in the struggle against all forms of imperialism on the African continent.

We are numbered among those emergent nations that believe in making progress by relying principally on ourselves and on our own resources. We are in the forefront of the vanguard of the African Revolution.

Ours is a hard struggle calling for sustained effort and sacrifice, for constant vigilance, for unrelenting struggle against the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. But we are making progress along this road. Our efforts are bearing fruit. Every Ghanaian can testify to this.

Our enemies and detractors admit it. Their persistence in misrepresenting our endeavours, their fury in denouncing us, their veiled and open threats of blackmail—all stem from an admission that Ghana is forging ahead, and her example may become a light for **African** emergent

Our infrastructure of power, transport and communications is far ahead of what is available in most other countries. Our economy is rapidly expanding. Our educational system is one of the most comprehensive and liberal in the world.

PROBLEMS OF GROWTH

Our standard of living is very high and compares of the world. The current issue independence for our nation of "Venture" published by the and personal prosperity for Fabian Society, the intellectual wing of the British Labour Party has this to say about Ghana: -

avoidance of the aping of Europe . . . the explicit recognition of needs and possibilities; these make Ghana the test case of Africa-if she succeeds there is hope for all, if she fails who else can succeed?"

But we have our problems. Which country, may I ask is entirely free of problems? Indeed we can number ourselves among the more fortunate countries of the world. Our problems are those of growth. They are not the problems of stagnation or of decay. Some of our new factories are not producing as efficiently as they should.

But efficiency in production has become a problem only because we have made progress in setting up the factories. We experience serious problems with the distribution of consumer goods. But this has become a problem only because we have made proforeign firms which formerly dominated this vital field of our national economy.

The point I wish to emphasise, and which we all as Ghanaians must take seriously to heart, is that our current economic problems have arisen because we are moving forward. As we solve these problems so we shall move ture. favourably with most countries into the realms of economic

ourselves as individuals.

CONFIDENT PEOPLE

"The problems of Ghana of We Ghanaians are not in are typical of Africa—typi- in the habit of shying away from cal but not average. The our difficulties, or shirking wealth of the country, the our responsibilities. We are a confident people. We face our problems squarely. And we are determined to surmount these difficulties.

The greatest single problem facing us today as a nation is that of economic administration. Our factories must be run more efficiently. Imported consumer goods must be better distributed. Essential consumer goods at reasonable prices must be made available to all, and I mean every single person in Ghana.

Our continued progress in the economic field demands that we attain these objectives. The best interests of our people demand that we find speedy. and effective remedies for these shortcomings.

It is important for you to be fully informed on the basic facts of our economic situation. It is our Government's deliberate policy to cut down on our imports of consumer goods. Such action will enable gress in wresting the control was to save on our foreign exof our domestic trade from the change and spend more on imports of machines, equipments, spare parts and raw materials for our factories. This much you know.

What is more, you know that this is a wise and necessary step in support of the declared policy of our industrialisation and the modernisation of our agricul-

But the practical implemen-

generally understood. In practice, we have cut down on our imports of consumer goods in such a way as to reduce drastically the non-essentials and luxuries. We have, on the other hand, continued to bring in the essential consumer goods in the quantities imported last year.

Indeed we have, in some cases, even increased our imports of these essentials above the 1964 level. It is therefore not accurate to attribute the current shortages of some of these goods to a cut in the allocation of foreign exchange for the purchase of these goods.

ESSENTIALS

you and the Nation that the Government will continue to make available all the foreign exchange needed to cover the import of these essential consumer goods until such a time as our own factories could produce them in the required costing, say, one shilling and quantities for our home contwo pence. By the time it passumption.

shortages must be traced to ders, and reaches the consome other source. The source sumer the price has increased of our current trade difficulties is our machinery for economic administration. The state agencies connected with the importation and distribution of these goods have not functioned as efficiently as desired.

Their distribution network does not cover the country effectively. Their methods of much hidebound by bureaucratic routine and red-tape. The goods that should go directly many cases, they are in league

tation of this policy is not to the consumers are diverted either through the passbook system to other firms or to an army of profiteering middle-

Those who hoard and sell consumer goods at exorbitant I want however, to assure prices to the public, thus ou and the Nation that the enriching themselves and their relations at the expense and to the inconvenience of the very people they are called upon to serve are not worthy of the Nation's cause.

the public.

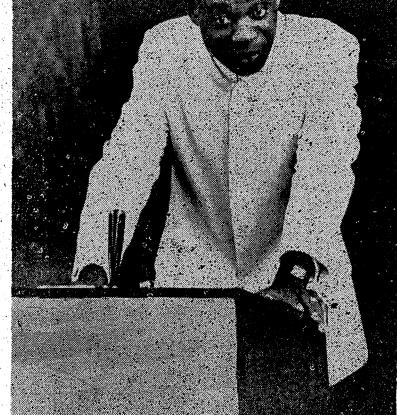
Either because of their operation are slow and too have not succeeded in checking

men made up of public men, their wives and their relations. The passbook has become the instrument for diverting

goods that should have been offered directly to the people, at reasonable prices, into the hands of wives and relations of unscrupulous people. In this regard, Ministers, Regional and District Commissioners, Civil and Public Servants, Party Officials, Parliamentarians, Managing Directors and Managers of Corporations, Factories and State Farms, should and must set the highest and finest example worthy of socialist emulation.

Imagine a packet of sugar ses through the hands of three But the cause of the current or four racketeers and hoarthree or four times. We cannot tolerate this state of affairs in Ghana. The price inspectors have not always been helpful to

> individual weaknesses or their connection with men in high positions and State functionaries, these price inspectors still the hoarding of goods or their sale above the control price. In



'Let us all resolve to wage a relentless war against all those engaged in the dirty game of extorting wealth from the workers and from the masses. We must smoke out these hoarders and profiteers from the holes of their illegal warehouse."

with the profiteers.

These failings, are very We take them serious. seriously. I would like to remind those public men who lack the conscience of doing their duty to the public that other countries have passed through a phase similar to what we are today going through. Some countries have resorted to large scale dismissals; others have found it necessary to imprison; and others even went so far as to shoot such shameless elements.

INTERNAL TRADE

What are we doing to cope with these problems? We have organised and streamlined the Ministry of Agriculture. And you know of our decision to reorganise the Ministry of Trade. There is now to be a Ministry of Foreign Trade which will handle all imports of the essential consumer goods from all parts of the world. The

Continued on page 5

Z daylight flights every week direct to London

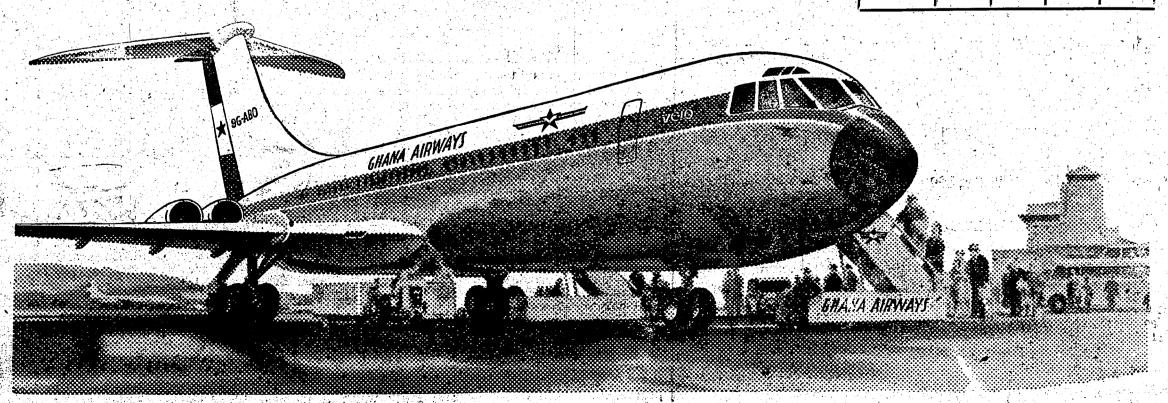
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OUR SUMMER SCHEDULE (1st APRIL-31st)

ACCRA	DEP.	GH 700 THU. SAT. 0900	GH 702 WED. 0900	GH 704 MON. 0900
ROME	ARR. DEP.			
ZURICH	ARR. DEP.			1555 1645
AMSTERDAM	ARR. DEP.			1800 1850
LONDON	ARR.	1625		1945



CHINA'S LEADERS DO MANUAL LABOUR

IN China today it is not un-and the State Council have usual to see factory directors since adopted a series of meatending the machines or bring- sures for this principle to be carried out in an organised

ing up material for them, and department store managers Today, taking part in maserving customers behind the nual labour has become an counters. A lone sentry standimportant part in the life of millions of cadres. The way ing guard at a mountain pass may well turn out to be a they do it varies. battle-steeled general.

This is part of a system which the Chinese call "cadres

(or leading personnel) taking part in manual labour"—gov-

ernment, production and mili-

tary leaders at every level in

every type of work for a cer-

tain period of time doing the

normal work of those they

The idea is not new. As

early as the revolutionary Civil War which began in 1927, Chinese Communist Party func-

tionaries and officers of the

Workers' and Peasants' Red

Army began regularly spend-

ing part of their time with the

rank-and-file soldiers tilling

BE WITH THE MASSES

The practice grew during the

War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (1937-

1945), when cadres in the Libe-

rated Areas not only led a

great movement to make the

areas self-sufficient, but them-

selves worked in the fields and

As soon as the People's Republic of China was found-

to take part in the actual

The Party Central Committee

manual work of production.

handicraft shops.

the land and raising food.

COLLECTIVE PRODUC-TION

In the countryside (where over 80 per cent of the Chinese population lives) leaders spend only a part of their time at meetings and in their

local people in manual work during their frequent trips to help leaders at local levels sum up merits and shortcomings and make improvements.

Intellectuals who have little experience in revolutionary struggles go in groups to rural tories, first for one year at a stretch and then regularly for at least one month each year.

During the busy farming seasons truckloads of people from city offices go out to the surrounding communes to help sow or reap.

Experience in factory and Whether they are of the field has helped cadres to



Mine officials during a stint at the coal face chat with workers.

ed in 1949, all leading personnel were warned not to become divorced from the masses and therefore from reality, not brigade or commune rank, the to become subjective and onegreater part of their time is sided in their views and buspent working in the fields. reaucratic in their style of There they are able not only to solve many problems on the It was pointed out that the spot but to give better guidance main way to prevent this was

to collective production. In commerce, the managing personnel of stores often deli-

production team, production understand more and more deeply that the system of leaders taking part in the people's productive labour is essential to victory in the class struggle, in the struggle for production and in the struggle to advance scientific experimentation—the three revolutionary movements with which the Chinese people are building a mighty socialist country.

HELPING FARMERS

Labour is the yardstick by which the people measure a cadre's closeness to them. A popular maxim in the countryside is, "watch how much he works in the fields to know how close he is to us."

Working people feel free to speak their minds and bring their problems to leaders who they feel are their own, and not lordly officials high above them. This makes democratic consultation possible on the broadest scale.

The general view among commune members is, "When the cadres take the lead in working hard, we'll throw our whole heart into the work

And the basic guarantee for overcoming difficulties and achieving good results in building up the country is to bring the enthusiasm of the masses and their creativeness in production into full play.

Cadres also find that by learning and practising the working people's way of living and working they become far less liable to be corrupted by the thinking of the exploiting classes.

Leading cadres are learning from experience that working regularly with the masses is the best way of preventing bureaucracy and a subjective

A typical remark by a rural cadre is: "Working and discussing things together with the people enables us to know both man and nature well. This is essential in leading Wen Chao

And a commune member expressed the general opinion made every day. when he said: "When the cadres work hard next to us cadres spend regular time in communes and sometimes fact they see how and why things certain production processes will carry on the revolution.

are happening, and every idea they have is real and fits what's needed."

The same is true in factories and mines where rapid advances in technology are being

Facts have proved that when

they are better equipped to un-cover problems and guide the workers in solving them.

The richer productive knowledge they gain through manual labour enables them to work out better ways of management.

Socialist morality regards labour as a matter of honour. That this is becoming the standard in China today is of particular significance in bringing up the younger generation, who



Premier Chou at work on a new dam.

Britain's last Colonies

ON the eve of the Second World War Great Britain's colonial possessions extended over 5 million square miles and had a population of 419,360,000. These figures have now shrunk to less than 1 million and about 15,000,000 respectively.

The remaining British colonies, however, occupy important military-strategic positions, still supply Britain with considerable amounts of raw materials and serve as markets for British goods and fields for her investments.

Britain remains the biggest colonial Power in the world and has possessions in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Oceania and Europe.

The British dependencies in Africa occupy an area of nearly 500,000 square miles and have an aggregate population of 6,003,000. They include Rhodesia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, St. Helena and the Seychelles Islands, and some others.

AMERICAN MONOPOLY

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is a major British colony situated in the central part of Southern Africa, she is several times the size of Great Britain (150,333 square miles).

3,931,700 the Africans number 47 square miles; Population 3,690,000, the Asians—18,700, the Europeans—223,000.

She is rich in minerals and water resources, but they are controlled by the British and American monopolies (British South Africa, Rhodesia Selection Trust, Turner and Newall, Anglo-American Corporation).

The Europeans own 53 per cent of the country's best land, having approx. 275 acres per capita, whereas the Africans have less than 17 acres per

Rhodesia supplies Britain

REMAINING BRITISH COLONIES

by G. Isayev

The European settlers cons titute an insignificant minority everywhere; from 10,000 to 60,000. But they own the best land. In Swaziland, for instance, 10,000 settlers own about 42 per cent of the land, and the 270,000 Africans— 55 per cent.

The constitutions promulgated last year restrict Africans' rights. They provide for the establishment of two chambers: Senate (or Chamber of Chiefs), whose members are appointed, and Legislative Assembly, which is controlled by the Senate. Legislative power is fully in the hands of British Commissioners.

Britain has ignored the recommendations adopted by the U.N. 24-Nation Committee and the General Assembly on the introduction of universal suffrage and the granting of independence to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

These territories are coveted by the South African racialists.

The British colonies in the southern part of the Indian Ocean are Mauritius (area: 805 square miles; population: 699,900) and the Seychelles Islands (area: 87 square miles; population: 43,748).

In the South Atlantic, West Of her population of of Africa, is St. Helena (area:

BRITISH GÜIANA

The population of these islands is engaged mainly in growing sugar cane, bananas, coconuts, maize and flax, and in fishing and servicing foreign ships. Power in all of them is wielded by the British gov-

Britain still has rich colonies in America. They occupy an area of over 100,000 square miles and have an aggregate population of 2,573,620. The for the country's democratic development.

The British colonialist deliberately avoided giving an independence date, as recommended by the U.N. 24-Nation Committee, while Cheddi Jagan's progressive Government was in office. They were supported by the U.S. imperialists, who feared that British Guiana will become a "second Cuba" on the American continent.

British Honduras (Belize) is in Central America. It is about 8,860 square miles in area and has a population of

The main source of income is timber. It also has oil. The oil fields and the banana plantations are operated by British monopolies, and over 3 million acres of forest and arable land belong to the British Crown.

Britain's main rival in Honduran trade is the United

Honduras was granted selfgovernment in January, 1964, but the country is in fact ruled by the British governor.

Honduras is claimed by both Guatemala and Mexico. But its people are against colonialism or union with any other country. It wants complete independence.

Britain has many island and the Atlantic: Antigua (area: 108 square miles: population: 65,000), the Bahamas (4,400 and 112,556). Barbados (166 and 235,132), Bermudas (20 and 45,872), Virgin Islands (59 and 7,338), Grenada (33 and 88,677), **Dominica** (290 and 61,029), Turks and Caicos Islands (166 and 5,714), Cayman (100 and 7,616), Montserrat (32½ and 12,157), St. Lucia (238 and 94,718), St. Vincent (150 and 80,000), and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla (153 and 56,644).

ANOTHER FEDERATION

Britain uses all these colonies to get cheap raw materials and agricultural products. On many of them she maintains garrisons and naval and air bases, employing them to suppress the national-liberation movement. Power in these colonies is wielded by governors or commissioners appointed by the Queen.

In an attempt to delude the people and preserve the colonial order, the British Government is trying to knock together a West Indies Federation

The first lasted only a short while and disintegrated in February, 1962, when Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from it.

The imperialists are now trying to build up another federation. They already have the "consent" of seven colonies Barbados, Antigua, Domiput of sugar, 90 per cent of nica, Montserrat, St Kitts which is exported, is in the Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent).

A federal Government is planned and parliament will have two chambers; Senate and Legislative Assembly. Each island state will have lonialists, does not enjoy poin two seats in the Senate (Mont-

the population):

Falkland: (Malvina) Islands (area: about 4,700 square miles; population: '2,172) were occupied by Britain in 1833. They are claimed by Argentina, which says they are part of her former territory.

The issue was examined by the 24-Nation Committee, which declared that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence extended to the Falklands.

The Committee asked Britain and Argentina to negotiate a solution which would take account of the interests of the population, the U.N. Charter, the resolution of the 15th General Assembly and the opinions voiced in the course of the discussion.

BRITISH MILITARY BASE

In the south of the Arabian Peninsula Britain retains the Protectorate of Aden and the Aden Colony. The latter was incorporated in the Federation of South Arabia in 1962.

Federation of South Arabia. Created in 1959. It consists of fourteen sultanates and sheikhdoms, covering an area of approximately 60,000 sq. miles with a population of about 712,000.

Among the British protectorates are the sultanese of possessions in the Caribbean the Bahrain Archipelago in Qatar in Eastern Arabia.

The colonies on the Arabian Peninsula and in the Persian Gulf are rich in oil which is extracted and refined by British and American companies. Britain maintains a military base in Aden and uses it as a base against the nationaldiberation movement in the Middle East.

Britain still rules in many other important parts of Asia: Brunei (a r e a : 2,226 square miles; population: 83,877); Hong Kong (H s i a n g kang) (area: 398 square miles; population: 3,526,500 and the Maldive Islands: population: 90,000).

Brunei and the Maldive Islands are sultanates under Britain's protectorate. Hong Kong is a colony. The British have their military bases and garrisons in all these possessions.

In Oceania British possessions include the Fiji Islands (area: 7,083 square miles; population: 427,851), (population: 127), Tonga (270 square miles; population: 67,000), Gilbert and Ellice Islands (360 square miles; population: 148,172), and the New Hebrides 5,700 square miles; population: 60,374). The latter is an Anglo-French Condominium.

Power on these islands is in fact wielded by British governors and commissioners. On some there are military bases, on others joint Anglo-American bases are being establish-

In Europe Britain's sole possession is Gilbraltar, the fortress at the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula, at the entrance to the Mediterranean. It is 6.5 square kilometres in pular support and is trying to, serrat, one) two in the legisla-size and has a population of suppress the People's Progres- tive Assembly (one for the 24,502. Britain maintains a



The head of Shanghai's traffic police does a tour of point duty.

The poem "Soviet Space Girl" (Spark, March 26th-) was by KEN GEERING. We apologise to the author for the omission of his name on i publication.

ver goods personally to customers or work as clerks or cashiers. Instead of sending out buyers, managers of country stores go themselves to the communes to purchase farm produce for the state.

Administrators in transport companies personally accompany goods carried by their trucks, carts or barges.

In factories and mines, administrators and technicians spend a certain amount of time in the shops or underground mastering some skill.

CADRES IN FACTORIES

Party, government and people's organisation cadres labour in factories or communes at least one month a year. Officers of the armed forces—including top-ranking generals spend one month a year as

rank-and-file soldiers. Ministers of the Central Government in Peking join

TYPICAL REMARK

style of work.

production.'

with raw materials and goods. In 1963, the British took £36,693,000 worth of goods out of Southern Rhodesia (her total exports in that year amounted to £75,000,000).

The Constitution has secured the European settlers' dominant position in the country. The Rhodesian Government ruthlessly persecutes freedom fighters. Basutoland, Bechuanaland

and Swaziland are in Southern Africa. Basutoland, which is encircled by the Republic of South Africa, is 11,716 square miles in area and has a population of 711,000; the figures for Bechuanaland are 222,000 and 332,000, and for Swaziland-6,705 and 280,000 respectively.

biggest is British Guiana on the north-east coast of South America. It has an area of 83,000 square miles and a population of 602,660. There are deposits of bau-

xites, manganese, gold, dia-monds and columbite. The country's natural riches are exploited by Canadian, British and U.S. companies. The outhands of British firms.

Public pressure forced Britain to grant British Guiana self-government. Forbes Burnham's reactionary Govern-ment, put in power by the cosive Party which is fighting island and one per 50,000 of naval and air base there.

Question For Intellectuals

by Essie Yamalleb

IN our present epoch of the transition from Capitalism to Socialism many societies stand on the threshold of profound transformations. This is true of Africa and of Ghana in particular. What once seemed to be an all-powerful imperialist system is now being thrown off and the alternative to the capitalism from which it arose is clearly seen to be socialism.

The post-independence situation was bound to be complex, but it is more difficult because of the far-reaching changes which are being aimed for.

These changes will help to guarantee a society which will provide the necessary material, political and cultural basis for the all-round development of individual h u m a n beings. bringing a freedom and unity which capitalism, based on exploitation and the setting of man against man, could never hope to achieve.

This present stage of social development in Ghana is critical for the nation as a whole. But it also affects the personal life of every thinking man and woman. They must decide whether they will face this historically inevitable future and take a personal responsibility for seeing that it is built in the best possible way, or whether they will turn their backs on this complex but exciting task and yearn nostalgically for an imaginary past.

FACE QUESTIONS

If they look to the past, they will cut themselves off from the very sources of life itself, the people's desire for a a new and better society. In other words, we all face the cuestions "Am I for Socialism?" and "What am I prepared to do to build it?

Our answers to both these questions may be conditioned by what capitalist society may appear to offer. To most people in former colonial territories, the capitalist way of life offered little but poverty, lack of social amenities, ill health and denial of educational opportunity. For them the demand for independence was not an abstract question of rights, but a burning problem of survival.

Now, in the period following independence, they see that the very safeguarding of this independence, as well as the possibilities for social development, can only be won by changing the economic system and establishing one free from exploitation, in which the resources of the country will be owned in common and in which there will be production

for need, not for private profit. This obvious need, so clearly understood by the mass of the people, arises from their direct experience; they have nothing to lose by such a change and everything to win.

PRIVILEGED GROUPS

Not every section of our population in Ghana, has had such experiences which almost spontaneously lead them to understand the necessity for Socialism. For them the answer is not so clear and unequivocal. Among these groups those whom we term "intellectuals" perhaps stand out most

It was the policy of some colonial regimes, for example, the French and the British, to try and stave off the day when they would have to leave, by establishing, for administrative and political purposes, especially privileged groups from among the subject

peoples. These were given secondary and University education, modelled exactly on the French or British pattern. After long cultural, educational and psychological conditioning, they were then entrusted with posts in the Civil Service and in education, and enjoyed a high standard of living, sharing the same outlook as their foreign rulers.

Of course this was not always completely successful. Many such students—the best of them—saw through the system and dedicated their abilities and their skills to the cause of the liberation of their peoples.

They returned from overseas to play their part in the national liberation movements. pitting their knowledge and organisational skills egainst those who had tried to win them over.

VIVID ACCOUNT

Kwame Nkrumah/was among these and he has described, vividly, in his book CONSCIENCISM, what happened to many African stu-dents who went overseas for higher education.

"This defective approach to scholarship was suffered by different categories of colonial student. Many of them had been handpicked, and so to say, carried certificates of worthiness with them. These were considered fit to become enlightened servants of the colonial administration. The process by which this category of student became fit usually started at an early age, for not infrequently they lost contact early in life with their traditional background. By reason of their lack of contact with their own roots, they became prone to accept some theory of universalism, provided it was expressed in vague, mellifluous terms.

"Armed with their universalism, they carried away from their university courses an attitude entirely at variance with the concrete reality of their people and their struggle. When they came across doctrines of a combative nature, like those of Marxism, they reduced them to arid abstractions, to common room subtleties. In this way, through the good graces of their colonialist patrons, these students now competent in the art of forming not a concrete environmental view of social political problems, but an abstract, 'liberal' outlook, began to fulfil the hopes and expectations of their guides

and guardians. " A few colonial students gained access to metropolitan universities as of right on account of their social standing. Instead of considering culture as a gift and a pleasure, the intellectual who emerged therefrom now saw it as a personal distinction and privilege. He might have suffered mild persecution at the hands of the colonialists, but hardly ever really in the flesh. From his wobbly pedestal, he indulged in the history and sociology of his country, and thereby managed to preserve some measure of positive involvement with the national processes. It must however be obvious that the degree of national consciousness attained by him was not of such an order as to permit his full grasp of the laws of historical development or of the thorough-going nature of the struggle to be waged, if national independence was

to be won. "Finally, there were the vast numbers of ordinary Africans, who, animated by a lively national consciousness, sought knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity. This is not to say that these Africans overlooked the purely cultural value of their studies. But in order that their cultural acquisition should be valuable, they needed to be capable of appreciating it as free men.

number." Here we have vividly described the process of differentiation: some to become mem- working of our price control bers of an imaginary elite of machinery should be thorotalent and brains, others to ughly examined and brought

I was one of this

become freedom fighters some intellectuals choose to bringing their gifts as offerings in the service of the people, seeing in knowledge the means to effective action.

BRAINWASHED

Those intellectuals who vere successfully brainwashed by their imperialist patrons are still with us, and some of them have succeeded in passing on their outlook and attitudes to some intellectuals. who are products of the postindependence period.

So thoroughly assimilated are they by Western education and philosophy, that they reflect almost exactly the same points of view and problems, even though they exist and have their being in a widely different social and political environment. Like many Western intellectuals they are profoundly pessimistic, paralysed by uncertainty and a feeling of isolation and ineffectualness.

In the arts and philosophy they adopt an anti-hum list outlook, doubting man's capabilities, sneering at those who believe it is possible for man to shape his own destiny and build a better world.

Of course the society in which they live, whose morality is based on greed and militarisation and ruthless exploitation, has no use for the honest artist or philosopher, it has no use for criticism and independence. Consequently the artists, the philosopher, the cultured; are treated as oddities and eccentrics, when they cannot be used and bought to be the apologists of monopoly capitalism.

HELPLESSNESS

Those who refuse to be bought over become themselves revolutionaries, or they retreat into inaction and pessimism, thereby implicitly an- years and all the decision nouncing their sense of help- sources of information and in-

The Western ruling class is not worried about these pessimists, these eccentrics who go on producing more and more abstruse worker for an ever narrowing audience, indeed they are only too pleased to have reduced artists and intellectuals to this condition. The divisions however, between the intellectual and the rest of society become wider,

wear as their badge of superiority.

The scientist faces a slightly different problem. He too, in a society where most scientific research is geared either to war or profit-seeking, has to face up to the problems of the

social application of science.

Many boldly refuse to allow their talents to be used for. these purposes. Others unfortunately take refuge in the atti-tude that they are merely scientists, and the uses to which their discoveries are put are not their business. They renounce moral responsibility.

Intellectual life in the West suffers from acute splits be-tween the sciences and the arts, between theory and practice. This latter split is reflected in the tendency for intellectuals to look down on manual labour and on the practical

TWO SIDES OF COIN

"The scientific barbarian strictly utilitarian in outlook, and the "cultured ignoramus" who doesn't know the most elementary scientific principles on which the very necessities of life depend, are the two sides of the same coin. This situation is characteristic of deep crisis in the political, social and cultural life of capitalist societies.

Much as he may flatter himself that he is "free"—and he is often told he is—the intellectual in the West is "free" to be quite uninfluential, "free" to be a voice in the wilderness, "free" to be regarded as a social freak, not influencing life, as it is lived, day in and day out by millions of their fellow citizens in any profound way whatever.

He is excluded from the corridors of power as completely as the rest of the population of a capitalist state where, the vote is cast once every five nuence are in the name small, exploiting class.

Intellectuals, just as any other members of the community, then face the question "Am I for socialism?" Because there may be a possibility of their winning some kind of personal success, of a very narrow and immediate kind under the old way of life, they tend to vacillate and to be undecided about what kind of emphasising the elitism which future they would like to see.

An eminent American philosopher, Barrows Dunham once put the problem in the following terms, in his great book "Man Against Myth." In the section called "For and Against Mankind" he says;

"To place oneself on the people's side is to care whether they have enough food, shelter and clothing. It is to feel, not indeed with the immediacy of direct suffering, but keenly, nevertheless, each hurt and loss which can befall them. Nor is it possible to set shrewd limits to the range of sympathy. The true democratic and people's partisan finds his sympathy increasing as he passes down the social scale so that the more oppressed and despoiled people are the more lively and eager is his love. His emotions are governed not by the dreadful and corrosive calculus of "what is each man worth?" But by awareness of the social formen to their present destiny".

Perhaps this is what the question of "Am I for socia-lism" and "What Am I pre-pared to do to build it?" really means when we face it personally. It means "Am I for the People?".

DENIES FREEDOM

The social forces which deprive men and women of the full fruits of their labour, which deny the mass of the people, whether in the colonial world or the older industrial capitalist nations, of their rights to equal opportunity for culture, education and the flowering of their personalities are those forces which uphold the rights and privileges of property, using men and women as mere productive units in the economic machine, calculating the worth of a man in terms of pounds shillings and pence, or dollars, seeking

ces which have condemned working men and women as appendages of the machine.

Capitalists, who once proclaimed individual freedoms in their fight for the right to compete freely in a new-born capitalist market, are now the upholders of a dying system which denies real freedom to the majority of men and women.

They will be swept aside by the movements of the people everywhere, fighting for their rights. The question for the intellectual is "Will I too join this great movement for freedom from want and poverty and ingnorance and disease or, timid and afraid of these great human potentialities; will I be swept away with the forces of exploitation and the oppression?"

Any honest intellectual with a high degree of skill, with the least vestige of humanism will answer "I am With the People, I am for Socialism".

(To be Continued)

NKRUMAH'S EASTER MESSAGE

Continued from page 3

Ministry will operate for some time under my direction.

In addition, there will be a Ministry of Internal, that is, home Trade. This Ministry will concentrate on the efficient distribution within the country of all imported consumer goods as well as products produced by our factories and state farms. It is our belief that this division of effort will result in increased efficiency and benefit to the consumer.

AN INQUIRY

I have ordered an inquiry into the system of passbooks and the so-called "chits". In addition, it is my intention that all racketeering, profiteering and illegal dealings in the retail and wholesale trade in consumer goods, and the inefficient

to light and dealt with.

work of this inquiry be done that our position gives us to necessary administrative trol into handing over lucrative changes and controls take but nefarious trade to our immediate effect. We are relations, wives and friends. tial goods will get to the and stop forthwith. people in the needed amounts at the right time and at the right prices.

leading members in the Party and business. I must today repeat this warning. One of the causes of our present difficulties is the misuse of High Party and State positions.

SPECULATION

Some of us who hold these positions of trust have allowed

business speculation and profit I have directed that the seeking. We use the influence expeditiously. And as soon as coerce or induce persons conthe findings are available, I nected with our trade machishall see to it that the nery and with our price condetermined that these essen- This state of affairs must stop

I am resolved on my part that in this matter of trade You will remember that in essential consumer goods, four years ago, in my Dawn the interest of the general Broadcast, I called upon the public must be upheld at all times. But your Government and in the State machinery to need the support and the codraw a line between politics operation of every honest and business. I must today citizen and dedicated Party activist.

You can help by immediately reporting any case of hoarding or selling above the control price to the Ministry of Internal Trade where with the assistance of the Attorney-General's Office a special ourselves to be lured into machinery has been set up to Easter.

deal with this,

Let us all resolve to wage a relentless war against all those engaged in the dirty game of extorting wealth from the workers and the masses. We must smoke out these hoarders and profiteers from the holes of their illegal warehouses.

Let us step up the fight against bribery, corruption, avarice and nepotism, the vices that seem to sap the faith in our Revolution and Socialist construction.

Let us resist and check those who by loose talk and propaganda try to undermine the sound principles upon which our foreign trade is based.

Countrymen, the Party and the Government will continue to be guided by the present and future needs of the Nation and the highest interests of the people in general.

Let us therefore rededicate ourselves to the service of the Nation and work towards the achievement of the goals and ideals we set before our people and the Nation.

I wish you all a happy

In Our Next Issue

ADAM RAPACKI

Foreign Minister of the Polish People's Republic and author of the plan for a creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe, discusses his plan in an exclusive interview.

PAUL VERNER

Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and leader of the delegation which visited Ghana earlier this month, discusses some problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism in another exclusive feature.

Revelation and A

A South African now in exile because of his fight against apartheid, BRIAN BUNTING here describes earn more than any African his impressions of a recent visit to Accra.

I spent a week in Ghana Africans in South Africa education overseas." thods of training African ciety.
journalists. Outside the confesome time touring Accra and its environs, visiting various of the institutions of the new Ghana, the Tema Harbour and Township, the Volta River Dam, the University at

A week is a very short time in which to become fully acquainted with the problems of a developing country like Ghana, and I do not pretend to be in any position to pass judgment on what I have seen.

But perhaps the first impressions of a white South Afri-can, gained on this first visit to a free African country, may be of interest to your be boss in his state, the Black readers.

I am not, of course, a typical white South African, filled with racial prejudice and my reactions to Ghana would undoubtedly be quite different from those of Dr. Verwoerd. I spent most of my adult life fighting against racial discrimination in South Africa until I was forced out of the country in 1963.

UGLY PAST

I am still as politically active as I can be in exile, and look forward to the day when we can all return to a free South Africa, in which all people will enjoy equal rights and opportunities and the horrors of race discrimination will be just a memory of the ugly

Coming from a country in say in the government of the country, educationally crippled tion known as Bantu Education, deprived of economic opportunity by job reservation and other restrictive practices —coming from this prison house of over 13 million South Africans who do not have white skins, Ghana was quite simply a revelation and a tonic. Here was a country where the Black man ruled.

We journalists had the good fortune to be received by Kwame Nkrumah with whom we chatted for about an hour, and from the President downwards all the way to the meanest hawker in the streets, what impressed me most was the assured self-confidence of the Black man exercising power-not, like the White Supremacists of the south, as a boss or an overseer not as people claiming the divine right of inheritance not as people demanding special rights or but simply as privileges, Black by human beings, chance, but fundamentally the same as human beings anywhere else in the world whatever their race or colour.

HEWERS OF WOOD

In fact, Ghana is a country in which, for the first time in Africa, I ceased to be colour conscious. At first I was thrilled to see Africans in charge everywhere, Africans running the government, the broadcasting corporation, the printing presses and newspapers, African linotypers and composi-tors, African technicians and technologists, African professors and harbour masters.

You see, such things are impossible in South Africa, where the African was told by Dr. Verwoerd, when Minister of Native Affairs in June 1954, that "there is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

in March of this year as a are for the most part the delegate represeting South hewers of wood and the Africa at the conference of the drawers of water, prevented in the Bantustans there must Pan-African Union of Journa- by law and custom from rising lists called to consider me- above a certain level in so-

The African is nowhere his rence room we delegates spent own boss, not even in his "own" Bantustan, the Transkei, which is still ruled under e m e r g e n c y proclama-tions issued by the all-white Government in Pretoria in 1960 in terms of which any Transkei citizen can be arrested and held indefinitely in jail without trial.

CASE OF ONE AFRICAN

The Verwoerd Government claims that its aim is to create two parallel but equal societies in South Africa, one for Blacks and the other for Whites. The White man will man boss in his. Each will enjoy no rights in the territory of the other.

I won't even discuss the morality of allocating 87 per cent of the country to the Whites, who constitute only 20 per cent of the population; nor the practicability of confining the 70 per cent of the population who are Black into that 13 per cent of Bantustan.

For the whole Bantustan concept is a fraud, and I will prove it by quoting the case of just one African, Mr. Reginald Boleu, aged 22.

Mr. Boleu, after receiving a Johannesburg City Council bursary, passed his matriculation examination (with a distinction in mathematics) within three months of writing his junior cerificate examination. He studied at Fort which the African people are Hare University College, and cruelly oppressed, denied any later at the tribal University College of the North.

by the process of indoctrina- a coveted scholarship in was no chauvinism amongst nuclear science at Ur University, Sweden. Mr. Boleu special attitude towards me as wants to become a nuclear a White man, no suspicion or physicist, but in South Africa rancour. he is unable to do so.

NUCLEAR PHYSICS

There are no facilities at the segregated African universities for students wishing to study nuclear science. Such facilities exist at the White universities, but it is a criminal offence for an African to register at a White university.

So Mr. Boleu applied for a passport to take up the bur-sary at Uppsala University. His application was backed by the Dean of his faculty and the Rector of the University of the North, who testified that he was a brilliant student and that there were no facilities available for him in South Africa to study nuclear phy-

But the Verwoerd Government rejected his application, giving no reasons for their refusal. Mr. Boleu then applied for an exit permit, and this was granted. This means Mr. Boleu will be able to study nuclear physics, he will be able to acquire qualifications which are vitally needed in his country, whose first nuclear reactor has just reached the

"critical" stage.
But Mr. Boleu will not be able to return to South Africa, because holders of exit permits are forbidden by law to return, and in fact by a recent amendment to the law are automatically deprived of their citizenship.

Mr. Boleu sobbed as he left Jan Smuts Airport on March 29. Members of his family wept too as they said goodbye in the concourse. He said to them: "I do not know whether I shall see you again. I have become stateless simply because I wanted to further my

In South Africa, nuclear scientists must be White, and be no nuclear scientists at all. This is the policy of the Verwoerd Government.

This is the reality of the fake doctrine of "separate development", which is just another fancy term to disguise White domination.

To see Ghana after this is to see a state in which there are no limits to the development of the Black man, where a tremendous national effort is being made to advance the level of the people on all fronts, where Africans are training in every branch of science and technology, where those who are already trained are making their full contribution where they are most needed.

As I have already said, when I, as a South African, first came into contact with life in Ghana, I found this tremendously stimulating. Every time I saw an African linotyper or compositor, train driver, ship's captain, I experienced a thrill of satisfaction, saying to myself: "This couldn't happen in South Africa".

NO CHAUVINISM

Here there is no White man boss or overseer. The African in Ghana is running his own show and already has tremendous achievements to his credit. White expatriates have helped and are still helping a great deal. But the Ghanaian keeps control firmly in his own

By the end of my week in Ghana I was already ceasing to be conscious that I was amongst Africans: Africans had ceased to be Africans, This year he was awarded and were just people. There the Ghanaians I met, no

> Oh yes, Ghana has tradition and culture of which it is exceedingly proud, and Ghana is very conscious of the fact that it is part of Africa. But of the race atmosphere that surrounds one wherever one walks in South Africa, I found not a trace in Ghana.

One began to realise how genuine friendship will be able to flourish betwen all the peoples of South Africa once the chains of racialism have been finally broken.

RESTRICTIVE RACE

Furthermore, having seen the tremendous strides which have been made in Ghana since independence—the construction of Tema harbour and the industrial complex nearby, the Volta River project, the housing schemes which are going up on all sides, the big public buildings in the new Accra—one realises just how much the development of South Africa is being crippled by the restrictive race laws of the White Supremacists. If only our people were free, how quickly we could advance.

Ghana, starting with so little, has achieved so much in eight years. There is no limit to what South Africa, already the most highly industrialised country in Africa, producing twice as much electricity and steel as the rest of the continent together, could achieve if only the abilities of the whole people were utilised to the full.

And here I want to say semething in refutation of the oft-repeated boast of the Verwoerd apologists that the African lives better in South Africa than he does anywhere else in Africa.

perbelt can rise higher and the average Ghanaian earns more than the average African in South Africa.

It is difficult to establish with certainty exactly how much the average African in South Africa earns. Proper statistics are not kept, and all that is available are estimates

which vary a great deal from one expert to the next.

The Industrial Legislation Commission of Inquiry reported in 1951 that, judging by 1936 figures, the Africans earned 19.6 per cent of the national income. Speaking at a conference in Durban on February 17, 1965, the head of the economic division of the Africa Institute, Dr. G. M. E. Leistner, said that the African share of the total population's personal consumption in 1963 was 17.6 per reent. This would imply that the African share of the national income had declined by two per cent over the last 27 years.

Let us assume, however, that the African receives 20 per

£3,708,500,000—20 per cent of this would be £741,700,000, which, with the total African population of just under 12 million, gives each African an annual income of £62.

As compared with this, the national income per head in Ghana in 1962 was £74, thus demonstrating clearly that the average Ghanaian lives on a higher level than the average African in South Africa.

THE COMPARISON

And this comparison is based on an income figure for South Africa Africans which is probably much higher than the facts warrant. According to the Johannes-burg 'STAR' of March 11, 1965, the Department of Bantu Administration estimates that the purchasing power of the Africans "now approaches £500 million a year"

The same paper on April 1, 1965, quoted the director of the Bureau of Standards, Dr. A W. Lategan, as estimating African purchasing power at £600 million a year. We have cent of the national income. based our calculations on a In 1964, South Africa's figure of £741 million a year. aware of their shortcomings, pioneering role in Africa.

available, they would probably show the gap between South African African and Ghanaian standards of living to be even greater than I have indicated.

One mustn't, of course, press comparisons too far. South Africa is a very different country from Ghana, at a different level of development

South Africa is cursed with the problem of apartheid, race oppression and race hatred, but Ghana, too, has its problems, its battle to free itself from the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism, its internal conflicts, the remnants of tribalism, shortage of capital, fluctuating prices of basic commodities, imbalance of payments, conflict of interest between the public and private sectors of the economy. And the Ghanaians would be the first to admit that, as a young country they have made their quota of mistakes.

Nevertheless, one cannot but be impressed by the dynamic approach of the Ghana Government and people to the tasks of development. Well

miners on the Zambian Cop- n a t i o n a l income was If accurate statistics were they are determined to overcome them, to build up their country as an industrialised socialist state in which the interest of the whole people will come first.

In his discussion with us journalists, Kwame Nkrumah expressed his conviction that only through socialism could the evils of the past be eliminated and the state be developed on a sound basis.

And referring to South Africa, he reiterated that only through socialism could the race problem be solved peace-

It is capitalism and imperichsm which have brought in their wake class and race hatred. Only socialism can heal the wounds of the past and enable all sections of the people to live together in harmony.

With these sentiments I, at least, am in hearty agreement. And what I saw in Ghana satisfied me that the President means what he says. Words are being turned into deeds. The country has made a brave beginning and all will wish it well as it continues to discharge its complicated and

Battle for North African I NTIL quite recently Africa

was not considered rich in oil. The output in 1957 came to only 2,700,000 tons, or about 0.3 per cent of the total in the capitalist world. And then suddenly vast deposits were discovered in the most barren part of the continent—in the Sahara.

In practically no time at all Algeria and Libya became major oil producers. Largescale surveys are now in process in Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.

OIL RESOURCES

Africa's potential oil resources are estimated at 12,000 million tons. The known deposits are said to be in the vicinity of 1,500 million tons, of which about 1,300 million tons are in North Africa.

North Africa is also one of the richest depositories of natural gas.

Oil output in the north of the continent is increasing rapidly. The 1959 figure was below 1,500,000 tons, the 1962 figure was almost 30 million tons, and now specialists predict that within a few years Algeria and Libya will be producing up to 100 million tons of crude oil a year.

The discovery of large oil deposits in Algeria has enhanced the French monopolies' hopes of strengthening their positions in the capitalist world, especially in Western Europe. Algerian oil plays an important part in the French imperialist plans to "integrate" Europe under France's leader-

The Common Market countries have practically no oil reserves of their own. Twothirds of the oil their refineries need are purchased from American and British monopolies which control almost all the big oil areas in the capitalist world. The Six spend between 10

and 20 per cent of the funds allocated for imports on the purchase of oil and give the British and American companies up to \$400 million a year in profits.

Now, with Algerian oil in the grasp, the French monopolies which could not control even the home market in the past, are now vying for European markets with such oil giants as ESSO (U.S.) and Shell (British):

French imperialism's interest in Sahara oil was one of the colonial war in Algeria. This oilfields are operated by three attempts to play the role of share of the income.

war continued even after the companies controlled by state the leading oil purveyor in French Government had recognised the Algerian people's right to self-determination, because the French Government wanted to annex the oilbearing parts of the Sahara. The Algerian delegates to

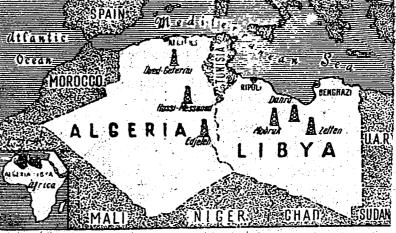
the Evian negotiations in March 1962 were compelled to make serious concessions regarding the exploitation of oil deposits.

The Evian agreements pre-French monopolies' rights. The French companies are given priority in the acquisition of new concessions and the right to dispose of the produce after Algeria's needs

and private capital—CREPS (Companie de Recherche et d'Exploitation de Petrole du Sahara). S.N.R.E.P.A. (Societe Nationale de Recherche et d'Exploitation des Petroles en Algerie), C.F.P.A. (Companie Française des Petroles, Algerie). Almost all the oil in Algeria

is extracted from two deposits, Hassi-Messaoud and Edjeleh-Zarzaitine. It is piped to the served for six years the Saha- Mediterranean ports, through ra Oil Code which secures the three pipe-lines with an aggregate length of about 2,000 kilometres costing 1,300 million francs to build.

No less than 6,000 million francs were invested in the Algerian Sahara in the ten years-



have been satisfied.

The Sahara oil exported to the franc zone countries (more than half of it goes to France) is paid for in French francs and this is losing Algeria quite a lot of foreign currency.

Profits from oil sales. are ostensibly divided equally. In reality, however, Algeria is making several times less than the French companies because the latter pocket considerable profits from oil deliveries and sales of all products.

At present the French make 750 million francs a year, and Algeria only 250 million

TWO DEPOSITS

By 1960 French state-monopoly capital was controlling about 80 per cent of all surveyed oil deposits in the Algerian Sahara. The French companies stepped up the output and export of Algerian oil fantastically.

Ninety-five per cent of all

from the day the surveys were started to the day the fields began to produce oil on an industrial scale. Over 5,500 miles of roads were built, nearly 1,000 miles of wells drilled and more than 1,800

miles of pipe-lines laid. began to play a bigger role on the West European market. In 1962, the six biggest West European countries imported 13.5 per cent of their oil from North Africa. The amount they imported from the Middle East decreased between 1959 and 1962 from 82.5 per cent to 67.5 per cent.

The French capitalists, however, failed to become the sole owners of Sahara oil. Efficient exploitation of the deposits necessitated vast investments. The drilling of just one well at Hassi-Messaoud costs no less than \$1 million. And so France was forced to allow Sahara.

The French monopolists'

Western Europe met with resistance from their Common Market partners too. France failed to get their consent to her plan for creating most favourable conditions for Sahara oil by restricting oil imports from other parts of the world, parti-

cularly the Socialist countries.

Meanwhile, West German capital is penetrating French oil companies. The Italian state-operated ENI oil and gas concern is following an independent policy towards oil-rich countries. Under the agreements it has concluded with Morocco and Tunisia on the exploration and extraction of oil, these countries will receive 75 and not 50 per cent of the income from oil deposits if found.

In Libya, whose oil riches are estimated at about \$120,000 million, the key positions are in the hands of the U.S. monopolies. Thirteen of the twenty oil companies operating these are American.

Standard Oil of New Jersey owns the Zelten deposit which yields more than 20,000 tons of oil a day. Oasis Oil extracts 12 million tons a year.

AGREEMENT

Libya oil has helped the Anglo-American monopolies to strengthen their positions on the West European market and repulse the French "oil offensive".

Under the shackling agree-The French oil monopolies ments imposed on the Libyan Government by the monopolies, the country receives a pittance for its oil wealth. The inequitable 50-50 principle is in operation in Libya, under which the monopolies give her half of the income from crude oil and keep the vastly greater profits from the sale of oil products.

In 1962, the American companies netted 52 million Libyan pounds from the sale of Libyan oil abroad, and all Libya got was 7 million

pounds. That is why the Libyan Government amended the oil law, increasing royalties and foreign companies, including stimulating earlier payments.

British and American, into the In 1964 Algeria also got the companies exploiting her natural riches to increase her

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