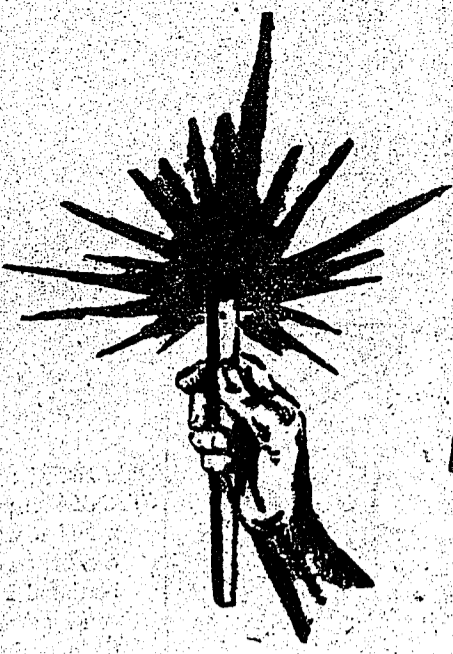


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KWAME NKRU-  
MAH'S ADDRESS  
IN PARLIAMENT  
TO MARK THE 16TH  
ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE C.P.P.

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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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**EDITORIAL**

## One Step More

THREE years ago, on June 21st, 1962, 130 distinguished men and women from all over the world gathered in Ghana's capital for the Accra Assembly on the theme of "The World Without The Bomb".

The Accra Assembly was unique in many ways. Firstly, it was the only conference of its kind ever held on the African Continent. Secondly, although many of its participants had held high office in their respective governments, none came as a representative or spokesman of his government.

All came as individuals seriously concerned with the threat to humanity which the nuclear arms race represents.

This historic conference was called on the initiative of Ghana's President, Kwame Nkrumah, and its expenses were borne entirely by the Ghana Government, which set aside 1 1/2 per cent of its defence budget for the project.

This was an inspiring—and as yet unfortunately unique—gesture: for the first time a nation voluntarily and unilaterally reduced its spending on the weapons of war and used the money saved to further the search for peace.

Since that time Ghana has continued to strive through the United Nations and in every world forum for peace and disarmament, and above all for the removal of the threat of nuclear war. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah,

"I believe that a policy based on the continuous threat of nuclear warfare no less than nuclear warfare itself, is a policy of madness, stupidity and despair. Throughout the world there is a deep but often inarticulate desire for peace. It is the duty of countries which follow a positive neutralist policy to help make this world opinion assert its full weight."

It was in pursuance of this policy that Ghana became the first African country to adhere to the Partial Test Ban Agreement prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space and under water.

It is in pursuance of this policy that she is now working together with other like-minded states for a complete test ban and for agreement on disarmament, both nuclear and conventional.

It is in pursuance of this peace policy that she is striving to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism and imperialism from the world, for colonialism and imperialism constitute an ever-present breeding ground for war.

The people of the developing countries need peace to carry through their programmes of economic and social development. They more than anybody else realise the benefits that would accrue if the vast sums spent on arms were diverted to peaceful purposes.

But they will not be deceived by those who talk peace while waging war against peoples whose only desire is to live their own lives in freedom, determining their own future and their own political and social system.

Last week Ghana took one more step demonstrating her desire to contribute to world peace and disarmament, transforming her Ministry of Defence into a Ministry of Civil Defence, thus underlining her desire for peace and giving the lie to allegations that she is plotting aggression against her neighbours.

Already Ghana's soldiers, sailors and airmen are making their contribution to our country's peaceful economic development, helping in construction, farming, transport and survey work.

Ghana is thus once again setting an example for others to follow. Once again she is setting the pattern for the future today.

For, as Kwame Nkrumah told the Accra Assembly three years ago, "today those who advocate disarmament, the abolition of the threat of nuclear conflict and the ending of the cold war, are the realists and history is on their side."

**AMERICAN Big Business** has discovered Africa. The Socony Mobil Oil Company regards Nigeria as a "promising area" since it struck oil at four out of six wells drilled. Gulf Oil has four wells and hit oil each time. American Overseas Petroleum Ltd., has found oil in Nigeria's offshore waters and Tennessees Gas Transmission, Sinclair Oil and Sunray DX Oil have found still more.

Nigeria's coal, iron ore and limestone deposits have led a consortium headed by Koppers Company and Westinghouse Electric International to consider starting steel production at two sites on the River Niger.

Standard Oil is now getting the tiger for your tank from Libya where Texaco, Socony Oil and Sinclair Oil are also becoming very busy.

These are but two of the growing list of countries where American interests are making new investments and finding new sources of profits. This makes the American tycoons very happy.

**THE PROBLEM**

What makes them less happy are the activities of national liberation and independence movements which want the rich natural resources of their countries used to benefit their people.

So the problem is, how to protect the bonanza and keep the oil and the profits flowing in the right direction?

Simultaneously with the discovery of new sources of investment the Americans also "discover" Communist "subversion" and "threats" to freedom and democracy.

Anything which stands in the way of an American businessman making a fast buck is, in the nature of things, a threat to freedom.

Having "discovered" the danger, American armies are dispatched across the globe and fat bribes are dispensed to interested politicians who can be relied upon to appreciate American interests.

But increasingly the U.S. administration is developing what the magazine *U.S. News & World Report* calls an elite "secret army" carrying on counterinsurgency in 50 nations, using 25,000 skilled American operators and \$2,000 million annually.

For the Americans have also discovered that what makes national liberation movements and guerrilla forces such a nuisance is that they are popular with the people. The Americans wish to be loved too and so they are promoting

# Making the World Safe for U.S. Big Business

by Observer



U.S. troops seize Dominicans in their capital Santo Domingo. Their only "crime" was to oppose the U.S.-backed military junta.

anti-guerrillas who will learn how to make friends and influence people.

It seems that they have as yet had little success in Africa, though small teams have been present in Algeria, Mali, and Ethiopia. But negotiations are now under way to extend the undercover activities to more African nations.

Leading this work is a council of some of the higher government officials in Washington. It is known as the Special Group for Counterinsurgency and includes among its members the joint Chief of Staff, the Under-Secretary of State and the Deputy Defence Secretary. They meet weekly at the White House.

Four groups supply the bulk of the counterinsurgency forces—the Central Intelligence Agency, the Army, the Air Force and the State Department. The Army's Special Forces who are involved in this work have grown from 1,800 men in 1961 to a strength of 12,000 at the present time. The Air Commandos have been built up from nothing to just under 6,000.

Working with U.S. military assistance missions in about 50 countries, they have trained thousands of the servicemen of those coun-

tries in various techniques of guerrilla warfare, how to build a primitive road and "control a Communist mob".

Foreign nationals are trained in undercover work at the Centre for Special Warfare at Fort Bragg in North Carolina and at the Jungle Warfare Training Centre in Panama.

**CLAIMS CREDIT**

Pentagon officials claim successes in various areas, notably Latin America: "Riots in Panama, Arms smuggling in Venezuela and Communist infiltration in Chile have all been met—without publicity—by methods laid down on the spot by U.S. counterinsurgency experts".

U.S. Army Special Warfare units began training Colombian forces in 1962 in various subjects, including bridge building, living in the jungle and "how to win the confidence and respect of the peasants". *U.S. News & World Report* claims credit for Americans who "helped to defeat Red plots for the takeover of free governments in such countries as Guatemala, Iran and Thailand".

Just as Hitler built up a Fifth Column of traitors in various countries to prepare

them for conquest, so the Americans have their Quislings throughout the world and a Pentagon officer could claim: "Time after time, we've been able to stop Communist plots because some foreign officer, trained by us, spotted trouble and told us about it."

About half of the \$2,000 million allocated to this work is being spent by the Ameri-

cans in Vietnam. Thus it was the Central Intelligence Agency which directed the South Vietnamese Special Forces in their brutal suppression of the Buddhist uprisings.

And Clare Hollingworth in *The Guardian*, (27.4.65) wrote about "American special forces near the Cambodian frontier where one important task of these excellent troops was to train fierce-looking mountain tribesmen who did not speak Vietnamese.... A French speaker explained to me that the Americans were kind, food and pay were good"—but all to little avail!

For she had to report that "During the 14-week training more than half of the tribesmen had deserted. Those who remained with the army were unwilling to patrol the areas where encounters with the Vietcong were likely".

But still the Americans press ahead with their disreputable schemes. "The greatest hope for the future", according to Clare Hollingworth, "is in several excellent long-term plans for anti-guerrilla action which take into account the local difficulties and the divisions in the midst of the Vietnamese. These plans are now being studied by the White House."

Also being studied in Washington are plans to extend the operations of the secret army to new countries. *U.S. News & World Report* says that "One study recommended that U.S. forces be used to start—or at least assist—revolutions behind the Iron Curtain."

Experience of the operations of America's secret army of saboteurs and spies shows that they can never command popular support. They cannot win but they are capable of causing grievous damage and suffering unless they are stopped soon.

## THINK AGAIN

OLD habits and ways of thought die hard. At least, so it seems from some remarks by A. Smith, Chairman of the United Africa Company, writing in the *Unilever* publication "Progress".

In Mr. Smith's view, one of the greatest services that a private business house can render to Africa is to preserve the profit motive.

Apparently, Mr. Smith believes that what is for foreign companies and their shareholders is good for Africa. But bitter experience shows

that this is not the case.

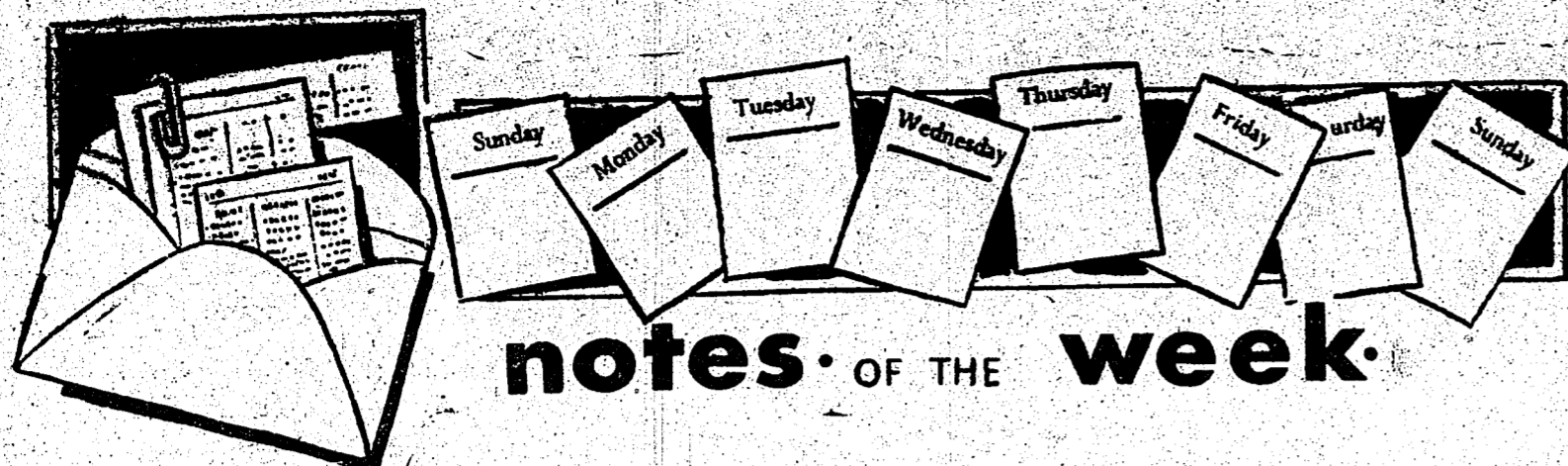
For too long too much of Africa's wealth has been used not for the benefit of her people but to line the pockets of foreign investors who have not the slightest interest in Africa's welfare, provided the profits continue to flow in.

Mr. Smith also expresses doubts about the advisability of African governments becoming shareholders in enterprises, describing this as "a mixed blessing".

There is, he writes, "a

Continued on page 5





notes OF THE week.

**THE outcome of the Lagos Ministerial Conference of the Organisation of African Unity marked a victory for the cause of African unity.**

Despite the intrigues and the strident propaganda campaign waged by the enemies of African unity, the meeting unanimously called upon all O.A.U. member-states to do everything possible to ensure the success of the Accra Summit scheduled for September.

It appealed to all member-states to refrain from any propaganda likely to compromise the success of the Accra meeting.

The Foreign Ministers noted with satisfaction the guarantees and assurances readily given by the Ghana Government, and the practical steps which it has already taken and is planning to take to ensure the success of the meeting.

\* \* \*

The way is now clear for an advance towards a Continental Union Government of Africa based on overall economic planning, a unified defence strategy and a unified foreign policy.

It is only through overall economic planning on a continental basis that the industrial and economic strength of Africa can be increased to the amount and at the tempo that the situation requires.

Only through such overall planning can the rich resources of our continent, at present too often exploited to enrich shareholders in London, Paris, Brussels, Washington and Bonn, be used to the best advantage—the advantage of the African people themselves.

Overall economic planning

## A Wider War

**THE United States is ready to extend the war in Vietnam, and to use nuclear weapons. This is apparent from many recent articles by American commentators — articles which are clearly officially inspired.**

American policy in Vietnam is based on a U.S. propaganda lie and the American administration has made the fatal mistake of falling for its own propaganda.

The lie is that what is taking place in South Vietnam is "aggression" from the Democratic Republic in the North. Therefore, facing defeat in the South, the Americans extend their campaign of terror bombing to the North.

\* \* \*

But what is happening in South Vietnam is not "aggression" from the North. It is a popular uprising embracing many shades of political and religious opinion which has already liberated more than four-fifths of South Vietnam. Therefore, as even official U.S. spokesmen have been obliged to admit, the U.S. bombing campaign has failed to stem the tide.

Despite its proven futility, Washington is planning not only to continue this policy, but to extend it.

The ultra-Right U.S. News & World Report has, for exam-

can give Africa the economic independence it so urgently needs within a very short time.

Likewise a unified defence strategy is needed because no single African state can protect its sovereignty against an imperialist aggressor, because the apartheid Republic of South Africa is arming for a future attempt to crush African freedom and because military expenditure is too heavy a burden for Africa's young nations faced with pressing problems of development to bear alone.

The only alternative to such a unified defence strategy is the conclusion of military pacts with foreign powers—pacts which provide the conditions for continued interference by non-African powers in the affairs of our continent.

A unified foreign policy and diplomacy follows logically from the first two types of joint action because it is necessary, in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "to give political direction to our joint efforts for the protection and economic development of our continent."

\* \* \*

Kwame Nkrumah has called for an African Parliament with an Upper House with equal representation from all states and a Lower House with representation according to population.

Such a Parliament would have clearly defined powers, embracing economic planning, defence and foreign affairs. All other powers would be left to the individual African states which will continue to have their national flag and all other features of an independent sovereign state.

This is the way forward for Africa today.

ple, cold-bloodedly discussed Pentagon plans for air attacks on the dikes holding the Red River in check.

"Water control systems along the Red River are described as very vulnerable to destruction that would flood a large part of North Vietnam's rice belt",

it reports, and goes on to add with ill-concealed satisfaction that

"Loss of the rice harvest would mean added suffering for the people."

The same report goes on: "In addition, means are available for large-scale destruction of crops in the North through use of chemicals sprayed from aircraft."

Famine, flood and pestilence—these are the weapons of those in Washington who claim to be the "leaders of the free world" and the champions of civilisation.

\* \* \*

The report goes on with equal callousness to discuss the possibility of destroying the industries that the People of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have built up at the cost of such great sacrifice.

There is something obscene about the spectacle of the richest capitalist country in the world thus boasting of its power to spread death, suffering and destruction.

In just the same way that

the U.S. first tested atomic weapons by dropping them on one Asian people—the Japanese—when, as is now widely acknowledged, there was no military justification, so Washington is today using other Asians in Vietnam as guinea pigs for the testing of new weapons.

In the words of U.S. News & World Report (12.4.65): "A growing array of America's newest weapons, never before tried out in war, is

going into action in Vietnam. U.S. Army advisers, given a 'blank check' to requisition any arms they deem effective in a stepped up war, are adding the new-type weapons to stocks of standard arms that once were thought adequate for guerrilla war."

On the eve of World War Two Hitler tested out his new weapons during the Civil War in Spain. Today the Pentagon is doing the same in Vietnam.

## 'Terrorists'?

**THE British colonial authorities in Aden have imposed a virtual police state regime as part of their attempts to impose a constitution which will safeguard the continued existence of one of Britain's largest military bases East of Suez.**

The Aden Government and all the colony's main political parties have voiced strong opposition to the British plan to "submerge" Aden, with its militant political and trade union organisations, in a unitary state dominated by the feudal sheikhs of the surrounding Protectorates.

\* \* \*

Now the British High Commissioner in Aden, Sir Richard Turnbull, has declared the National Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen a "terrorist" organisation and given the police extensive powers of arrest, detention, search and seizure of property.

The new regulations also establish strict control over the printing, publishing, distribution, exhibiting, displaying or possession of printed matter which in the opinion of the colonial authorities is connected with the "terrorist" organisation.

Sir Richard has considerably experience of such measures

—and of their futility: he was in Kenya during the national liberation struggle there.

The Liberation Front branded the new measures as "fascist", declaring that Sir Richard had turned Aden into a closed military area, no longer open to basic civil rights or public liberties.

It declared that the situation in Aden and the Protectorates threatened the peace and security of the area, and called upon the United Nations to intervene.

A United Nations General Assembly resolution of December 11th 1963 and subsequently repeated called on Britain to grant self-determination with elections based on adult suffrage under U.N. supervision.

\* \* \*

The Aden Ministers under the Chief Minister, Abdul Qawee Mackawee, dissociated themselves totally from Sir Richard's action, which they declared to be a "retrograde step".

In an editorial *The Times* (8.6.65) while declaring Sir Richard's decision to be "inevitable" nevertheless felt constrained to add that "it cannot be viewed without some foreboding."

Well it might: those whom the colonial authorities label "terrorists" this year are very often next year's Prime Ministers and Presidents.

## 'I TAKE MY OATH'

"I SHALL not retreat one step, in spite of the colossal force which threatens us. This force does not cow us, but stimulates our feelings, as Dominicans and our ability to fight. Many are the factors we have had to face but none so painful as the sight of foreign troops in our motherland, something we thought to be a thing of the past, and which reminds us of the experience of our forefathers from 1916 to 1924.

"The oath I took when sworn in as constitutional President of the Republic is an oath of honour unto the Dominican people. I renew my oath before the agricultural peasant, the worker, the office worker, the shop keepers and small industrialists, to the honest poor and the rich. I now take my oath to the hungry and the

miserable, the disinherited and to all who struggle in the streets.

"My Government will be a regime of justice, of opportunity for all, and our sole enemies will be corruption, misery and ignorance.

"In spite of the tremendous propaganda by the propaganda bodies of the U.S.A., based on the erroneous or malicious information of Ambassador Bennett, our revolutionary movement is extremely democratic. And I do not have to say this to the people, because the people know what they are fighting for and under what banner they march."

Colonel Francisco Caamaño, President of the Dominican Republic, in a broadcast to the nation on May 11th, 1965, as the revolutionary government faced attack by the Imbert military junta and its 21,000 supporting U.S. troops.



9th JUNE:

**TANZANIA:** The people of Tanzania will have to vote for candidates nominated by the National Party, (Tanzanian African National Union) only in the forthcoming general elections in the country, official announcement issued in Dar-es-Salaam has said.

**ALGERIA:** Algerian People's Court has sentenced 17 supporters of the late Colonel Mohammed Chabani to prison terms ranging from one to two years.

**MALI:** Mali and Israel have agreed to set up equipment designed to heat water from the rays of the sun.

**MOROCCO:** King Hassan II of Morocco has formed a new government with a 20-man cabinet which he is leading as a Prime Minister, after the former Prime Minister Mr. Ahmed Bahmini's Government has been dissolved.

**NIGERIA:** The Nigerian Police have announced discovery of arms and ammunition after a raid on a Lagos suburb, the three people arrested were said to be carrying a case containing four pistols, two sub-machine guns, 449 rounds of ammunition and two cases of gunpowder.

\* President Nyerere of Tanzania who arrived in Lagos today, was welcomed at the Lagos airport by Nigerian Federal Premier, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

**KENYA:** Kenya's militant, anti-imperialist fighter and vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga is being asked to resign by two Kenya Members of Parliament. The two MP's Odera Jowi and Omolo Agar-Love, have accused Mr. Oginga of breaking his Oath of allegiance to President Jomo Kenyatta.

11th JUNE:

**U.A.R.:** The U.A.R. Government intends to seek scientific co-operation with the People's Republic of China in the nuclear field, it has been reported in Cairo.

**CONGO (Leopoldville):** Roman Catholic Priest and former President of Congo Brazzaville, Mr. Abbe Fulbert Youlou has declared in Leopoldville that now that he has been condemned to death in Brazzaville, he is going to enter Politics again and win.

**CAMEROON:** All the 100 candidates of the Cameroon Union Party, who stood for the Eastern Cameroon Legislative elections, have been returned unopposed, it has been reported from Yaounde capital of the Federation of Cameroon, today.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Two of the 22 Rhodesians (Loyed Gunduand Herbet Sambo) sentenced to death under the South African jungle "Law and Order (Maintenance) Act" whose appeal against their sentence has been rejected by South African apartheid court, have decided to appeal to the Privy Council in London.

12th JUNE:

**GHANA:** Mass rallies, solidarity demonstrations and processions have been held throughout the country today to mark the sixteenth anniversary of the Convention People's Party led by Kwame Nkrumah.

**SUDAN:** A Sudanese coalition Government has taken office after the first meeting of the new constituent Assembly, in Khartoum today.

**MALI:** Mali will shortly increase her livestock and meat export to Ghana, a joint communique issued in Bamako has said.

**NIGERIA:** The Ministerial meeting of the O.A.U. in Lagos has appointed a five-nation committee made up of Nigeria, Tuni-

sis, Gambia, Ethiopia and Mali to examine the allegations made against Ghana by Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Niger and Ghana's reply rejecting them.

**GHANA:** Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghanaian President of the United Nations General Assembly has left Accra for New York after being sworn-in as a member of Parliament.

\* Mr. Kwasi Armah, Ghana's High Commissioner in London, said that the return of the 198 members of the C.P.P. to Parliament is a great political example of the unity of a dynamic people of Ghana which is worthy of emulation by other African States.

\* Ghana is to receive about £450,000 from the United Nations Special Fund in aid of the country's irrigations programme.

14th JUNE:

**GHANA:** Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has left Accra for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference which is opening on Thursday.

**NIGERIA:** On the Rhodesian issue, Mr. Diallo Telli says the O.A.U. is ready to take up the challenge if the white minority settlers in Southern Rhodesia declared independence unilaterally.

\* President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania now touring Nigeria, today flew on the same plane with the Nigerian Federal Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa to London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference.

\* Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the O.A.U., has described the emergency meeting of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers which ended in Lagos as an outstanding success which has astonished the world.

**GHANA:** A three week residential course for newly appointed Ministers, opens at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, an official announcement has said.

**U.A.R.:** An Egyptian Newspaper *Al Mase* has said in Cairo that the meeting in Lisbon between imperialist stooge Tshombe and Portugal's dictator Salazar cannot but arouse anxiety among the peoples of Africa.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Forty-three reactionary Rhodesian tribal chiefs have arrived in Lisbon at the invitation of the Portu-

guese Government to see commercial and industrial centres in Portugal.

**TANZANIA:** Tanzania President Julius Nyerere has warned that Africa faces the danger of balkanization unless the objectives of the O.A.U. are achieved.

**U.A.R.:** A compulsory savings scheme is to be introduced in the U.A.R., an official announcement in Cairo says the scheme is expected to yield seven million pounds in the first year.

**GHANA:** A branch of South African Pan Africanist-Congress in Ghana has launched a political journal, *Azania News*, the Publicity Secretariat of the Office of the President has announced in Accra today.

15th JUNE:  
**DAHOMEY:** Premier Justin Ahomadegbe has said today that Dahomey and Niger want their border meeting to be spectacular so that they can prove to the world and Africa that Dahomey and Niger are at last reconciled.

**ETHIOPIA:** Emperor Haile Selassie has described as "explosive" the situation in Rhodesia and called on Britain to protect the rights of the African majority.

**IVORY COAST:** Mr. Camille Alliale, Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast has said today that a new O.C.A.M. summit meeting may be necessary to harmonise a common attitude regarding the forthcoming O.A.U. Summit Conference in Accra because of decision taken at the recent Lagos Conference.

**UPPER VOLTA:** Mr. Kone, Upper Volta's Foreign Minister has said today in Ouagadougou after his return from Lagos that the Lagos Conference has been a big success for African States.

**NIGERIA:** Five expatriate professors who refused to recognise the appointment of a new Vice-Chancellor of the Lagos University have been dismissed.

**TANZANIA:** The government has banned with immediate effect all Japanese goods imported from Kenya and Uganda because of serious imbalance of trade between Tanzania and Japan.

**ETHIOPIA:** Mr. Malesela, Tanzania delegate has told the U.N. Committee on Colonialism meeting in Addis Ababa today that the fascist Verwoerd regime has converted South Africa into a concentration camp for the Africans.

**UGANDA:** Premier Milton Obote has said in London that both the East and West are on trial in Africa and either side which tries to make Africa part of either bloc will lose Africa.



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# GHANA IS MOVING FORWARD

## 'A Noble and Glorious Challenge'

WE are gathered here today to mark the 16th anniversary of the founding of our Party, the Convention People's Party. In doing so, we dedicate ourselves anew to the ideals which have guided us in our struggle, and have continued to lead us on in the service of our Nation.

It was on June 12th, 1949 that the masses of our people witnessed the coming into being of the Convention People's Party. It was a time of great political awakening, and our Party was destined to lead the people to victory. This revolutionary Party of ours was to rekindle the torch of African nationalism and blaze the way to the total emancipation and Unity of our Continent.

### THE AIMS

It is fitting that on this occasion, we should remind ourselves of the aims that the Convention People's Party set for itself at its foundation—sixteen years ago. And here, I quote the aims from our early records, namely,

- 1 to fight relentlessly by all constitutional means for the achievement of full Self-Government Now for the Chiefs and people of the Gold Coast;
  - 2 to serve as the vigorous conscious political vanguard for removing all forms of oppression and exploitation and for the establishment of a democratic government;
  - 3 to secure and maintain the complete unity of the people of the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Trans-Volta;
  - 4 to work in the interests of the Trade Union Movement in the country for better conditions of employment; and
  - 5 to work for a proper reconstruction of a better Gold Coast in which the people shall have the right to live and govern themselves as a free people.
- The Convention People's Party, as the revolutionary vanguard of the people, with the support of chiefs, workers, farmers, peasants and our intelligentsia, won independence for us. It has given us a Republican form of govern-

### Kwame Nkrumah's address in Parliament to mark the 16th Anniversary of the Convention People's Party.

ment, expressing the will of the people and, by wielding the whole power of the people, has laid siege to all forms of oppression and exploitation. It has secured and maintained the unity of the people, by means of which we are already building a new Ghana dedicated to the emancipation and political unification of Africa.

As you know, the Party was born at a very decisive period in the struggle of the people of this country for independence. History has no problems without an answer. Our Party was born at a crucial moment of our country's constitutional history. Our beloved country was then at the cross-roads of the struggle. A move along the wrong road would have led to certain disaster, and would have taken us towards irretrievable doom. The United Gold Coast Convention, formed to achieve independence for the country "within the shortest possible time" had betrayed the cause of the people and compromised with the colonial power in their bid to impose upon this country a constitution which we regarded as "bogus and fraudulent".

### A NEW PARTY

The United Gold Coast Convention betrayed the Revolution and were satisfied with mere administrative reforms which could give them a semblance of power. The Colonial Power was quite happy with this astonishing co-operation and the new trend of thought within the leadership of the United Gold Coast Convention.

The Coussey Constitutional Committee which was set up by the Colonial Power to draw up a Constitution for the country was about to publish a Report embodying its recommendations. There were unmistakable indications that the recommendations would fall far short of the aspirations and demands of the Chiefs and people of the country.

A new party, militant, dynamic and revolutionary had to

be formed to mobilise the chiefs and people into a force capable of turning the scales in our favour.

It was one of the rare moments in our history—delicate and fateful. The future of our country, its fate and fortunes, hung desperately in the balance.

It was in these circumstances that I decided to form the Convention People's Party, to prepare for the acceptance or rejection of the Coussey Committee's Report and to carry on the struggle within more positive and constructive channels, and directed by a more purposeful and reliable

political organisation for the independence of our country.

Our Party rejected the Coussey Committee's recommendations and demanded Self-Government Now. Our slogan became: "We prefer Self-Government with danger to servitude in tranquillity".

Even now, I can recall very vividly the birth of the Party and the very words I used on that historic occasion at the West End Arena: "There comes in all political struggles rare moments, hard to distinguish but fatal to let slip, when all must be set upon a hazard and out of the simple man is ordained strength".

### Positive Action

UNDER the auspices of the Convention People's Party, we convened the Ghana Peoples Representative Assembly on November 20th, 1949, at the West End Arena to make recommendations for a Constitution acceptable to the Chiefs and people of the country.

The "Ghana People's Representative Assembly" was attended by Chiefs, Workers, Farmers, the Youth, Ex-Servicemen, politically-conscious intellectuals, Ministers of Religion and representatives from all walks of life in the country. We forwarded our recommendations to the Governor. We organised countrywide rallies to explain our position to our people and to prepare them for the next step.

### MASS ARRESTS

On January 8th, 1950, six months after the birth of our Party, we were compelled to stage the historic Positive Action. We were led to this course owing to the intransigence of the Governor and the utter disregard by the Colonial Office of the people's legitimate demand for a constitution reflecting their needs and aspirations.

We all know what followed. Mass arrests, imprisonments, victimisation and dismissals, and persecution of all kinds. In spite of all these the people kept faith with the Party, and the Party has kept faith with the people.

### ELECTIONS

The Party has won every election since 1951, including the "reasonable majority" election of 1956. The Party won the Presidential elections and the Referendum for the Republican Constitution in 1960. The Party won the Constitutional Referendum in 1964 and, as you know, we have just emerged triumphant from a general election which reflects the complete leadership of the country by the Party. It has also shown the unanimity of the people in the support of, and confidence in, the Party.

It may be of interest here to recall that there have been no less than thirteen political parties in this country apart from the Convention People's Party since 1949—but the people have consistently rejected them all.

These mushroom parties, each of which had been consistently rejected by the people despaired of ever winning against our Party and, as a

forlorn hope, came together to form the United Party to seek the overthrow of our Party. They failed.

They resorted to a campaign of lies to discredit our Party and its leadership. They failed. They joined forces with our enemies outside the country; they resorted to subversion and violence to destroy us. They have failed. No one, no group of individuals, can withstand the march of history.

### THE COST

Comrades, our success has not been without cost. Alas, some members of the Party have fallen during the struggle and are no more. To them also we owe our success.

Some others have fallen by the wayside and have joined forces of reaction. These weaklings in our struggle were carried away by the whirlwind of their own morbid ambitions for power and wealth. They forgot the people and tried to use their positions to satisfy their personal ends.

It is proper and important that those of us who are still in the struggle should learn the lessons of the history of the Party.

Let us remember that the mainstay of our Party is its adherence to the principle of Democratic Centralism. Democratic Centralism has always been and should continue to be the guiding principle of the organisation and structure of our Party. It implies strict discipline and the subordination of the minority view to the views of the majority.

### DEMOCRACY

As a Party committed to the building of socialism, its strength, cohesion and its mass character depends upon the extent to which we respect the principle of inner Party Democracy. Let us bear in mind that Democracy can only exist in the Party if we observe this principle of Democratic centralism which ensures strength, cohesion and leadership with the Party.

Our Party's ideology is fully explained in *Conscientism*. It is your duty as Party members of Parliament to master and spread this ideology. You must not only speak about it. You must also practise it and live by it.

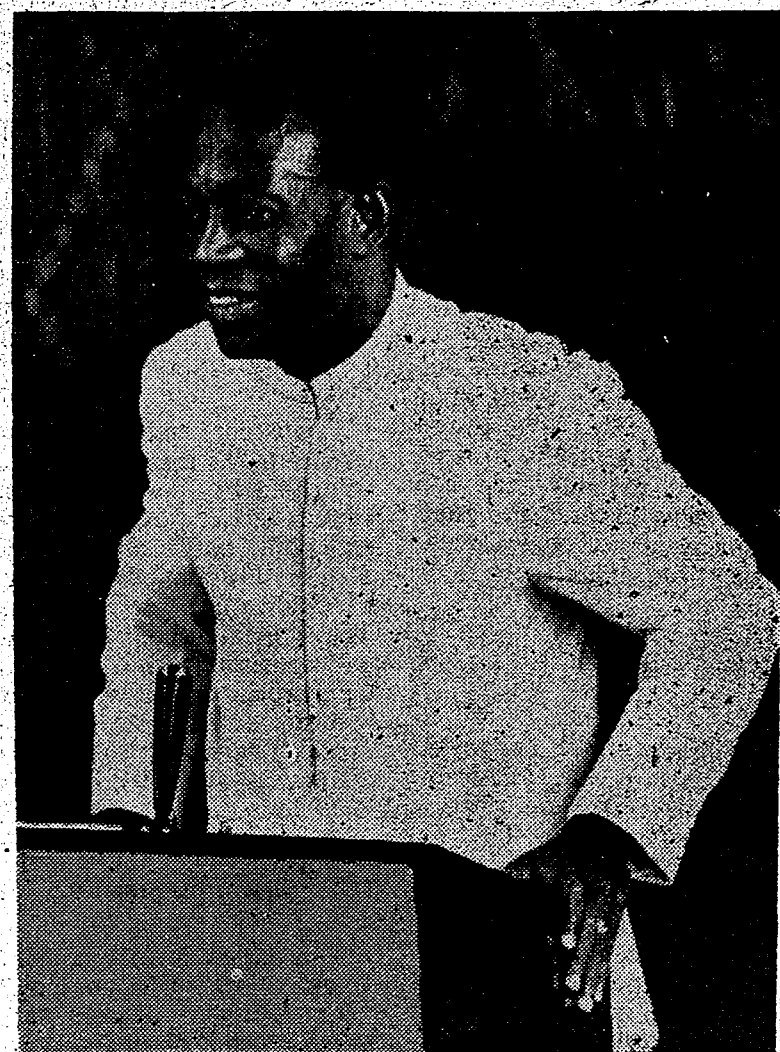
Our Party has a definite social purpose and the socialist ideology is the foundation upon which we have fashioned our programme to offer every man and woman in Ghana concrete hope of a better life. To this end, we are dedicated to the building of a Socialist society.

### PEOPLE'S PARTY

Comrades, the Party has always lived up to the name it bears—it is the People's Party, the Party of the People. It has always represented all sections of the people and not only some of them; it serves the interests of all the people. It has unified the country. It has a mandate and a mission, to give the people organisational, ideological and moral guidance through the appropriate organs of the State.

Comrades, a few days ago, on Wednesday last, you, by the will of the people, were unanimously elected to represent the Nation in our Parliament. That you were elected and returned unopposed must be acclaimed as a true and unmistakable demonstration of the nation's unity and solidarity behind the Party, and the policies for which we stand.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you all on the confidence that the people have reposed in you. I



"Progress does not come by itself, neither desire nor time can alone ensure progress. Progress is not a gift, but a victory."

must also congratulate Comrades Kofi Asante Ofori Atta, Tolon Na and our veteran Ashford Inkumsah on their election as Speaker and Deputy Speakers of this Second Parliament of our First Republic.

I would like to assure you all, in my capacity as Leader of the Party, of my co-operation at all times, in all matters contributing to the welfare, progress, happiness and destiny of the Nation.

Let me also express to you my sincere thanks for re-electing me as President, and for your expression of confidence in me. I can only ask you to look forward to the future with me. The Nation expects that this Second Parliament of our Republic will mark a new and dynamic era, and that its Members of Parliament shall regard themselves as stewards and servants in the pursuit of the interests, welfare and hap-

piness of the people. Comrades, let me repeat, Ghana is moving forward. We are moving forward to a society in which the free development of all is the condition for the free development of each.

But here we have to be realistic. Progress does not come by itself, neither desire nor time can alone ensure progress. Progress is not a gift, but a victory. To make progress, man has to work, strive and toil, tame the elements, combat environment, recast institutions, subdue circumstances, and at all times be ideologically alert and awake.

No country, and not Ghana, can escape the law of progress. In the affairs of nations there is no standing still. Either you move forward or backward. To mark time, is decay; to stand still is death. The watchword is forward—advance.

### African Unity

OUR struggle has repercussions in Africa, where the forces of the New Africa are today locked in battle with reactionary forces acting on the orders of world imperialism.

The fortunes of the African revolution are closely linked with the world-wide struggle against imperialism. It does not matter where the battle erupts, be it in Africa, Asia or in Latin America, the master-mind and the master-hand at work are the same.

The oppressed and exploited people are striving for their freedom against exploitation and suppression. Ghana must not, Ghana cannot, be neutral in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor.

### SUPREME EFFORT

But the supreme effort in furtherance of our cause in Africa and throughout the world must be made here at home. By isolating and defeating all the forces that work against our cause we shall put ourselves in a stronger position to play a positive role in Africa and in the world.

In September this year, Accra will be playing host to the Heads of Independent African State and Governments. All around us are signs of great preparations which we are making to accord our distinguished guests hospitality not only befitting their positions as Heads of State and Government but more so, as sons and daughters of Africa.

The first conference ever held on African soil by Heads of Independent African States was held here in Accra in April, 1958, only a year and a month after our independence. Close on the heels of this—in December 1958—was the All-African People's Conference held here in December of the same year bringing together African Leaders of all forms of political persuasion from North, South, East and West of the continent.

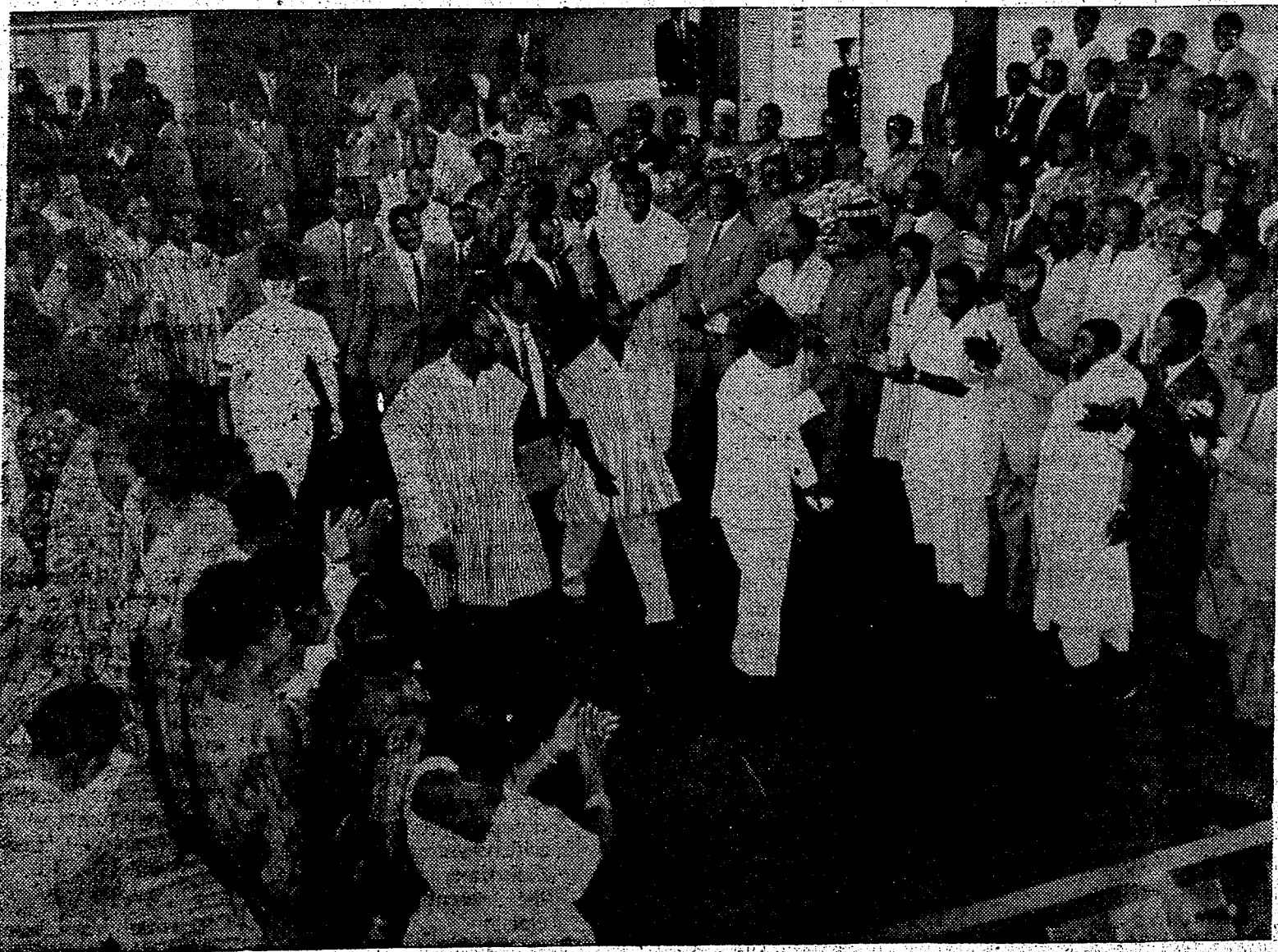
### FIRE KINDLED

The fire of liberation that was kindled at these two conferences here will never be extinguished. This fire, raging like a hurricane, is sweeping across the length and breadth of the continent and has put imperialism at bay. When Ghana achieved its independence on March 6th, 1957, there were only eight independent States in Africa. Today, the number has increased more than four-fold.

After the first two conferences of 1958, Accra continued to be the venue for many more conferences, designed to stimulate the struggle for Africa's emancipation and rediscovery. These have been attended by men and women from all walks of life including journalists and writers, trade unionists, economists and industrialists, farmers, sportmen, educationists and freedom fighters.

Every conference that has been held here has emphasis-

Continued on page 4



Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana and General Secretary of the C.P.P., acknowledges the welcome of the new M.P.s as he enters Parliament to deliver his anniversary address



# ERADICATE CORRUPTION

(Continued from page 3)

ed Africa's struggle for freedom and unity. The stage is thus set for the political unification of Africa.

All that we need is the will, the nerve and determination of our leaders to make one courageous bid to take the destiny of Africa into their own hands in the forthcoming Conference of the Organisation of African Unity in Accra by taking definitive and concrete steps towards the establishment of a Union Government for all Africa.

## DEFECTS

Comrades, in order to attain our noble and desirable ideals for Ghana and Africa, we must face up to those defects and deficiencies that militate against their realisation. Here in Ghana at the present time there seems to be a lowering in our appreciation of moral standards and spiritual values, a neglect of our traditional values of chastity and purity; respect for womanhood and respect for our elders.

We are doing everything to revive our culture; but if this revival is to endure it must be solidly based on strong moral and spiritual foundations. Our moral and spiritual qualities should not lag behind the progress we are making in the economic field.

## SCOFFED AT

Far too many of us seem to think that the mere acquisition of wealth, irrespective of how it is acquired, is the supreme goal in life. Those who strive to lead decent lives relying on their honest work are reviled and scoffed at.

This reminds me of something I heard only the other day. Two persons were conversing about money and one of them mentioned with disapproval the practice of certain public men making money dishonestly. His companion even though he agreed that it was wrong to make money by dishonest means nevertheless replied: "O yes, I agree, but I still respect a man with money."

Take another instance of utter disregard for public property. A lady returned to her house and found a man standing behind a mango tree with a basket load of mangoes which he had plucked from the tree in the compound. Thereupon, the lady asked

him: "Why did you take these mangoes when they don't belong to you?" The man promptly replied: "But this is a Government Bungalow. The mango is not for you or for me. It is for Government."

You see, comrades, there is, I am afraid, a dangerous tendency for people to think that Government property can be made use of freely instead of protecting it as State property.

I must here make special reference to the men and women who hold key positions in the Civil Service, Corporations and other public services and State institutions. Servants of the State must be pioneers. They must show initiative and constructive leadership in their work. Bureaucracy, red-tapeism, and the slow-moving methods of work should be eradicated from their system once and for all.

## CORRUPTION?

The nation in its revolutionary march will no longer tolerate public officers and officials who by their inefficiency, sluggishness, laziness and indifference become a drag on us in our march to progress.

Comrades, fellow countrymen, we have reached a point where our determination to get rid of corruption in our public life and in our corporations and state organisations must be matched by deeds. To all public servants and party functionaries and officials, I say: "Each to his post".

Every member of the National Assembly is expected to be gainfully employed doing some other job. Being a legislator should no longer be regarded as a full-time job. It is to give effect to this that we have decided to abolish all salaries attaching to the post of member of Parliament.

## TRIBUTE

In the last National Assembly there were ten women elected by special Act of Parliament. We have now as many as nineteen women in this new Parliament.

This significant increase in the number of women in the House is a tribute to the women of Ghana, who have throughout the history of the Party played a most important role. I trust that those women who are now in Parliament will set a very high example of good womanly behaviour, for on this depends the moral tone of the Nation.

## Our Ministers

COMRADES, I know that you will expect me to say something about my proposals for the re-organisation of our Ministries, the governmental machinery, and the appointment of Ministers.

The new Government will be composed of fourteen Ministries of Cabinet rank and fifteen other Ministries of non-Cabinet rank. In addition, there will be a Chairman for the State Planning Commission, a Minister of State for Party Propaganda and a Deputy Attorney-General. These three appointments will carry Cabinet rank.

The fourteen Cabinet Ministries will be as follows:—

1. Attorney-General and Ministry of Justice
2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3. Ministry of Civil Defence

4. Ministry of Finance
  5. Ministry of Foreign Trade
  6. Ministry of Interior
  7. Ministry of Mines and Mineral Resources
  8. Ministry of Works
  9. Ministry of Communications
  10. Ministry of Education
  11. Ministry of Health
  12. Ministry of Industries
  13. Ministry of Information
  14. Ministry of Agriculture
- The fifteen non-Cabinet Ministries will be as follows:—
1. Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance

2. Ministry of Housing
3. Ministry of Labour
4. Ministry of Social Welfare
5. Ministry of Local Government
6. Ministry of Lands
7. Ministry of Art and Culture
8. Ministry of Co-operatives
9. Ministry of Food and Nutrition
10. Ministry of Fuel and Power
11. Ministry of Parks and Gardens
12. Ministry of Fisheries
13. Ministry of Internal Trade
14. Ministry of Animal Husbandry
15. Ministry of Rural Industries

I hope to be able to announce the new Cabinet and other ministerial appointments tonight or tomorrow as soon as all the usual arrangements and consultations have been completed.

It has been decided that on Tuesday, June, 15th, all the Ministers-elect will proceed to the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba, and there take part in a special residential course which will last until Wednesday, July, 7th.

## The Triumph of Nkrumaist Socialism

by JEAN DOVE

EVERYWHERE in the world today man's spiritual life is reflected in the grim struggle between two ideologies—Imperialism and Socialism.

The countries which are now free from oppression are playing a prominent role in the death and burial of Imperialism.

Here in Ghana our great revolutionary party—the C.P.P. under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, has ushered in a new era in the history of Africa—the era of the establishment of Socialism.

A revolutionary change in the minds of the masses is a long and arduous process but in this country thousands and thousands of people—workers and intellectuals inspired by Nkrumaist Socialism—are giving up old conservative ideas.

Socialism in Ghana is achieving decisive victories and people are becoming more and more conscious of its practical significance.

The C.P.P. has travelled a tremendously long road—a road fraught with dangers—a road of temporary reverses and glorious victories.

Before the birth of the C.P.P. some of those who had agitated for self-government had done so in the hope of having power trans-



Kwame Nkrumah takes the oath as he starts his second term as President of Ghana.

ferred from whites to Africans with the social milieu remaining the same.

But the masses led by the Party headed by the brilliant genius of Kwame Nkrumah fought for a complete change—a new society in which the masses could enjoy the fruits of their labour.

A socialist country—Ghana—has come into being in Africa. The revolutionary feat accomplished by Ghanaians has inspired the masses in all parts of the Continent of Africa.

The C.P.P. has not been without its opportunists. The difficulties of Socialist construction were and are greatly increased by the presence of philistinism.

But the Party under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah is ever vigilant with regard to these reactionary elements that seek to tone down social progress with suggestions of the untenability of socialism. The weeding of such elements is gradual but sure.

Ghanaians have seen the true face of Imperialism, its indiscriminate waste, its mass poverty and enslavement of mankind, and will no longer tolerate such a system, but will labour for the coming festival of Reason and Beauty.

Long live the C.P.P.  
Long live Kwame Nkrumah.

onerous duties with success and confidence. This is necessary to ensure the success of our Socialist programme.

We are now poised upon the threshold of a major economic breakthrough which will establish us firmly as an economic power, a nation controlling its own economy. We are poised also upon the threshold of a political breakthrough, destined to bring us to the speedy realisation of a Union Government for Africa.

I trust that at Winneba the Ministers of the new Government will have opportunity of self-examination and study, to consolidate their understanding of Nkrumaism, and thereby attain a better grasp of the true interests of the African people and the most effective way of serving those interests.

They will be there to have a new chance to reflect upon

the glorious African revolution, and endeavour to carry within themselves the axis of that revolution. They will ponder anew over the history and essence of socialism, and the reasons for it in Africa; they will study our Seven-Year Development Plan and discover again how it will enable us to gain that degree of economic prosperity which is a precondition of true autonomy of action.

As Ministers of State, they have duties and responsibilities to the people whom they must serve; and it is solely for the purpose of discharging and fulfilling those duties and responsibilities that they are Ministers of State.

They will also discuss the philosophy of our revolution, and those ideas and principles which form our faith, sustain our responsibilities and sanction our deeds.

## The Task is Great

NOW, Comrades, fellow countrymen, a word to the rank and file of the Party. The responsibility for piloting our revolution in its new phase rests on all of us. By reinforcing the Party machinery, by setting up a new Cabinet befitting the new era, the Party leadership is playing its part. But you, the rank and file of our Party, must play your part as well. You must rally even more closely around the Party and Government.

of our Party which we celebrate today, I have ordered that certain persons detained under the Preventive Detention Act, and whose names will be announced at 1 p.m. today, should be released.

## MOVE FORWARD

We must be ever on the alert; we must be ever vigilant. We must move forward. Everywhere, all the time, by night and day, we must look for loyalty, sacrifice, dedication and service among all those we have put in positions of responsibility to serve you.

Countrymen, the task ahead is great indeed, and heavy is the responsibility; and yet it is a noble and glorious challenge—a challenge which calls for the courage to dream, the courage to believe, the courage to dare, the courage to do, the courage to envision, the courage to fight, the courage to work, the courage to achieve—to achieve the highest excellences and the fullest greatness of man. Dare we ask for more in life?

## WATCH

You must watch out for the disgruntled and dissatisfied elements who would like to sow seeds of confusion among us. You must follow the activities of your new Members of Parliament and Ministers with great interest in order to ensure the success of our plans and programmes.

As an act of clemency, and to mark the 16th anniversary

## A U.S. Senator Speaks Out

I SAY sadly and solemnly, but out of deep conviction, that today my Government stands before the world drunk with military power. My Government, apparently, has come to the conclusion that because of military power its dictates around the world will have to be obeyed.

## VICTORY

That power will be challenged, and I believe we are now headed into decades of turmoil and strife. We shall win one military victory after another; we shall destroy cities, industrial installations, and nuclear installations; we shall kill by the millions.

But, in my judgment, that course of action will lay a foundation of hatred on the part of the coloured races of the world against the American people. In due course of time, those installations will be rebuilt, not only on material foundations, but on the foundation of intense hatred by Asians for the people of the United States.

I am satisfied that there is a growing tide of deep concern on the part of increasing millions of

fellow Americans about the mistaken policy that the President and Congress are following by acting outside the framework of international law, making war on unilateral basis, and killing, killing and killing human being who, even though they are enemies, are also children of God Almighty.

Mr. President, I say sadly that, in my judgment, Senators who vote "yes" tomorrow for the joint resolution will have voted for an undeclared war and for the continuation of an undeclared war. They will be voting, in my judgment, for an increased draft. They will be voting for the use of nuclear weapons if the President so desires.

## POLICY

They will be voting for thousands and thousands of American casualties in the war that I am satisfied will result on a massive basis if we continue our policy in Asia. They will be voting for all that Goldwater stood for in the recent presidential election.

Mr. President, are you ready to tell the American people that if this course

of actions brings this country into conflict with China, and even possibly with Red Russia, you are ready for a nuclear war? Are you ready to fight a nuclear war over the issues that have arisen in Vietnam? I am satisfied that the overwhelming majority of the American people will repudiate you if this is what you are willing to do.

## INSTRUMENT

Mr. President, the American people have only one instrument that can prevent a misguided, misguided, misadvised, misinformed President from committing an incredible blunder—a blunder that will destroy all the confidence in America that has been built up since World War II—that instrument is the Senate of the United States. But we are not even able to say "go slow", even though I would guess that half or more of the Members of this body know in their minds that the President is wrong.

(Extracts from speeches made by Senator Wayne Morse in the U.S. Senate, May 5/65.)



# WHY DEVELOPING NATIONS CANNOT GO CAPITALIST

## WAY (2)

by Boguslaw Jasinski  
(Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute)

THERE is no doubt that the most characteristic difference between the present developed countries during the first stage of their industrial development on one hand and the developing countries on the other is the difference in their qualitative weight in the relationship of the economic forces of the world.

This difference greatly influences the possibilities of accumulation of capital from outside sources.

The favourable position of the countries of the first group was due not only to the unrestricted flow of capital from one branch to another and to the rational utilisation of raw material resources in a given country but also to the exploitation, supported by capital and military power, of "new territories" possessing both the raw materials needed by the new industries and a cheap labour force.

### EXPLOITATION

From the beginning of the 18th century Britain not only directed her economy to secure the best use of her own domestic resources but also, owing to her colonial policy, developed industries based on cheap raw materials imported from her colonies.

She sold goods produced by those industries at prices much higher than production costs and costs of raw materials not only in the European market but also in the colonies.

This policy, which was soon followed by France, had two very important negative consequences for the economies of the colonial countries:

First, it led to a policy of ruthless exploitation of the raw material resources and labour force of colonial territories:

Secondly, it destroyed local handicrafts by supplying local markets with machine-made goods which were cheaper than those made by local handicraftsmen.

The great expansion of the leading European countries and of the United States during the first years of the 19th century in areas outside Europe undoubtedly had its origins in the material and financial advantages that these countries secured at the expense of the colonies.

### ENRICHMENT

Capital accumulated by those countries came largely from the exploitation of colonies and dependent territories. It likewise became an instrument for the further enrichment of the imperial powers at the expense of conquered countries.

The situation is entirely different in the case of the developing countries today. These countries find themselves in a situation in which consequences of the colonialist policy still exist and are at work.

In general the favourable conditions for accumulation from external sources that existed for the developed countries do not exist for the developing countries. This is so not only because the division of spheres of economic influence and markets has been completed in the capitalist world, but also because of the same reasons for which those countries cannot afford more dynamic economic development.

Naturally, the existence of the latter factor would facilitate the realisation of the former in capitalist conditions.

The colonial powers introduced certain elements of technical progress into the colonies.

The motives of securing the maximum exploitation of mineral resources, raw materials and agricultural goods were sufficiently strong to prompt a colonial power to undertake the construction of basic means of transportation, mining projects, tax system etc.

We have to bear in mind, of course, that even an infrastructure in a very limited scale was designed to suit the interests of the colonial power. The economic interests of a given colony and the rational utilisation of economic resources followed by a rational expansion of the infrastructure received only marginal consideration.

Industry, poorly developed as it is, is either in the hands of foreign capital, which in most cases is not obliged to reinvest its profits, or is being bought out by the state which is paying high compensation to foreign monopolies.

There have as yet been very few cases when new nations have nationalised key factories or economic institutions belonging to foreign monopoly capital without compensation.

The agricultural and raw material character of the exports of the developing countries and exploiting by foreign capital are not the only outside factors hindering the creation of proper conditions for industrialisation.

The constant decline in the prices of the goods exported by them has perhaps had even more grave consequences. This trend has become particularly pronounced since World War Two. There are many reasons for this.

### INDUSTRIES

The very rapid development of the chemical industry is one. Many raw materials (rubber, cotton, wool, raw materials, etc.) which were traditional exports of the developing countries, are being replaced by man-made substitutes which are often of higher quality than natural raw materials.

Moreover, the process of decolonisation creates uncertainty for many industries of the capitalist countries with respect to supplies of raw material. That is one reason why industries look for raw material sources at home by using man-made substitutes.

Another important factor is the tendency toward integration which is becoming more and more evident in the capitalist countries and which strengthens the position of the monopolies in the world raw material market.

We should bear in mind that the range of goods exported by the developing countries is not large. Many Asian countries export only a few items. Even a slight decrease in prices is of fundamental importance.

The situation is similar with regard to foreign aid, both by individual countries and by international financial organisations.

Capital did not flow from the country to another in this form in the 19th century. There was no international credit organisation for financing programmes of economic development. It was not necessary in the situation that prevailed at that time. There was a free and unhindered flow of capital from one country to another. Profit was the only factor determining the scope and form of the flow of capital.

Such a situation cannot exist today for many reasons.

For example, major loans granted by capitalist countries are subject to many economic, political and military conditions.

These conditions concern such matters as the place of purchase of industrial equipment, prices, custom duties and the whole customs policy of the recipient with regard to the donor.

In the political and military fields, conditions restrict relations with particular countries as well as the amount and character of military spending, membership in military groupings, etc.

### LOANS

Moreover, a considerable part of loans is after allocated for military or para-military purposes. Clearly, such loans are of little economic value.

Foreign aid in the form of capital and in other forms also has some positive features. These features are not so pronounced as to determine the possibilities for development. But they constitute a positive impetus in the material, moral and social sense.

Positive features include the tendency toward equal exchange which is becoming stronger, the establishment of economic relations with the socialist countries, technical and scientific assistance by the socialist and capitalist countries channelled through the United Nations, and credit aid by the International Development Bank.

Attention should be drawn to one more negative factor. Most of these countries (especially those which are overpopulated) suffer from hunger. Therefore, securing a minimum of food for the majority of their population is often the most urgent task for them. But credits granted by rich countries for that purpose often yield great profits.

Direct investments by private foreign capital in the developing countries are mainly in those branches which yield the greatest profits. It should be pointed out, however, that private foreign capitalists are investing less and less in these countries.

For example, export of private capital from the United States to the developing countries in 1950 amounted to some 6 billion dollars. Of this, over 2.5 billion dollars (or 40 per cent of the whole export of private capital) were allocated for projects in the oil industry in Latin America and Asia.

Next to the oil industries, private capital is invested mainly in transportation (especially air transport) mining and processing industries.

### DIFFERENCES

Our review of the differences between the conditions of economic growth for the developed countries at a certain stage in their development and the present conditions of growth for the developing countries today, especially as regards the possibilities for accumulating capital would not be complete if we did not draw attention to one more factor: What the economist R. Nurkse calls insufficient demand for capital as a characteristic feature of the economies of the present developing countries.

As has been pointed out, constant lack of capital re-

sources for economic development is characteristic of these countries.

Low demand for capital is a consequence of the limited possibilities of the domestic market which is connected with the low level of the economy of a given country and the lack of factors stimulating expansion.

The situation in the domestic and foreign markets of the West European countries at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries developed differently from that in the present developing countries.

At that time the expansion of domestic and foreign markets conditioned one another and was taking place almost simultaneously. The domestic market was often a "safety value" for the sale of goods of home industries and agriculture.

### INVESTMENTS

It was developing in step with the enrichment of the country and the growth of its industry. The growth of income in the leading European countries already constituted an adequate basis for an increase in sales of goods manufactured at home as well as for new goods.

This phenomenon found its theoretical explanation in a thesis of classical political economy that the growing wealth of a country expands steadily and determines the size of the market.

Growing demand was a sufficient stimulus for the growth of individual investments both at home and abroad.

But in the case of the developing countries, their relative "stability at a low level of economic development" does not create conditions for this process on a comparable scale.

The very low per head income in these countries is a factor limiting demand for goods. In addition, the low level of development of agriculture means that a considerable part of the population live on subsistence holdings.

In many cases, investments in consumer or production goods in one area of a country, being isolated and one-sided, are not capable of stimulating demand for new goods.

### THE STATE

There are not sufficient stimuli on the scale of a region or the whole country for individual investments. This in turn hinders the growth of demand for capital.

This vicious circle can be broken only when comprehensive, not isolated investments are undertaken in various fields of the economy at the same time, because growing demand for new goods will appear at first among that section of the population which is employed in the system of investment or in factories producing new goods.

Today in the conditions of the developing countries, comprehensive investments which could condition one another and have a positive effect up on the economic structure can be undertaken only by a government agency.

The aim of the activity of the state should be not only to collect sufficient capital (impossible for individual en-

terpreneurs) for a comprehensive investments activity.

It must equally also ensure that it is properly utilised and that investments are properly located. This particular role of the state was hardly known in the 19th century.

The expansion of the economies of the developing countries calls for tremendous resources both material and financial, which can be accumulated only by the state. Therefore, the most effective way to do the job which was in the past done by the capitalist class is through the economic and social initiative of the state. Today the state must replace the capitalist class.

### STATE CONTROL

The contemporary role of the state, especially in the developing countries, is almost completely different from its role in the 19th century in Western Europe.

Then the objective of the state in West European countries was to protect the interests of the class in power. Today, the state in the developing countries must become the main organiser of economic life. Now it has to change and play an active role.

When we say that the state has to replace the capitalist class we do not mean this in a literal sense. More often some intermediate solutions are found, especially in the initial period of development. However, the participation of the state in economic life is growing more and more:

1. The state must take the initiative in removing foreign capital from branches of production which are of major importance and at the same time in expanding the economy. It must guarantee the balanced development;

2. The state is the main economic contracting partner in both an indirect and a direct sense in relations with foreign countries.

3. It ensures the correct development of agriculture. It must take care of the rational utilisation of excess labour in agriculture by channelling it to other branches;

4. It must accumulate the necessary means for the development of industries and infrastructure;

5. The state should strive by means accessible to it to achieve a division of national income which will have a positive effect upon the economic growth of the country;

6. Finally, the leading role of the state is connected not only with its participation in effecting changes in the economic structure, but also in changing social structure, in changing negative influences upon economic development. By this we mean the abolition of the traditional division of society, the creation of new economic institutions such as credit, planning, scientific and technical bodies and co-operative

organizations, and influencing changes in the system of cultural values and a proper policy of the state in relation to each social group.

Extensive activity by the state in the present developing countries is a basic condition guaranteeing the creation of a favourable economic and social situation for making "start" to self-sustained growth.

The achievement of the above-mentioned aims is quite possible if a strong state sector of economy with a direct and indirect influence on the economy as a whole (including the planning of the steady economic growth) has been created.

The capitalist system is not able to ensure the creation of conditions to overcome the developing countries' backwardness and poverty, and objectively is not able to create conditions for the steady and rapid growth of their economy.

The experience of the socialist countries and their achievements in developing their economies culture and social relations, demonstrates that only the socialist system of economy can create conditions for steady and rapid growth.

## Think Again

(Continued from page 1)

growing feeling among economists that they may be better advised to invest their money in infra-structural activities such as roads, water supplies or power, instead of in fields where by tradition private enterprise is more often found."

In other words, Mr. Smith wants African governments—and African taxpayers—to foot the bill for roads and such-like unprofitable services, while leaving the more profitable fields to foreign Big Business. Mr. Smith had better think again.

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# Africa, too, fought Fascism

Soviet journalist A. KLIMOV recalls some little-known facts about Africa's contribution to the defeat of fascism in World War Two which ended twenty years ago last month. He pays tribute to the heroism of African troops in a war which marked the opening of a new era.

AN EVENT took place in Africa a month ago which, while perhaps not very conspicuous at first sight, was very meaningful. On the occasion of the anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany, one of the main streets in Brazzaville was renamed Victory over Nazism Avenue. It is now, one might say, a monument commemorating the fact that the African peoples did not stand aloof but played an active part in the great battle with fascism.

Leafing through the volumes of the many studies of World War II that have been written in these twenty years in the West, one finds hardly any mention of the role of Africa and her peoples. Yet the African countries made a big contribution to the victory.

To enlist the support of the colonial peoples, Roosevelt and Churchill promised in the August 1941 Atlantic Charter to respect after the war the right of every people to choose its own form of government.

At the Brazzaville conference in 1944 France also pledged herself to democratize political life in her colonies. All these pledges were, of course, couched in deliberately vague terms and in no way signified renunciation of the colonial system.

It was clear that they were given with the perfectly definite object of interesting the people of the colonial countries in the war against Hitler and his allies.

Practically all the African countries were involved, though in differing degree, in the war. The fight against fascism was for them, at the

same time, a fight for liberation from colonial oppression.

The annexation of Africa figured prominently in the Italian and German fascists' colonial plans. Ethiopia was the first victim of fascist aggression; then war came to many other African countries too. The Arab countries on the Mediterranean seaboard became a gigantic battlefield. There and in Ethiopia, Somali, the Sudan, thousands of patriots took up arms, and numbers of guerilla columns harassed the Italian and German invaders. The anti-fascist Resistance in Africa was part of the world anti-fascist struggle.

## TO THE VERY END

The African peoples shared actively in allied operations in Africa and elsewhere. About three million Africans were drafted to the army in the British and French colonies and fought side by side with the soldiers of Britain and France. African units were in combat to the very end of the war in Africa, in the Middle East, and later in Western Europe.

Fighting in the British forces were, for instance, at least 300,000 men from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, some 100,000 from Nigeria, about 70,000 from Ghana (then the Gold Coast), 26,000 from the Sudan. The British had the Egyptian army at their command.

African units of the British army shared in the liberation of Ethiopia, Somali, the Middle East and Western Europe. They also saw service against Hitler's Far Eastern ally, Japan, in the operations to free Burma and Malaya.

To France the African peoples' participation mean even

more than to Britain. In 1939-40 the French mobilised 137,000 men in their African colonies and sent them to fight in Europe. Later, de Gaulle formed several units out of men from what is now Mali, Guinea, Senegal, Congo (Brazzaville) and other countries of French West and Equatorial Africa. Right up to the liberation of Paris, there were more Africans than Frenchmen in the army of Fighting France.

The Algerian people alone provided the French army with about 300,000 soldiers in the concluding phase of the war. We may mention that Ahmed Ben Bella, now Algeria's President, served in the French army for six years, from 1940 to 1945, and fought alongside French patriots on the soil of Italy and of France herself.

## REAL HEROES

In many battles African soldiers showed themselves real heroes. In the fighting in Libya in the summer of 1942, the most dangerous sector at Bir Hacheim was manned by Gabonians. They fought with great courage and continued to hold their ground even after losing nearly half their men; only upon being completely surrounded and receiving the order to withdraw did they evacuate their positions and fight their way out.

It is also a well-known fact that Ethiopian guerillas freed a good part of their country by their own efforts. In 1941 Emperor Haile Selassie personally led a force of 2,000 men, which swelled rapidly through the influx of guerilla fighters and played a significant role in the final defeat of the Italian forces in Ethiopia.

Africa was also of great importance during the war as a source of materials and food



Ghana ex-servicemen pay tribute to their comrades killed when British troops opened fire on the ex-servicemen's demonstration in Accra in 1948—an event which sparked a new upsurge in the freedom movement.

for the Allies. The war industries of Britain and the U.S. got much of their raw materials from Africa, notably iron ore, rare nonferrous metals, industrial diamonds.

Liberia was, along with Ceylon, the Allies' only available source of natural rubber, while the Congo supplied most of the uranium for the U.S. atomic industry. Africa was a major source of food for Britain, and also for the armies of Fighting France and the United States.

Like all the peoples involved in the war, the Africans sustained heavy losses. Tunisia alone lost 70,000 men in the fighting. In the struggle for Ethiopia's liberation, over 400,000 of her people lost their lives,—35,000 of them in concentration camps. While no total figures of African war

dead are available, these give some idea of how many Africans died to save mankind from fascism.

Several million Africans perished in the war of starvation and disease. In some of the countries in the battle areas, as for instance Tunisia, Libya, and Ethiopia, the civilian population suffered much damage from bombing and looting.

It is impossible not to touch in this context on the question of reparations for the African countries. At the Victor-Powers' Potsdam Conference in 1945, an agreement was signed on exacting reparations from Germany in the form of removals of industrial equipment, annual goods deliveries and use of German labour.

This agreement provided that the reparation claims of

the United States, Britain "and other countries entitled to reparations" (except the Soviet Union and Poland) should be met from West Germany and from appropriate German external assets. The United States, Britain and France did indeed take immense wealth out of West Germany in patents, gold, equipment and commodities.

Considering the African peoples contribution to the war and their sacrifices and losses in it the Western Powers should in fairness have shared part of their reparations with the Africans. But there was never any suggestion of their doing so. The people of the colonies received no compensation for their war losses.

The peoples of the Western Powers' colonial territories were permitted to fight and die for the victory—but all questions relating to the war and the peace were decided by these powers without them.

The American, British and French governments not only forgot the promises they had made to Africa at the height of the struggle with nazism, not only consigned the African contribution to that struggle to bland oblivion, but actually tried to enlarge their colonial possessions at Africa's expense. The British, for example, made an attempt after the war to keep their troops stationed for good in Ethiopia.

But Africa was no longer the prewar Africa. The Allies' victory had fired her people with hopes of an end to colonial rule, while the smashing share they had had in smashing fascism had helped to bring awareness of their strength.

New social forces appeared which took a determined stand against colonialism; mass political, public and trade union organizations arose which set out to fight relentlessly against it.

Among the most active elements in the liberation movements of many countries were the war veterans. We know, for example, how the liberation tide in Ghana surged after the war veterans' demonstration in Accra in 1948, which was fired on by British troops.

In Cameroon and Kenya, Tunisia and Algeria—everywhere yesterday's soldiers—became fighters against colonialism and imperialism.

Speaking in connection with

the twentieth anniversary of the victory over nazi Germany, the Prime Minister of Congo (Brazzaville), Pascal Lisouba, said:

"After the Second World War; in which Africans fought by the side of white soldiers, Africa could no longer be kept in slavery and backbreaking toil, denied human rights and dignity. The victory over fascism heralded the national liberation of Africa's peoples."

Nor was it only Africa's political climate that changed after the war. So did the whole world. The defeat of the Axis powers weakened the world capitalist system as a whole, while the forces of peace and socialism grew immensely.

The postwar years saw the rise of a world socialist system, which became a great tower of strength for the anti-colonial movement.

## FRUSTRATED

In the defeat of nazi Germany and her allies the Soviet Union and had played the decisive role, and the Western Powers naturally could not keep it from having a say in the postwar organization of the world, however much they might have wished to.

And this was something of the greatest importance for all the colonial countries, not least those of Africa. It was thanks to the Soviet Union that colonialist attempts to redivide spheres of influence in Africa were frustrated. The firm Soviet stand made it possible, for example, to limit the term of U.N. trusteeship over the former Italian colonies and thus hasten the victory over colonialism there.

"If not for the existence of the Soviet Union," President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana has said, "the movement for freedom from colonial oppression in Africa would have felt the full force of brutal suppression."

Since the war the Soviet Union has attained a position where it can render struggling nations not only moral and political but extensive material assistance. And this has further altered the balance of strength in Africa in favour of the liberation movements and helped them in their fight against foreign domination and against economic backwardness and poverty.

## Afro-Americans, Africans Face Same Enemies

THE coolness of Washington to Rev. King's boycott proposal parallels Administration sabotage of U.N. sanctions against South Africa. African and socialist members boycott South Africa, but the U.S. and Britain trade with it as freely as ever, while accelerating their investments there.

The Chase Manhattan Bank is buying an important share in a huge new banking monopoly, which will financially dominate most of the African continent, and includes the Standard Bank of South Africa, one of the big two banks of apartheid-land.

During the past winter a special committee dealing with enforcement of the U.N. resolution on independence to colonies studied the situation in South West Africa and the activities of the mining companies there.

Formally under U.N. mandate, South West Africa is really held as a colony by South Africa, and all of its racist laws and practices are fully operative.

Two companies account for most of the South West African economy—Consolidated Diamond, a subsidiary of de Beers, the gigantic diamond trust of the Oppenheimer

Anglo-American Corporation group, based on British and South African capital; and Tsumeb, a super-profitable base metals combine owned primarily by two U.S. corporations, Newmont Mining (Morgan Group), and American Metal Climax (Hoschild-Lehman interests).

The committee's report is a devastating indictment of the apartheid regime, the profiteering of the foreign companies, and their labour conditions. It says:

"The work which the Africans perform for mining and other companies is basically forced labour and therefore the African population lives as though in slavery."

It reports, based on company-supplied information, that Tsumeb pays African miners 18 cents for an 8-hour shift, rising gradually to about 38 cents at the end of the one-year contract period (these are South African cents, each worth about 1.4 U.S. cents—that is, about one penny). That's an average of 5 cents an hour!

Trade unions and strikes, of course, are prohibited. European employees, besides getting 20 times the wages of the Africans, get a month's vacation with pay. Africans get no vacation at all.

The report says: "The very low level of

The well-known progressive U.S. economist VICTOR PERLO, spotlights the link between Washington's coolness on proposals to boycott U.S. racists and its sabotage of U.N. sanctions against South Africa.

African wages, the lack of the Native Reserves and the evils of the migratory labour system result in misery and untold sufferings on the part of the indigenous population."

But the U.S. representative had the nerve to praise the U.S. company as contributing to the progress of South West Africa! (She is Mrs. Mary Endicott Peabody Tree, descendant of a long line of Massachusetts coupon clippers, and sister of the recent Governor of that state.)

The report concluded by urging the General Assembly to condemn South Africa for extending apartheid to South West Africa, to condemn the companies "which exploit the natural resources and the African population" for their own sole benefit, to enforce existing sanctions against South Africa and impose tougher measures, and to provide for early independence for South West Africa.

Two paragraphs singled out the foreign companies and their governments. One called

on "the United Kingdom and the United States of America to cease to give any support to the Government of South Africa and to observe provisions of General Assembly regulations". And paragraph "h" called on "all States whose nationals have interests in the international companies in South West Africa, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, to exert their influence to put an end to the activities of the international companies, which are detrimental to the interests of the population of South West Africa."

The entire report, with these recommendations, was adopted by a vote of 16 to 4, with 4 abstentions. The 12 African and Asian members and the four socialist members, including the U.S.S.R., voted in favour. N.A.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O. members, the U.S., the U.K., Italy, and Australia, voted against.

Three Latin American coun-

tries and Denmark abstained, all with statements indicating general agreement, and differences over wording.

Mrs. Tree led the floor fight against the report. A separate vote on paragraph "h" found Britain, Italy and Australia abstaining, not having the brass to oppose it openly. Only the United States and Venezuela voted against.

This brazen support by the U.S. Government of profiteering by U.S. companies from the enslavement of South West Africa shows the hypocrisy of general assurances by Washington and by U.S. corporations of their opposition to segregation and oppression of Negroes in the United States.

It shows that American Negroes and African have the same exploiters and enemies. It shows why mass actions must continue to be the decisive means for winning Negro freedom in the United States, as for rendering support in this country to the liberation struggle of the South African and South West African people.