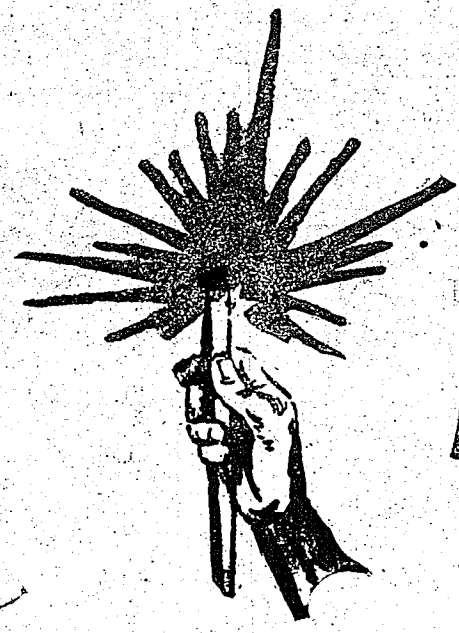


Address by  
Osagyefo at the  
opening of the  
Volta Power  
(See page 3)

# THE SPARK



Notes of the Week	2
Negro oppression as a function of U.S. Capitalism	4
Spotlight on Ghana	5

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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION  
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FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1966

## COMMENT

# Stop Wilson's "No Business Policy"

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

THERE is a device practised in Western business and political circles known as 'the no-business meeting'. It serves a very important function, which putting it crudely is 'to pull the wool over the people's eyes'. When a very serious crisis develops "meetings" of politicians, Government representatives, and experts, are called, accompanied by a loud fanfare of publicity from every form of establishment propaganda, to give the impression that something really decisive is being done to transform the situation and get everybody out of the mess.

after the other, like the conjurer producing his rabbits out of the hat, we shall forget about the central issue. He hopes we shall get excited about all his promises being made to deal with a future situation which shows no signs of actually materialising, namely a future without Smith and his Rhodesian Front Government.

### THE BIG DEAL

The arrival of Sir Hugh Beadle, Rhodesia's Chief Justice, in London last week, had all the ingredients of 'the no-business meeting'. We were all being psychologically prepared for the 'big deal' to emerge. Sir Hugh has returned to his home in Salisbury, Mr. Wilson has made his House of Commons Statement yet nobody is any further forward.

the Tory and Liberal Parties to meet him and Sir Hugh at the 'no-business meeting'. This created an atmosphere of national unity around Wilson's policy, making it tri-partisan. Mr. Heath, went but only after a show of reluctance, because he needs to keep the wild men of his party, who support Smith, as quiet as possible.

This was an attempt to lift the crisis out of British party politics, to avoid any controversy in which someone might really blow the gaff and give the game away.

### ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

This attempt was soon exposed by the statement of the British Communist Party (whose Secretary incidentally, was not invited to the meeting!!!) making the basic demand of independence now with one man one vote, and immediate action against Smith, military if necessary, in conjunction with the African states.

By talking about what he will do after Smith's regime collapses, Mr. Wilson avoids discussing what effective action can be taken now. 'Sanctions' is his

magic word, which he repeats day in and day out. Wilson claims that these alone will work the trick. His claim goes against every other experience of their being tried. Sanctions have always played a part in campaigns against tyrannical governments, but they have never been relied on exclusively, and they have never, even in limited form, been successful, because someone can always be found to break them.

Already token gestures are being made by South Africa to supply Rhodesia with oil. The South African Government has declared it will not interfere in the Rhodesian crisis, which is the equivalent of saying that it will continue its normal trade relations and help to maintain essential supplies to Rhodesia.

There is a growing 'unofficial' campaign among the South African racist public to make voluntary donations of oil to Rhodesia. This at present is not decisive but it lends support to Ian Smith's boast precisely from where and how much I am not prepared

to say, but since the embargo, oil has come into Rhodesia and it still coming in.

It is said that Sir Hugh Beadle went to London to tell Mr. Wilson that the effect of sanctions will take months rather than weeks to become apparent. If that was all he had to say he could have saved his air fare.

In fact Beadle came to try and sort out a deal between the British Government and the Smith regime. Beadle is not only the Chief Justice, appointed by the Queen of England, he is a Rhodesian politician, he has held office in Rhodesian Governments and is a supporter, politically of Smith. Beadle is a member of the same gang as Smith and Welensky, who with all their minor squabbles, are nevertheless united in their determination to stop African democratic rule in Rhodesia.

### A DEAL

What took place last weekend in London was a meeting to work out a deal which would save everybody's face, Smith's and Wilson's, at the expense of the African people's political and human rights.

Mr. Wilson keeps repeating that he will not treat with Smith unless U.D.I. is renounced. This is not relevant. If it gets too tough for Smith, though we see no evidence of that happening, he can always be replaced by some other member of the Rhodesian Front who can go through the motions of renouncing U.D.I. on condition that their basic requirement of no African majority rule is met. Wilson has already conceded the principle of independence before majority rule, a condition totally unacceptable to the Zimbabwe people.

The issue is not whether Wilson can or cannot treat with Smith as an individual. The issue is whether the racist party is going to be able to dictate the terms of a future settlement in their own inter-

ests. It does not matter whether the illegal Prime Minister is called Smith, or Jones or Bloggs, what matters is who is going to hold effective political power, here and now in Rhodesia. If Wilson really believed in the right of the Africans to majority rule he would have been prepared to place a British military presence in Rhodesia to prevent U.D.I. if possible and to take action immediately against rebels. By refusing to do this,

The British Government has now thought up a new form of challenge to Smith to assert the constitutional powers of the Queen. Two Africans, Mr. Lazarus and Mrs. Runyowa, are now awaiting death in the condemned cell, having been found guilty of arson. The British Government chooses the question of a reprieve as a new mock battleground with Smith. The announcement that these two men have been reprieved by the Queen is a mockery and a strong temptation to Smith to execute them to show what



Mr. Wilson whose sleight of hand improves with every new stage of the Rhodesian crisis is developing 'the no-business meeting' art to a most refined level.

problems they sit passive, hypnotised by the sleight of hand of journalists and politicians all busily performing their tricks, even though these are not the tricks the audience has really paid to see.

Mr. Wilson is developing 'the no-business meeting' art to a most refined level. His sleight of hand improves with every new stage of the Rhodesian crisis, but we don't think the audience will remain hypnotised much longer by the act.

While the audience is wondering what is actually going to be done about the Smith rebel regime, while they want to see this government, actually brought down, Mr. Wilson will insist on talking to them about what he will do after the regime is toppled. Action tomorrow and the day after, but no action today.

He seems to hope that if he produces a rapid succession of policies, one

except perhaps Mr. Smith. It was said Sir Hugh went to London to keep Mr. Wilson up to date, with messages from Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor. We have no doubt that he visited Wilson to discuss how the British Government can appear to avoid dealing with Smith yet at the same time avoid making the necessary move of granting independence on the basis of one man, one vote.

### EXPLOITATION

Mr. Wilson's sleight of hand is intended to give the impression that he is against Smith and all that he stands for. At the same time he aims to preserve the essence of the present political and economic set-up in Rhodesia, namely an African majority, ruled and exploited by a small majority established there by British imperialism. The British Prime Minister invited the leaders of

## Professor D.N. Pritt Honoured

Professor D. N. Pritt, Presidential Professor of Law at the University of Ghana, and a frequent contributor to "The Spark" has been honoured by the Czechoslovak Government at a reception held this week by H. E. The Czechoslovak Ambassador and Mrs. Sobotka, at their residence.

The honour took the form of the presentation to Professor Pritt of the Academic Robes of the Doctor of Law of Charles University in Prague.

Professor Pritt, who had been awarded this degree which is given only rarely, by one of Europe's oldest Universities, was thus furthered honoured by the gift of the appropriate robes.

In making the presentation Mr. Sobotka paid tribute to Professor Pritt as a great Socialist lawyer with a world-wide reputation as lawyer and fighter for freedom. Professor Pritt's reputation as defender of all those persecuted by Fascism and by Imperialism in all parts of the world has brought him the deep respect and affection of men and women in many lands and Mr. Sobotka emphasised the great pleasure it gave him to add a further honour to that already paid to Professor Pritt by Czechoslovakia.

The presentation was made in the presence of Ministers, members of the staff of the University of Ghana and representatives of public life.



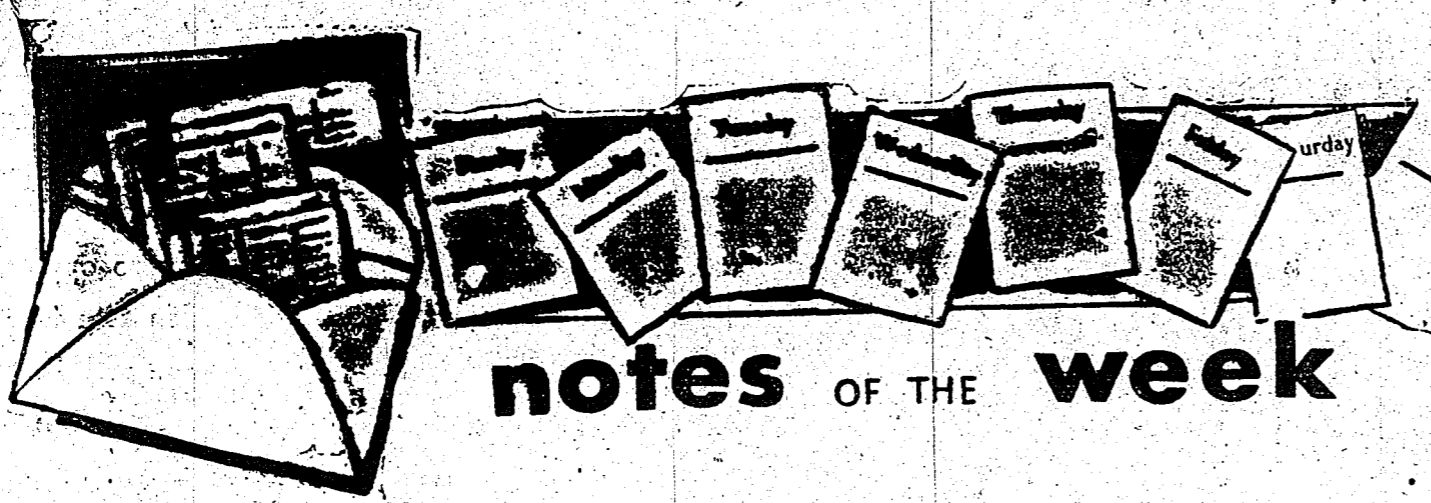
Ian Smith, leader of the rebel regime, threatens scorched earth policies in the most savage way to crush down African majority rule.

Wilson has moved and deeper into duplicity. British M.P.'s are manhandled by a mob of Smith's supporters. Who could defend them? Not the British Government. Mr. Bottomley had to call off his proposed trip to Salisbury because the same humiliation might be doled out to him, a Minister of the Queen. The British Government could not have protected him. This shows, in practice, who actually holds the reins of power. Smith holds them firmly in his grasp and Mr. Wilson helped him to get them

into his hands. There are 20 other freedom fighters in the same situation, with death hanging over them, the British Government has no means whatsoever of protecting them.

The lives of resolute anti-imperialists are the pawns in the game. These courageous men, representatives of a people whose leaders are in camps and prisons, but who nevertheless resist Smith, are said to be unfit to rule

(Continued on page 5)



**TWO Afro-Americans** have had their names in the news during the last few weeks: Mr. Franklin Williams, the newly-arrived U.S. Ambassador in Ghana, and Mr. Julian Bond, elected by a landslide vote to the House of Representatives of the southern U.S. state of Georgia.

No doubt Ambassador Williams is an able man—he must be, to have surmounted all the obstacles that stand in the way of an Afro-American who aspires to achieve distinction in the State Department, traditionally a stronghold of what are known in America as W.A.S.P.—the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Establishment.

It is no reflection on his competence to note that in a very special sense he owes his appointment to Ghana to his colour.

By appointing an Afro-American Ambassador to Accra, the State Department seeks to demonstrate that all is well on the race relations front, that every door is open to Afro-Americans.

Washington has made similar appointments to a small number of other capitals, notably in Africa; there has as yet been no sign that the State Department would consider an Afro-American for what it considers to be its top posts in such capitals as London, Paris, Bonn and Moscow.

But world public opinion in general and African public opinion in particular is not so easily deceived.

While in America and other strongholds of white supremacy a man may be judged by the colour of his skin, in other, more enlightened parts of the world he is judged by what he does, and by the policies he advocates.

If a U.S. Ambassador, for example, defends U.S. aggression in Vietnam or U.S. trade and financial backing for Verwoerd and Salazar, his colour is a matter of indifference.

African public opinion is very well aware that there can be black capitalists as well as

white ones, and that there is nothing to choose between the two. Africa also has its Tshombes and other neo-colonialist puppets.

The appointment of Mr. Williams would be a great deal more convincing as a demonstration of racial equality in the United States if we could see that all Afro-Americans were able, for example, to exercise that most elementary of democratic rights—the right to vote—without fear of victimisation, violence or worse.

It would be more convincing if we could see that Afro-Americans held their rightful place in the entire fabric of American political life—in its legislatures, in its government, in its administrative machine.

It would be a great deal more convincing if we did not know that the Afro-Americans are, together with other racial minorities like the Puerto Ricans, victims of America's "domestic neo-colonialism".

Finally, it would be a great deal more convincing if it were not for the case of the other, Afro-American whose name has been in the news—Mr. Julian Bond, elected by an overwhelming vote to the Georgia House of Representatives, but barred from taking his seat because he has voiced opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The United States continually arrogates to itself the right to dictate to others regarding what constitutes democracy. It would be well advised to remember that democracy like charity, begins at home. Before presuming to dictate to others, let it set its own house in order.

The fifteen Ambassadors from African states who organised a luncheon in honour of Mr. Bond spoke for the people of Africa in thus underlining their support for him and the Afro-American freedom movement.

The refusal to allow Mr. Bond to take the seat to which he has been elected constitutes a revealing commentary on the appointment of Ambassador Williams to Accra.

ness-scientific junta to operate. "The benefits of using science for welfare are so great as to make entirely pointless all the disputes about which wars have been fought in the past", Professor Bernal, the outstanding physicist and leader of the world peace movement, has written in his book *World Without War*.

"The wealth that could be available to us now, through the application of the amount of science we know already, is far greater than anything that could be obtained from the conquest of the most fruitful territories or by winning the most exclusive control of sources of raw materials, oil or coal."

**Just a half per cent**

**AMID** all the propaganda fanfare about U.S. "aid" to what President Johnson terms the "less-developed world", it is worth recalling one hard fact: U.S. "aid" accounts for a mere 1/2 per cent of the United States' gross national product.

"Aid" during the year ending June 30, last year was the lowest for five years. It is noteworthy also that in that year "aid" amounted to a mere 3.5 per cent of the U.S. federal budget compared with 11 per cent in the immediate post-war years when the Marshall Plan was in operation in Europe.

Nearly one third of all the U.S. hand-outs went on what is termed "military and economic assistance" in the Far East—the bulk of it to South Vietnam and South Korea.

What is more, according to President Johnson, more than 80 cents out of every dollar which the U.S. gives or (more usually) lends as "aid" is spent in the United States itself.

Thus the United States not only collects the interest on the money it lends. It also gets the profits on the goods it sells—goods which are frequently of inferior quality

(second-hand arms and war planes, for example) or which, as in the case of surplus foodstuffs, it could not otherwise dispose of.

It may well indeed be asked just who is being "aided" by such "aid"—the "less-developed countries" or America itself?

Nor is this U.S. "aid" without strings. We in Ghana have already seen how Washington in a fit of petulance refused to sell us food because of criticism of U.S. neo-colonialism contained in Kwame Nkrumah's latest book.

The refusal was in itself a demonstration of the correctness of those criticisms. A further demonstration now comes from India.

In India millions face starvation as a result of crop failures and also as a result of speculation by food black marketeers.

But U.S. representatives have made it known that further U.S. assistance to India is conditional upon India providing greater opportunities for the private sector—in other words, for profit-seeking Indian Big Businessmen and (even more) American investors.

**Terror bombing again?**

**THE** indications are that the United States will shortly resume its terror bombing campaign against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. President Johnson has this week been engaged in intensive discussions in Washington. Correspondents agree that the resumption of bombing was the theme.

American spokesmen have done their best to extract the maximum political capital from what they term the "bombing pause"—in other words, from stopping doing what they should never have started.

For the American bombing of North Vietnam constitutes a brutal act of aggression which has greatly increased the threat of a third world war and which no pretext can justify.

American spokesmen now plead that because they suspended their bombing and put out "peace feelers", to which Hanoi failed to respond, the U.S. is justified in resuming its bombing.

Such a plea will deceive no one. It is widely acknowledged even by American commentators that Washington's so-called "peace offensive" was in part a publicity stunt, in part a device to justify the subsequent extension of the war.

Even while the "peace offensive" was at its height, U.S. troops continued to pour into Vietnam, while President Johnson was demanding—and getting—more money from the U.S. Congress for the stepping up of the war.

The "peace offensive" was motivated also by Washing-

ton's growing realisation that it cannot win the war in Vietnam.

The Washington correspondent of the *London Times* (6.1.66) reported that Pentagon officials admit failure in Vietnam although "no fighting men in history have been better served. Even company actions are invariably supported by air strikes and artillery barrages, and they are dropped into battles by helicopter. A platoon commander can call down napalm, phosphorous bombs and tear gas on the smallest target."

But U.S. casualties have sharply increased, while the value of U.S. planes shot down in the past year is estimated by American sources to be in excess of 1,000 million dollars.

Not only has President Johnson failed to beat the Vietnamese people into submission. He has also failed to persuade world opinion of the justness of the American cause, and even the American people themselves are increasingly critical of what even the ultra-reactionary *U.S. News & World Report* has acknowledged to be the "least popular of wars in which the U.S. has been involved."

In a book published at the end of last year, Gen. Curtis Lemay, former American Air Force Chief of Staff, spoke of bombing North Vietnam "back into the Stone Age."

That is what is now being proposed by many in Washington. In the light of this, talk of any readiness for negotiations on the part of the U.S. Government is seen for what it is—a smokescreen to cloak continued aggression.

**Science for peace**

**IN** HIS speech at the inauguration of the Akosombo Dam (see p. 3) Kwame Nkrumah noted the benefits which would accrue to the developed countries in particular if the money which was spent on arms was instead used for such schemes as the Volta Project.

"It is perhaps the greatest tragedy of today's world that billions of dollars, roubles and pounds should be spent every year on military armaments and on wars", he said.

"If the money wasted on wars and war preparations were invested in projects like the one spread out before us, these enormous capital funds could revolutionise the economies not only of the developing world, but also of the developed countries."

The fact that even the richest countries cannot afford both arms and social progress has recently been demonstrated by the fact that President Johnson has been obliged to cut back his plans for the creation of what he terms a "Great Society" because of the mounting costs of the war in Vietnam.

Arms spending and the arms race have distorted the economies of the developed countries, and have led to the increasing militarisation of science and research—the research that could be seeking ways to make the life of man happier and more prosperous.

In the United States and Britain, for example, about half of all expenditure on research and development goes

on military projects.

Of what the U.S. and British governments alone spend on research and development, about 70 per cent goes on military projects, while about one quarter of all qualified scientists and engineers are on military work.

It is sometimes argued that this military research sometimes yields results of value in the civilian field. This is undeniable, but it does not alter the colossal wastefulness of it all.

But the best way to achieve a civilian objective is by direct civilian research.

In any case, the extent of the beneficial "fall-out" from military research is frequently exaggerated. The secrecy which is an all-pervading feature of military research prevents its results becoming generally known.

What is more, most military research is very narrow and specialised, and not the sort of wider basic research likely to have applications in the civilian field.

In Britain, for example, the Zuckerman Committee in 1961 reported that 80 per cent of the expenditure on research in government defence establishments was on projects which by their very nature were unlikely to find civil application.

Indeed, wastefulness can be said to be built into military research. The secrecy surrounding it means that there is no open, public scrutiny of finances, therefore making it easier for the military-busi-

**JANUARY 8:**

**GHANA:** President Nkrumah, General Secretary of the Party, emphasised today that Positive Action marked the culmination of the great strength of the Party which ultimately led to capitulation of the imperialists and colonialists and set the nation on the road to political independence.

**ALGERIA:** Algeria will hold talks with Foreign oil companies in the country on increasing the percentage of profits to be transferred back to Algeria, official sources have said in Paris, France.

**JANUARY 11:**

**NIGERIA:** Two moves aimed at the early downfall of the breakaway Rhodesian regime and a constitutional "new deal" for all Rhodesia will be debated at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference which opens in Lagos, Nigeria today.

**NIGERIA:** An international conference on African population which ended in Ibadan, Nigeria today urged the United Nations Economic Council for Africa to promote demographic studies.

**BURUNDI:** All elected officers of both Houses of the Burundi Parliament and the principal leaders of the Bahutus were among 86 people executed in the wake of an abortive mutiny in Burundi last October, the International Commission of Jurists revealed in Geneva, Switzerland, today.

**GHANA:** The Minister of Cooperatives, Mr. B. K. Senkyere, will lead a three-man delegation of Ghana Co-operative Movement tomorrow for the Afro-Asian Co-operative Conference which starts in Nairobi, Kenya from January 17-26.

**MALAWI:** Malawi Premier Dr. Kamuzu Banda will introduce a Forfeiture Bill in the next parliamentary session beginning next week as announced in Blantyre today.

**NIGERIA:** The controversial Lagos Conference of Commonwealth countries to discuss the Rhodesian problem, opened in the heat of angry protestation by the Nigerian people and water-tight security precautions to provide protection for the delegates.

**MALAWI:** Malawi Premier Dr. Kamuzu Banda has appointed two new Ministers and made a number of other changes in a cabinet reshuffle today.

**SOMALI:** Two Somali cabinet Ministers, Mr. Osman Mohamoud Adden (Industry and Commerce) and Mr. Ismail Duale Urarsem (Agriculture and Animal Husbandry) have been dismissed from their posts, the Prime Minister's Office has announced in Mogadishu.

**MOZAMBIQUE:** A contingent of 334 Portuguese fascist soldiers with their officers left Lisbon aboard a Portuguese liner for Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique.

**UPPER VOLTA:** President Sanguole Lamizana of the Upper Volta has assured his countrymen that the army did not intend to rule for longer than necessary.

**ZAMBIA:** The Zambian Army is to be increased from its present three regular battalions to nearly two divisions, the Sunday Zambian News disclosed today.

**MAURITANIA:** President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania has warned that anyone endangering national unity "will be punished without mercy."

**MALAGASY:** The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation will now open in Tananarive, Malagasy, on Wednesday.

**NIGERIA:** A Federal Nigerian Member of Parliament warned his countrymen today to stop deceiving themselves because "the nation is on fire".

**DAHOMEY:** Dahomey Foreign Minister Emil Zinson has had a meeting in Paris with French President Charles de Gaulle and explained the reasons for the seizure of power by General Christophe Soglo in Dahomey last month.

**BECHUANALAND:** Mr. Julius Naledi External Representative of the Bechuanaland People's Party in Accra has told a press conference that the people of Africa need a Union Government now for the immediate realisation of the liberation of the entire African continent and the defence of her freedom, independence and sovereignty.

**GHANA:** The Ghana Pharmaceutical Corporation will soon start preparing tablets and drugs which are commonly used in hospitals. This was disclosed by Professor A. N. Tackie, dean of the Faculty of Pharmacy, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The Commonwealth Conference on Rhodesia was thrown into con-

**GHANA:** The Ghana Pharmaceutical Corporation will soon start preparing tablets and drugs which are commonly used in hospitals. This was disclosed by Professor A. N. Tackie, dean of the Faculty of Pharmacy, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi.

**JANUARY 10:**

**NIGERIA:** There is a fresh outbreak of violence near the Nigerian Federal capital today as several thousands of demonstrators blocked one of the two main roads into Lagos with a wall of fire until riot police dispersed them with tear-gas.

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\* The last contingent of about 400 Nigerian Police which served in the Congo (Leopoldville) have returned home on board a French liner.



**TOGO:** Togo President Nicolas Grunitzky will leave home today for Abidjan for talks with Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

**GHANA:** The Ghana Government's latest statement on the Rhodesian crisis was hailed today by the British press, radio and television, affording the British public an insight into Ghana's repeated stand in relation to the crisis.

\* A three-man Dahomean Government delegation led by Justice Minister Asene Kinde called on President Nkrumah at Flagstaff House, Accra, today.

\* Ghana and the United Arab Republic will this year increase their trade by one third from the present level of 7,200,000 cedis (£3,000,000) to 9,600,000 cedis (4,000,000).

fusion today when Uganda and Sierra-Leone threatened to walk out if the British Government continue to refuse the use of force.

\* An American missionary expelled from breakaway Rhodesia told newsmen in New York, America that unless the illegal regime of Ian Smith is quickly toppled there might be violence worse than in Vietnam.

**NIGERIA:** Following the continuous outbreak of violence and arson in the Western Region of Nigeria, Chief Fagbenro Beyioku, chairman of the Nigerian National Democratic Party, the governing party in Nigeria has called on Chief Samuel Akinola, the Prime Minister and the leader of the party, to quit the premiership.

**SUDAN:** The Southern Front Party has called for a ceasefire in Southern Sudan where Government troops have been fighting insurgents since 1955.

**ALGERIA:** Algerian paper, "El Moudjalid", has attacked imperialism and its followers for their slanders against the People's Republic of China and pointed out that "the Chinese people are the friends of the African people".

**SUDAN:** The editor-in-chief of the Sudanese paper, "Al Zaman", has praised the People's Republic of China in series of articles on his impression of his recent visit to China, which were published by his paper in Khartoum.

**JANUARY 13:**

**GHANA:** Mr. E. N. Omaboe, Government Statistician today announced in Accra that Ghana's population rose to 7,841,000 at the end of last year, showing an increase of more than one million since the last population census was taken in 1960.

\* The Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, on his arrival at Accra Airport told newsmen that it is in the interest of Britain and her Western allies to crush the illegal racist regime of Southern Rhodesia as quickly as possible to avoid serious consequences.

**ZAMBIA:** Zambia's Vice-President Reuben Kamanga, leader of his country's delegation to the Lagos Commonwealth conference, said in Nigeria today that the conference is "useless exercise which did not serve any purpose".

\* Angry students with placards reading: "Action Now" and "a Rebel is a Rebel", shouted on Britain's Premier Harold Wilson to leave Zambia today after a hurriedly called press conference.

\* The supply of oil to landlocked Zambia, which hitherto relied on racist Rhodesia for its supplies, is being intensified. Already British, Canadian and American planes are flying oil from Tanzania and the Congo (Leo) to Zambia.

# "A light leading us on to our goal"

## Kwame Nkrumah's address on the occasion of the inauguration of the Volta Power, January 22nd, 1966

**LADIES and Gentlemen,**  
We are gathered here today to formally inaugurate hydro-electric power from the Volta.

What you see before you is the happy result of the faith and determination of our people and their friends. It is the outcome of the readiness of the United States Government, the World Bank, and other financial institutions which apart from our own contribution to the scheme, have granted loans and other forms of assistance in this great enterprise. It is an achievement in co-operation and joint endeavour.

I am personally happy that so many of those connected with this scheme are here with us today for this inauguration. In addition, I am pleased that His Holiness Pope Paul VI has seen fit to send a Papal nuncio to witness the ceremony. On behalf of myself, and the Government and people of Ghana, I extend to you all a sincere welcome.

**MRS KENNEDY**

We had looked forward eagerly to welcoming in our midst today Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy. We had wished her to unveil the plaque commemorating the part which her husband the late President Kennedy, and President Eisenhower played in this endeavour. Mrs. Kennedy is unable to be with us today. She has, however, written to tell me that she hopes to visit Ghana with her children, in the very near future. I have assured her that a warm and truly Ghanaian welcome awaits her.

Next to the late President Kennedy and President Eisenhower, I must make mention of my friend Edgar Kaiser, whose faith and enthusiasm for the Volta project provided the spark that brought it to life when the prospects for its continuation were at their lowest ebb. It is a pity that Edgar's father, Henry Kaiser cannot be with us. He has been a tower of strength and inspiration to Edgar and myself throughout our efforts on his project.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

By this inauguration ceremony, our great and dynamic Party, the Convention Peoples Party, has kept faith with the people. In our Party Election Manifesto in 1951, we made a promise that when we were voted to power, we would do everything possible to bring the Volta River Project into being.

From that time, this scheme has been one of our greatest dreams. My faith in it never faltered, in spite of the disappointments and frustrations created by the difficult and intricate financial negotiations involved.

I have on a previous occasion, told the story of my meeting with Edgar Kaiser in

New York in 1958, which proved to be an important watershed in the story of this scheme. I cannot minimise the part played by Chad Calhoun as a go-between me and Edgar. My meeting with Edgar Kaiser illustrates the way, in which individuals of faith and goodwill can contribute to close relations between peoples and nations, between governments and governments.

With Edgar's characteristic way of "getting down to brass tacks"—to use an American slang—he took me straight along to see President Eisenhower who happened to be in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York where I was also staying.

It was there that Eisenhower expressed surprise that the United States had delayed consideration of this scheme for so long. Thereupon he turned to one of the principal aides in his party, who I believe was one of the key men in the White House at the time. He turned to him and asked, "Then why don't you get on with the damned thing?" It was then that "the damn thing"—this giant hydro-electric scheme—was triggered back to life.

Even then, years of further negotiations followed. Throughout, we had to demonstrate by resolute action and practical decisions our determination to go ahead with the project by all means. Thus in 1959, when the financial arrangements were still incomplete, I decided that, whether we succeeded in raising loans or not, we could go ahead with the scheme from our resources.

I therefore gave orders for the preliminary works to be constructed, namely: the Tema-Akosombo highways, the necessary access roads to the site, and the building of a new township in Akosombo. By this time we were nearing completion of the construction of the Tema Harbour and Township which were also essential parts of the preliminary works. And so we commissioned Kaiser Engineers to undertake the preparation of the necessary plans and tender documents.

**OPTIMISM**

These decisions, risky as they then appeared, gained for us at least a year in construction time and its equivalent in money. It was this calculated risk which really gave the impetus to the scheme. In all this Edgar Kaiser shared our optimism and gave us full support and encouragement.

I wish I had time here to discuss in detail the magnitude of Edgar's contribution. However, I will mention only one: The Kaiser Company's re-examination of the project enabled us to lower substantially the cost of the entire project, a reduction which was a critical factor making construction of this vast project

economically feasible. It was not until the 16th of December, 1961, after three years of negotiations that the legal documents providing for the financing of the project, said to be the most complicated of their kind were signed.

**MEETING**

The financing of the project on such a scale involved many Governments and International Agencies. Its achievement was largely due to the sympathy and understanding of the late President Kennedy. He had a positive belief in this Volta River Project. I was the first President to meet him after his inauguration. From that very moment I knew that I was in the presence of a sincere and honest man. Between us a real bond of friendship was established and we knew that whatever differences of opinion we might have, they could be discussed rationally. It was characteristic of Kennedy that despite the opposition of forces both in his Cabinet and Congress, he put his full personal weight behind the scheme. Indeed, at one time he stood alone in his Cabinet on this matter.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

We live in a world of contradictions. These contradictions somehow keep the world going. Let me explain what I mean. Ghana is a small but very dynamic independent African State. We are trying to reconstruct our economy and to build a new, free and equal society.

To do this, we must attain control of our own economic and political destinies. Only thus can we create higher living standards for our people and free them from the legacies and hazards of a colonial past and from the encroachments of neo-colonialism.

In such a world we certainly need great friends. The United States is a capitalist country. In fact, it is the leading capitalist power in the world. Like Britain in the hey day of its imperial power, the United States is, and rightly so, adopting a conception of dual mandate in its relations with the developing world.

This dual mandate, if properly applied, could enable the United States to increase its own prosperity and at the same time assist in increasing the prosperity of the developing countries.

Edgar Kaiser, President

Eisenhower and President Kennedy, were genuinely interested in this project because they saw, behind the cold figures and the rigid calculations, that the Volta River Project was not only an economically viable project, but also an opportunity for the United States of America to make a purposeful capital investment in a developing country. In other words, they saw in

nature. To the east are the two Spillways with their twelve gigantic gates. Further east is the Saddle Dam, closing a gap in the hills, a large dam in its own rights. To the west of the main dam is the Power House wherein are installed the large turbines fed by water tumbling down the huge penstocks, and generators which will provide the country with

nation and continent the experience they have acquired in the implementation of this scheme.

And here I would like to pay tribute to the work Sir Robert Jackson and the Staff of the Preparatory Commission who prepared much of the detailed over-all planning on which this scheme is based.

I must also say a special word of thanks to Mr Frank Dobson, Chief Executive of the Volta River Authority and all the members and executives of the Authority. They have done a grand job.

**MAGNIFICENT JOB**

In this connection I must congratulate the contractor Impregilo and Company. This consortium of giant Italian Construction Organisations

spent every year on military armaments and on wars.

If the money wasted on wars and war preparations were invested in projects like these enormous capital funds could revolutionize the economies not only of the developing world, but also of the developed countries.

It would in fact eliminate what is the major threat to world peace, namely, the ever widening gap between the developed and developing nations. Unless this gap is closed, no peace effort of any kind can save mankind from ruin and ultimate destruction.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It is in this spirit of fruitful collaboration for a better world for all, that I welcome you here to inaugurate the



"... may it symbolise not only a great achievement of Ghana, but let it also be a light leading us on to our destined and cherished goal—a Union Government for Africa."

the Volta River Project a scheme with new dimensions of growth and development which they felt could benefit both Ghana and the United States.

It was on this common ground of our mutual respect and common advantage that our two countries—Ghana and the United States—made the contact from which grew this project.

The result of this contact is living proof that nations and people can co-operate and co-exist peacefully with mutual advantage to themselves, despite differences of economic and political opinions.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Four years ago today, in January, 1962, I set off the blast which marked the beginning of construction of this scheme. Since then, we have witnessed a marvel of construction, organizational efficiency, and administrative achievements.

**MAJESTY**

You see, before you, in all its majesty, strength and power, the Akosombo Dam, 463 feet from the lowest foundations, and twenty-two hundred feet long, which has tamed the turbulent waters of the Volta, turning them into the beautiful vast lake which will ultimately cover over three per cent of the surface area of our country.

Due to the fact that the River Volta is very deep at this very point, over two-thirds of the Dam lies hidden beneath the surface of the water. The result of this is that this huge structure blends harmoniously and imperceptibly into the natural landscape, giving the impression that this dam and its vast lake are not man-made, but a creation—a creation of

electric power, nearly ten times the present power production in the country from all sources.

We have enough power for our immediate needs from the Volta Dam and for the Aluminium Smelter which VALCO is now constructing at Tema.

But we are ready and prepared to supply power to our neighbours in Togo, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta. As far as I am concerned, this project is not for Ghana alone. Indeed, I have already offered to share our power resources with our sister African States.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

The story of the Volta River Project will not be complete without reference to the 30,000 people who had to be moved from their villages, and resettled in other areas, because of the formation of the Volta Lake.

The story of this resettlement scheme is an epic in itself. I would like to pay tribute to the thousands of families who were called upon to move from their traditional homes, in the interests of the nation.

Today, as we inaugurate Volta Power they can share in the joys of the country, in our sense of achievement, and in our gratitude for the sacrifices which have made this project possible.

**TRIBUTE**

I must also record with pride the important role which thousands of Ghanaians have played at all levels and in all aspects of the scheme. As we move into the new phase of our development, we have every confidence that all Ghanaians who have worked on this scheme will bring to bear on the problems of our

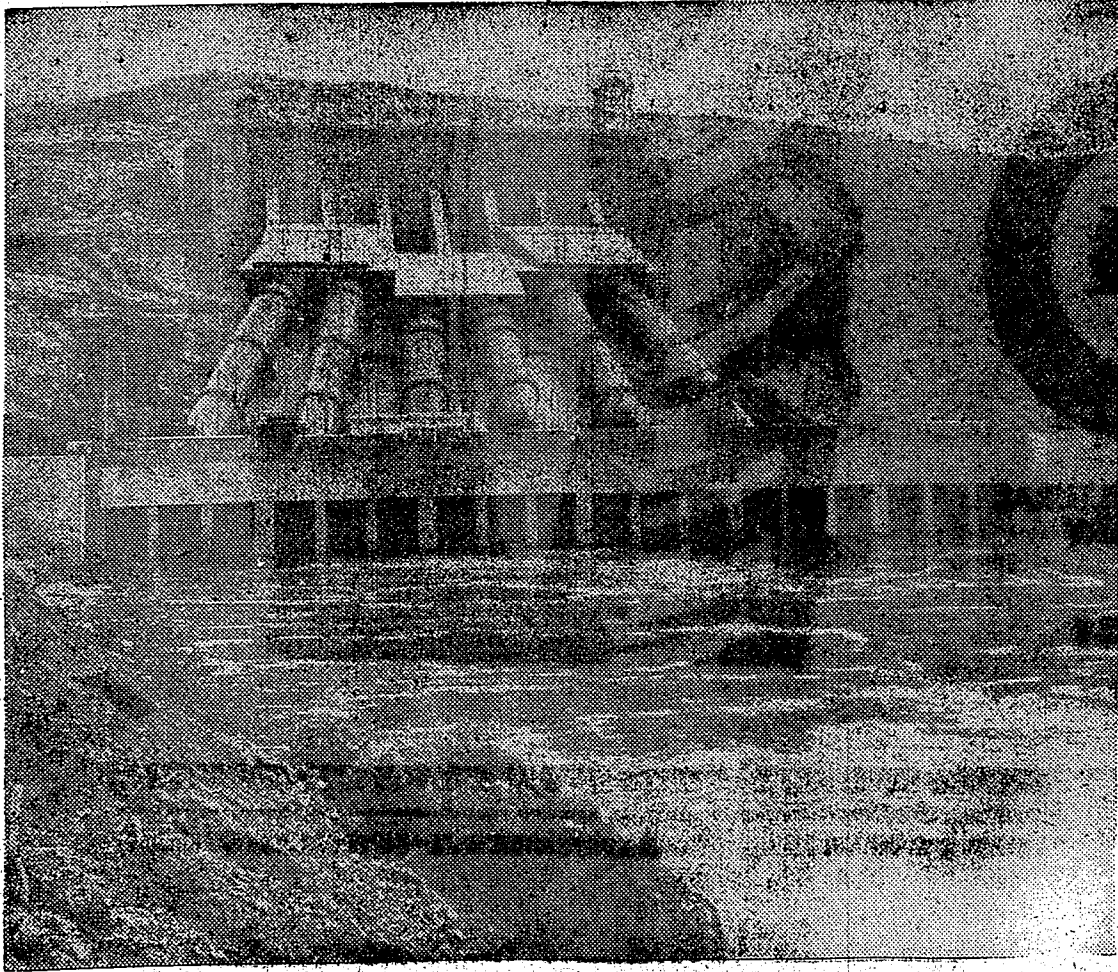
combined their strength and skill to build the Volta Dam. It was a magnificent and challenging job, and they have done it magnificently.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

The Volta River Project is a concrete symbol of the type of international co-operation which can, to quote my friend Edgar Kaiser, help to "forge world peace". It is perhaps the greatest tragedy of today's world that billions of dollars, rubles and pounds should be

Volta River Project. Let us dedicate it to Africa's progress and prosperity.

When, in a few moments, I turn the switch to shed the full radiance of Volta Power on this scene, may it symbolise not only a great achievement of Ghana, but let it also be a light leading us on to our destined and cherished goal—a Union Government for Africa. Only in this way, will Africa play its full part for the achievement of world peace and for the advancement of the happiness of mankind.



"... in all its majesty, strength and power the Akosombo Dam, 463 feet from the lowest foundations and twenty-two hundred feet long, which has tamed the turbulent waters of the Volta..."

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# Negro Oppression as a function of U.S. Capitalism

The Class confrontation in the Negro Freedom Struggle

by JAMES E. JACKSON

(Editor of the New York "Worker")

THE capitalist monopolists' domination of the country is characterised by the merciless exploitation of the working class, the ruination of the farmers and the savage oppression of the American Negro people.

Though only one-tenth of the nation's population, the Negro people supply over one-fourth of its working force.

It is a mark of their special oppression that the Negro people have been bound in the main to the bottom-most rungs of the ladder of social classes. They are the proletariat of all the peoples or ethnic groups who make up the population of the nation. About one-half of the number of white workers are engaged in occupations classified as white-collar jobs (that is, skilled workers, technicians and clerical workers) but only one-fifth of the Negroes are employed at jobs above the blue-collar (that is, unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers and service people) level.

Less than five per cent of the Negro people can be classified in middle class and professional employee categories. Among the small capitalists there is only the barest representation of Negroes and none are to be found in the higher rungs of big capitalists and monopolists.

## EXPLOITATION

In the total population the farmers are a small part of the working force—a about seven per cent. This ratio also holds true in respect to the Negro people where just eight per cent of the Negro working force are employed in various kinds of farm work.

The special racist character of the economic exploitation of the Negro people by monopoly is disclosed in the fact that Negroes are paid less than whites for equivalent work in every category of employment, from unskilled labourer to university-trained professional.

As the Negro-Americans have been ruthlessly exploited and robbed of their rightful share in the economy, so have they been deprived of their just share of social services educational and cultural opportunities.

Racist laws, discriminatory customs, and poverty have conspired to force the mass of Negro-Americans to dwell in the most depressed areas of the cities. The big city ghettos and rural slums are everywhere, North and South, the home communities of the Negro people.

They are segregated parts of the larger communities which are systematically cheated of their just share of housing, parks, street care, hospitals, schools, cultural centres, etc.

They are supplied only with an abundance of police by the local government authorities. The police who patrol the Negro sections and communities operate as defenders of property and the privileges of the "downtown" ruling class interest.

## INDICTMENT

They are committed to defence of the Establishment through subjecting the people of the slums to endless and brutal assaults upon their dignity, their lives and liberties with billy and pistol and arbitrary acts of arrest of innocents.

The greatest indictment against the social system of the U.S. monopolists is revealed in the fact that the Negro people have been deprived of the minimal political rights associated with the Constitutional guarantees of citizens and the basic criterion of democracy and human rights.

In the southern states even the elementary right-to-vote is still a cause to struggle for and not yet a universally won and exercised right of the Negro citizen.

Throughout the country, South and North, Negro-Americans are deprived of their rightful share of the political power, of fair rep-

resentation in government from the local to the national levels.

Along with the political, economic and social discrimination which express the fundamental nature of the oppression of the Negro people in the United States, Negro Americans also are confronted on every hand with the ideological assault upon their human dignity and self-esteem by the barbarous doctrine and practices of white supremacy, of racist prejudices and chauvinist arrogance.

It is such circumstances which characterise and define the conditions of the Negro people in the nation which have given rise to the modern movement for freedom and equality of the Negro people.

## FREEDOM

During the past decade especially, this movement has conducted wave after wave of heroic mass actions which have set millions of Negro Americans and white masses in motion in support of its goals.

The ceaseless struggles of the Negro people have attracted the active support of ever-larger sections of the rest of the nation.

Furthermore, world public opinion has rallied to the cause of the Negro Americans in battle for their just rights.

As a consequence, some declaratory measures have been won from the government which affirms the justice of the Negro people's demand for an end to the discrimination system, but the system remains as oppressive as ever.

In the present and developing phase of the Negro people's struggle for equal rights and freedom a new quality of emphasis must be placed on the question of the interaction and interdependence of this battle to the historic working class obligation to lead the entire nation in struggle to break through the barrier of the capitalist social system itself.

It becomes increasingly evident to the Negro freedom fighters that the real enemy is the business-dominated society which is structured primarily to serve the profit interest of the monopolists rather than satisfy the ever-expanding needs and requirements of the masses of the people.

Lenin noted that it was necessary to be mindful of the wide range of the correlations between the movement of the oppressed and the proletarian emancipation movement of the oppressing people; to help each in turn to identify its cause and goals with that of the other. He saw the convergence and mutual reinforcement of these two movements as essential for the victory of either.

## CONCEPT

This concept has special validity for our time and the struggle in our country; emphatically so, when we give consideration to the overwhelming working class composition of the Negro people.

In the period ahead the Negro freedom movement will increasingly develop a consciousness of the objective fact that the struggle for Negro equality and freedom is a specialised part of the working class struggle; that ultimately the Negroes' oppressive condition is perpetuated by the capitalist-monopolist class which is able to gain additional profit advantage from the super-exploitation of Negroes as a consequence of their deprivation of equal rights.

More and more clearly the Negro freedom movement will draw anti-monopolist conclusions from its struggle experiences.

The heavy proportion of working people to the total Negro population dictate such a course of development for the Negro freedom movement.

(The Negro Americans are 70 per cent urban, 85 per cent are of the working class, eight per cent are farmers and farm workers, five per cent

are of the middle class, only a fraction of one per cent are petty capitalists).

What is more, capitalism in the U.S. has historically victimised the Negro American, even as capitalist-imperialism victimised his ancestral kinsmen of the African continent.

From its earliest establishment in America, capitalism has been guilty of enriching its private fortunes out of the most savage robbery of the Negro people and the most ruthless exploitation of the labour power of the Negro working people both during the era of chattel slavery and throughout the span of the century since emancipation.

Capitalism instituted the dreadful system of human slavery to translate "the blood, toil and tears" of Negroes into personal profit and corporate capital and maintained it by terror and law and savage racist social customs for over 300 years.

The operation of the slave system in the U.S.A. then, like the discrimination system against Negroes now, were developments of capitalism and functions of this nefarious system of human exploitation for private profit-making.

Notwithstanding all the disabilities and oppression—the excluding and the denial, the segregation and the discrimination—the Negro people are an integral part of this American nation.

## AN AMERICAN

The Negro is an American and this United States is his native land.

Other than the Indians, all Americans have ancestral origins abroad. Negro American ancestors stemmed from Africa, from peoples who today are playing a great role in the world cause of emancipation from the bondage of colonialism and imperialism.

The struggle of the Negro people for integration in the economic, political and social affairs of the nation on the basis of full equality with all other Americans is a struggle to enlarge democracy in the entire nation.

Negro Americans of all classes are compelled to enter into the struggle against racial discrimination and its social consequences.

However, the fact that the Negro people are predominantly working class will increasingly influence the programme and goals of the Negro people's movement, the strategy and tactics of the struggle, as well as assuring the permanent nature of the alliance with the organised labour movement.

Indeed, labour and the Negro people are destined to march together in pursuit of a common future free of capitalist exploitation and capitalist racial oppression.

Because of the high working class composition of the Negro people and the strength of the Negro workers in key areas of the economy, the freedom struggle of the Negro people presents itself as a vital front of the anti-monopoly struggle.

## RIGHTS

It is geared into the tasks related to the fulfilment of the historic goal of the working class, that is, to effect the transformation of society from capitalist to socialist.

The freedom objectives of the Negro people directly benefit the working class and serve the democratic interest of the whole nation.

The Negro people's fight to eliminate political discrimination is, in essence, a struggle for genuinely representative government.

It entails full freedom to vote and to be voted for. The majority must be secured to exercise its right to the power in local political subdivisions—precincts, wards, countries, Congressional Districts, Assembly Districts, etc.

The minority must have the right to its just share of the power, to proportional representation at all levels of the three branches of government—the legislative, administrative and judicial as well as an equal share of the police authority.

## NO DISCRIMINATION

The struggle of the Negro people for full access to the political arena in the southern states and the northern ghettos is a struggle to oust the worst reactionaries, Dixiecrats, racists war-mongers, anti-labour servants of the monopolists from the Congress and from the state and local governing bodies and to place in public office genuine representatives of the people chosen by and from the Negro people, the labour movement and the progressive forces generally.

The struggle of the Negro people against economic discrimination is a major front in the real war against poverty.

It requires the trade union organisation of the unorganised especially in the factories and the fields of the South.

It necessitates the development of the economy in the South in particular and in the other areas of blight and poverty as well. The reconstruction of agriculture on a modern scientific basis and big expansion of industry in the southern region is needed.

The economic needs of the Negro people require a vast and country-wide programme to wipe out the shame of the slum of the metropolitan centres and rural areas and to erect in their stead unsegregated, open-occupancy, controlled low-rent and low-cost housing, recreations facilities and playgrounds and parks, as all necessary schools and hospital facilities.

Capital for the financing of such development programmes which are needed to reduce the accumulated discrimination gap in the economic status of the Negro people must be supplied by the government

out of the profit hoards of the monopolists and from the savings that would flow from a drastic reduction of the military appropriations.

To secure the scale of anti-poverty programme needed to wipe out the economic discrimination and social deprivation of Negro Americans is to make an assault upon the profit grabbing of the corporations and the trusts, is to enter into struggle against the economic and political pillars of monopoly capitalism itself.

## SOLUTION

Central to the solution of all problems that present themselves in the area of strategy and tactics for the Negro freedom movement is the necessity to identify the Negro people in terms of:

- 1 their relation to the nation as a whole, and
- 2 their relation to the working class (whose destiny is to lead the nation to a classless future).

In this regard—

- 1 Negroes are an integral part of the nation, though suffering special oppression and racial discrimination.
- 2 The number of Negro capi-

talists is minimal and none are big capitalists; the middle class category is a small percentage of the total; the mass of the Negro people is of the working class.

The approach to all policy questions, to all matters of the tactics and strategy in respect to the developing struggles of the Negro freedom movement must take into account the necessity that all policies and tactics need to correspond to both the immediate as well as long range interest of the basic numbers of the Negro people, that is, to its working majority.

During the past decade the young generation, especially, of the Negro people have gained a wide experience with the class nature of the capitalist State and how its police and court system defends its privilege and power.

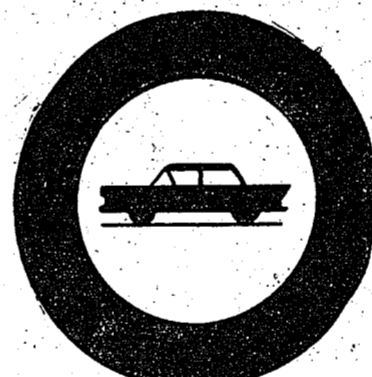
They have gained much experience in the matter of building organisations, cultivating unity, reaching out to forge alliances with a wide strata of white people.

They have, out of their experience, grown profoundly critical of the whole nature and structure of capitalist society. They seek a progressive alternative to capitalism.

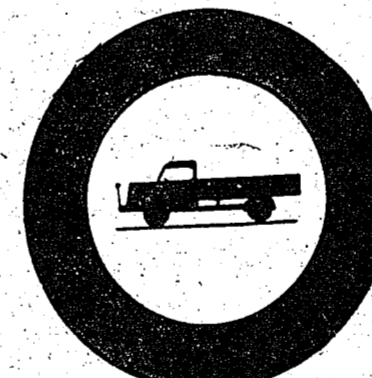
Now, as at no other time in its history, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has the opportunity and duty to disclose the socialist alternative to the young generation, to bring to the Negro militants the science of Marxism-Leninism to help illumine the way to lasting victory for the masses in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice.

## PNEUMANT

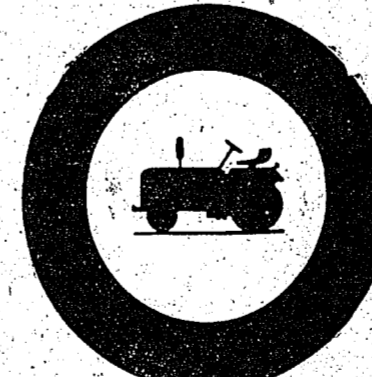
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# SPOTLIGHT ON GHANASO

by MODIBO OCRAN

(President of the Ghana National Students' Organisation)



member of the Permanent Secretariat; to the Cairo Seminar on the Palestinian Question; the Congress of Sierra Leonean and Nigerian Students.

We were also at the Conference of the Council of African Organisations (CAO) in London, and the Executive Committee meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

We maintain constant correspondence with friendly and progressive student organisations abroad, and have established close connection with the Pan-African Students' Movement (PASM) which helped to form in Nairobi in August, 1964.

We are embarking on a massive membership drive in the lower educational institutions this year.

These activities, of course, fall short of what we have been expecting to achieve.

We hope to do better this year. We hope to organise the 9th Congress of the International Union of Students in September, 1966.

The greater part of our defective position stems from the fact that (a) all our officers are also full-time students; and (b) that for so many reasons, we face catastrophic difficulties of finance.

It is hoped that with the blessing and help of our Leader, our Party and Government, GHANASO can in future more seriously engage in the struggle facing Ghana, help to solve the problems of our people, and thus prove beyond reasonable doubt that we are no longer ivory tower intellectuals.

If we students succeeded in doing this, we would have helped to build a dynamic society that would fit the new Africa and marry the intellectual indissolubly to his society.

In January 1965, the progressive students of our higher educational institutions performed euthanasia on the old reactionary National Union of Ghana Students (N.U.G.S.), already bedridden with a cancerous and tuberculous disease, laid it in a well-nailed coffin, buried it deep in the entrails of Mother Earth, and sang a Requiem Mass over it.

In its place, we formed the Ghana National Students Organisation (GHANASO), not only to fight for the welfare of students qua students, but also to encourage the political education of our members so that they can in future become reliable apostles of the new socialist order that we envisage in Ghana.

Article 2 of GHANASO's Constitution spells for itself:

**Aims and Objects:**

(i) To encourage the intellectual, political and moral education of members and to promote student welfare.

(ii) (a) To ensure the success of the economic, social and political development of Ghana within the context of a socialist Continental Union Government of Africa;

(b) To fight illiteracy, disease and hunger;

(c) To carry out relentlessly the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the maintenance of world peace.

(iii) To study together in commissions the problems that face Ghana and Africa in order to formulate aspirations, complaints, suggestions, proposals for action and to inform the public and draw the attention of the authorities.

Perhaps it is necessary to discuss the philosophy behind these aims and objects. In fact, our main quarrel with the N.U.G.S. was that it had adopted a wrong philosophy of action.

It had decided to stay aloof from the general problems of its society and to dabble in political lethargy or misinformed politicalism.

The philosophy of each student organisation, like social philosophy in general, is always related to the time, place and circumstances in which it is formed.

In the United States, and some other capitalist countries, the students do not understand the essence of struggle because they have become the comfortable beneficiaries or societies that have grown affluent, some of them by dint of hard work, but most of them through dubious means not unconnected with the past exploitation of other peoples.

Because of these conditions, the students' main concern is to promote student welfare and student point of view regarding student conditions without much regard for the over-all conditions of society.

In Latin America the students of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Paraguay, for example, understood very early that their fight had to be a political fight against military dictatorships, because they realised that the fight for university autonomy and freedom, was part of a larger struggle against dictatorial governments which denied freedom in general and other fundamental rights of their people.

The student organisations formed after the Second World War in India, Asia generally, and Africa, developed into instruments for mobilising students to fight against colonial rule and win freedom for their people. In the East European socialist countries, the student movement became the student wing of the people's army against poverty and exploitation.

And the objective conditions of present-day Ghana, Africa and the world generally do not confer on our students any warrant to concern themselves only with their books and their social amenities; the doctrine of the a-politicism of students is clearly out of place under these conditions.

What are these conditions?

We are living at a time when Ghana finds herself in the throes of a socialist revolution at home, with all the problems that this imports; we are living at a time when Africa faces five basic questions which need serious answers.

First, there is the problem of imperialism generally, second there is direct colonialism from which Angola and Mozambique are still suffering;

third, there is the problem of racialism by which a numerically infinitesimal number of Europeans who abandoned their own continent centuries ago, for reasons best known to themselves, seek to convert the southern part of Africa into a white man's bungalow, with the Africans acting as cleaners, garden boys and waiters. The ringleaders of this tendency are Verwoerd, the high priest of apartheid, and Ian Smith and his band of racist vandals;

fourth, there is neo-colonialism in certain so-called independent countries according to which practice the politics of the neo-colonialised countries is teleguided thousands of miles away for the simple reason that their leaders have mortgaged the liberty of their people for a mess of pottage;

fifthly, there are difficult problems faced by the few progressive leaders who seek to erect a socialist edifice over the ruins of a raw material producing system, but who face constant subversion from internal henchmen of world capitalism and economic and social pressures of the old established forces at home, as well as the calumny, plots and economic sabotage by the custodians of capitalist virtues and western values sitting in London, Bonn, Washington, and Paris, and where the enemies of socialism distort genuine difficulties in the balance of payments affecting consumer goods by saying that socialism means the absence of milk, corned beef and chocolate.

On the international scene, we are living in an epoch when Lyndon Johnson goes on

with the colonial enslavement of other peoples.

Then, of course, we are living in an epoch in which the black man is struggling for social recognition in the United States.

Now, if a student movement, caught up in the quagmire of a socialist revolution at home, entangled in a continental revolt against oppression, and involved in a global war against poverty, cannot be revolutionary, it has no right to exist, it has lost its *raison d'être*.

What we need is a student organisation whose world vision is a socialist Ghana playing her rightful role in a free and united Africa existing in a world without imperialism and neo-colonialism.

This does not by any means mean that GHANASO is obsessed with politics. We

Affairs, Three Vice-Presidents, The National Treasurer—all from Ghana—based institutions—and a representative each from Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Britain and Ireland, Asia, The Americas, North Africa, West Africa, and Central and Eastern Africa.

The members of the National Executive in Ghana are empowered to take decisions on their own when it is not possible for the entire Executive to meet.

The National Executive sets up electoral colleges in all full-member institutions for purposes of approving nominations in order to ensure that only socialist-minded students lead the organisation.

There is, therefore, a close link between the Party Branches and GHANASO. Efforts are, however, made to achieve broad student participation in GHANASO's activities.

Within our brief period of existence, we strove to translate our aims into practical activities.

We made a strong suggestion for the introduction of *Conscientism* as a compulsory subject for all first year students in our universities; we suggested orientation courses for university students, and lecturers alike, schoolmasters and principals, and other youth leaders during every long vacation.

We set up The Nkrumaist Forum and *The African Student* to encourage highly intellectual discussions among socialist-minded lecturers.

**THIS IS WHAT  
GHANA IS  
DOING**

applying, as in Santo Domingo, the provisions of the infamous Monroe Doctrine: when America is planning to escalate the horrid and indefensible war in Vietnam where the nationalists are inflicting on them heavy casualties which they dare not admit.

Above all, there is, first, a contradiction on one hand between a world which wants to maintain the domination of other people as we see in Aden, Saudi Arabia, and certain parts of Latin America and Africa, a world which believes in unbridled exploitation of others, and on the other hand, a world which constitutes the new emerging forces of socialism and national liberation.

There is, second, a contradiction between the "haves" and the "have-nots" between countries which suffer from an acute poverty which is not necessarily of their own creation, and other countries which have become comparatively wealthy, some of them by means easily connected

know we must definitely strive to improve student conditions with regards to facilities such as scholarships, books, vacation jobs, exchange programme, exams without fees etc.

We shall take up these issues with our Party and government, but always bearing in mind the interest of the entire Ghanaian society.

The aims, objects, philosophy of GHANASO, as explained above, as well as the exigencies of student life, have determined the structure of the Organisation. According to the new Constitution approved by the Second Annual Congress at Winneba in December, 1965, GHANASO has four organs:

The Annual Conference  
The National Executive  
The Branch Executive  
The Permanent Secretariat

The Secretariat, which has not yet been set up, will be in Accra, and will be manned by a permanent staff. The members of the National Executive will nevertheless, at least for the time being, continue to come from institutions inside and outside Accra.

Full membership now includes all students of Ghanaian universities and other institutions of similar standing, as well as all Ghanaians studying in overseas institutions of similar standing.

The aim is to make GHANASO truly national by embracing all Ghanaian students irrespective of their places of study, and to make all qualified Ghanaian students automatically members of GHANASO.

Associate members are students from Sixth Forms, Polytechnics, Training Colleges, and all other educational institutions not of the status of a higher institution.

The National Executive, which is elected at the Annual Conference, consists of The National President, The General Secretary, The Secretary for Political and International Affairs, The Secretary for Internal Affairs, The Secretary for Educational and Cultural



Ghanaian Students under their new leadership take action against policies in the Congo.

## Stop Wilson's "No Business Policy"

(Continued from page 1)

themselves, by Wilson.

After all the goings to and from Salisbury, what now emerges? A statement in the House of Commons from Wilson which is no move forward: precisely the purpose of the 'no-business meeting', at least for public consumption. The proposal repeats the "no deal with Smith" claim, suggests the Governor will establish an all Party Government, (the Rhodesian Front is not excluded from this) and suggests that independence should come at some future, unspecified date.

Again and again, Wilson has had the chance to show whether he genuinely wants to see an independent Zimbabwe. He has never yet declared his willingness to treat with the National Liberation Forces, although their representatives are easily accessible. He could immediately call into being a Conference of all those opposed to Smith and the Rhodesian Front and work for unity around a democratic constitution.

The 1961 Constitution is finished and no amount of amendments to it will be acceptable to the African people. The only way in which Wilson can now convince anyone that he wants independence and democratic rights for the African peoples is to stop talking about the future, "when Smith is gone", and take action now to get rid of Smith and his supporters, once and for all.

### ACTION

The London Observer, goes part of the way to recognise this when it says, 'it is important not to be misled by the willingness of Mr. Smith to negotiate, as reported by some of the British M.P.'s who recently visited Rhodesia. Mr. Smith is indeed willing to negotiate, but only on the basis that Mr. Wilson should recognise Rhodesia's U.D.I.' The paper then goes on to say that even with a "gradual but unimpeded transition to majority rule", there will be the need for "effective British military presence in the colony. The absence of such a presence led to the creation of the present crisis." This brings Mr. Wilson back to the beginning again.

### THE CONFERENCE

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in Lagos, overshadowed by subsequent events in Nigeria itself, proved the absolute correctness of the Ghana Government's refusal to be represented. Wilson did not listen to the Prime Ministers, he used them as a captive audience to hear his policy. Their presence merely gave him respectability and the futility of their going there revealed by the Beadle meeting only a week later, when deal is being discussed. President Nkrumah has

outlined the test we should apply. The principle governing that test is the necessity of majority, rule now in Rhodesia, with one man, one vote. Not all the 'no-business meetings', not all the conjuring tricks, will deflect the Zimbabwe peoples and their supporters from this vital principle. Those who do not adhere to it, must be counted as against democracy, as for imperialism and its racist consequences.

We say to Wilson that if he wants to patch up the tattered remnants of his standing with Africa and with all who want to see Zimbabwe really free, he must take direct military action with the African states against the rebel government. He must immediately discuss a democratic constitution for independence to be applied now.

Unless this is done a Congo type disaster hangs over Rhodesia. Already the racists are threatening scorched earth policies. Every day they are in office they grow stronger, cutting off the leadership of the Zimbabwe liberation movement in the most savage way, and building up stronger links with South Africa and Portugal. Delay means lives lost. Wilson, his Government, and all who assist him, his manoeuvring are responsible.

# Wilson's retreat in the face of U.D.I

by IDRIS COX  
(A British writer on African Affairs)

WHEN Mr. Harold Wilson was Leader of the Opposition he was most forthright in condemning the Tories for their failure to strive for "an agreed Commonwealth solution" to the problem of Rhodesia.

This is what he told the Commons over two years ago: "We have said that no constitution is defensible which fails to allow the people of those territories to control their own destinies. We have bitterly attacked the Southern Rhodesian Constitution for that, and a Labour Government would therefore alter it—we've made that very, very plain." (March, 1963.)

## NEW CONSTITUTION

In its autumn session that year the United Nations had demanded the suspension of the 1961 Constitution, and a new constitution based on African majority rule. Mr. Wilson then challenged Sir Alec Douglas-Home, in the Commons in these words: "Now we must ask the

Prime Minister to be utterly unequivocal about this demand he has received. Already our good name has been besmirched by our handling of the Central African question. Too much is at stake for Britain's standing in Africa, in the United Nations and in the world for him to evade this issue. Will he give a clear and specific assurance that H. M. Government will not concede independence to Southern Rhodesia until a new constitution is in force which accepts, as the present constitution rejects, the principles of democratic government? In view of the admitted inability of the Government to solve this problem... will he tell us that he will convene a Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference for the purpose of an agreed Commonwealth solution to this problem?" (November, 1963.)

Eight months later Sir Alec did convene a conference of Commonwealth Premiers, talked a great deal about "African advancement", but refused to move an inch towards a solu-

tion in Southern Rhodesia. But he was forced to include in the final conference report the overwhelming demand of the Commonwealth Premiers (which he promised to consider) that:

- (1) all African political prisoners be released;
- (2) the suspension of the 1961 Constitution;
- (3) a new constitution based on African majority rule.

This was in July 1964. Three months later came the General Election, as a result of which Mr. Harold Wilson became Prime Minister. One of his first declarations was against U.D.I. in Southern Rhodesia, with a strong warning that Britain would apply sanctions in this event.

In June 1965 there was another conference of Commonwealth Premiers, but Mr. Wilson refused to go any fur-

ther than the Tories towards a solution for Southern Rhodesia.

Again the Commonwealth Premiers urged the principle of "one man, one vote", the release of African prisoners, the suspension of the 1961 Constitution, and a new constitution based on majority rule. They insisted that a new constitutional conference for this purpose be held within three months, before the end of September.

In the House of Commons on June 29, Mr. Wilson reported on his discussions with Mr. Smith, and declared that: "... if these discussions did not develop satisfactorily in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government would be ready to consider promoting a constitutional conference in order to ensure progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia

as a whole." (Hansard, 29.6.65.)

The discussions were not "satisfactory", but Mr. Wilson did nothing to convene a new constitutional conference. On the contrary, far from suspending the 1961 Constitution Mr. Wilson had already committed himself to the acceptance of this constitution as the basis for independence.

## DISCUSSIONS

This is made clear in the recent Government *Blue Book* on the discussions between Mr. Smith and the British Government between November 1963 and November 1965. In a letter from Mr. Wilson to Mr. Smith, dated March 29, 1965, Mr. Wilson makes clear:

"What the British Government wish to see is a peaceful transition to majority rule, the principle of which

is enshrined in the 1961 Constitution." (*Blue Book*, p. 59.)

There's not a word of truth in this claim that the 1961 Constitution "enshrines" the principle of independence under majority rule. The majority of Africans are not eligible to become electors, and even if they were, under the constitution they could get only 15 seats against 50 for the white settlers.

Mr. Smith also accepts the 1961 Constitution, but has repeatedly stated on several occasions his opposition to majority rule before independence, as in this letter to Mr. Wilson:

"Since it is our determination not to accept independence under majority rule, the conclusion should be obvious." (October 18, *Blue Book* p. 97.)

## CLEAR WARNING

This was a clear warning that Mr. Smith was on the brink of declaring independence for the white minority. Instead of standing up to this challenge Mr. Wilson flew to Southern Rhodesia for further talks with Mr. Smith, in the course of which:

"He reminded the Rhodesian Cabinet this was the first occasion in modern history on which the United Kingdom Government had been prepared to contemplate the grant of independence on a basis of less than majority rule." (October 29, *Blue Book*, p. 124.)

Once again Mr. Wilson had retreated. It was no longer "majority rule before independence" but "guaranteed an unimpeded progress to majority rule" (Wilson broadcast, October 12). In other words, it was independence before majority rule.

## "STATE OF EMERGENCY"

So Mr. Smith was quite confident he had Mr. Wilson on the run! The plans had already been made to declare U.D.I., and a few days later Mr. Smith declared a "State of Emergency" in Southern Rhodesia to crush any opposition to this plan. On November 11 Mr. Smith declared "independence".

In face of this open defiance what steps has Mr. Wilson taken? The Labour Government has imposed limited sanctions. These do not worry Mr. Smith. Even the *Financial Times* had to point out that:

"The British Government has not taken those steps which might have produced immediate and drastic results—it has not completely frozen Rhodesia's London

balances, nor interfered with the supply of oil, [written before the British Government was obliged to impose oil sanctions.—Ed.] nor imposed a general ban on exports." (*Financial Times*, 13.11.65.)

## RESTRICTION

in trying to frighten Mr. Smith during the talks in Salisbury Mr. Wilson told him:

"In particular, it might not take long for a restriction of oil supplies to inflict serious damage on the economy." (*Blue Book*, p. 114.)

But after Mr. Smith declared U.D.I. Mr. Wilson has done his best to argue against oil sanctions. Even after the U.N. resolution on November 20 calling for sanctions it is argued it would take a long time to have "consultations" with other countries.

Equally, Mr. Wilson is opposed to the use of military force except against "subversion" and a threat to "law and order". Since the Africans in Southern Rhodesia have no alternative to engage in "subversion" and to destroy the "law and order" enforced by Mr. Smith does this mean that Mr. Wilson is only prepared to use military force against the Africans?

From all this it seems clear that Mr. Wilson has not the slightest intention of taking effective steps to ensure African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. Sanctions are limited to preserve "national unity" with the Tories. United Nations resolutions are ignored, as they were by the Tories.

Mr. Wilson has nightmares about the prospect of the "Red Army in Blue berets" becoming part of a U.N. force in Rhodesia. In all his talks in Salisbury it was Mr. Wilson who emphasized that:

"... he fully shared Mr. Smith's desire to counter Communist influence in Africa." (October 29, *Blue Book*, p. 115.)

Even after U.D.I. Mr. Wilson made clear next day in the Commons that on the proposed "Royal Commission" to recommend how to consult the people of Southern Rhodesia, he had conceded everything to Mr. Smith:

## PROPOSAL

"On the last outstanding point which held up agreement... we made a proposal to the Rhodesian Government which would fully meet every demand they made." (*Hansard*, 12.11.65.)

This is how the "brave and courageous" Mr. Wilson has given in to the fascist dictators in Southern Rhodesia. (*With acknowledgements to "Comment" a weekly review published by the British Communist Party*)

# Finance for Independent Development

by a Special Correspondent

HOW to solve the problem of amassing funds in building an independent national economy is a question of great significance. The experience of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in solving this problem shows that it was indispensable to mobilize all internal reserves and potentialities, while steadily expanding accumulation and making a rational use of the funds procured.

Up to August, 1945, Korea remained a colonial, semi-feudal society subjected to Japanese oppression. Hence, in order to build an independent national economy through the maximum mobilization of its internal reserves, North Korea had to liquidate the economic foundation of the colonialists and the feudal relations of production in the countryside by using the people's state power as a weapon and establish new relations of production.

This constituted not only an indispensable condition for liquidating the reactionary forces, consolidating the people's state power and giving full play to the creative wisdom of the masses of the working people, thereby opening up a wide avenue for the development of the productive forces, but also a prerequisite to solving the question of funds through the maximum mobilization of all internal reserves.

In Korea, agriculture, backward and fragmented as a result of the colonial plunder of Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century, constituted the main part of its economy, and the peasants made up the overwhelming majority of its population.

Hence it posed a question of particular importance to carry out land reform, confiscating the landlords' land and distributing it among the tillers without compensation.

## LAND REFORM

The implementation of land reform made it possible to purge the country of the landlord class, the prop of Japanese colonial rule and the most vicious reactionary class in Korea, to consolidate the people's power, and to promote the development of agricultural productive forces; it also played an important part in laying the foundation of an independent industry.

Particularly, North Korea, which had an extremely distorted and backward industry inherited from Japanese rule had no alternative but to turn

for a certain period of time to agriculture for the funds needed in laying the foundation of an independent industry.

Along with the land reform, nationalisation of industry, transport, communications, banks, commerce, and trading organizations belonging to the foreign imperialists was of weighty politico-economic importance.

## COLONIAL RULE

In the days of Japanese colonial rule, 93 per cent of the total capital in Korea belonged to the Japanese, 2 per cent to the other foreigners and the remaining 5 per cent to the Koreans.

Such being the case, it was impossible for the Koreans to consolidate the people's state power and build an independent national economy so long as the aftermath of the imperialist sway over Korea's economic life-lines was not eliminated.

The nationalisation of industry enabled the state to seize the key branches of the national economy (over 90 per cent of industry), develop the national economy in a planned way, and concentrate in the possession of the state, the profits and capital which used to fall into the hands of the Japanese imperialists and the comprador capitalists in league with them.

Besides, North Korea, after putting an end to Japan's colonial system of finances and credit, established the independent financial and credit systems including the popular tax and the nation's monetary system.

This enabled it to secure funds for economic construction in a rational and planned way, to get rid of the foreign imperialist domination finances and to pursue independent financial and banking policies.

Under the conditions in which nationalised industrial enterprises still could not work at their full capacity, the colonial lop-sidedness of industry was not eliminated completely and the foundation of light industry was weak, the state actively mobilized and utilized the funds and techniques of

the national capitalists, private traders and entrepreneurs by encouraging their creative activities.

The anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic reforms mentioned above were carried out in 1946, thus preparing the ground for building an independent national economy. The construction of an independent national economy in North Korea started on a full scale after the war (1953).

Under the conditions where the country was severely destroyed and the people's life deteriorated by the war, to build an independent national economy was quite a hard task for the people of North Korea. Particularly difficult was the question of how to raise such a colossal sum of funds needed.

In this connection, mention must be made of the basic line of economic construction—a line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture.

In North Korea priority has been given to the growth of heavy industry since the post-war period of rehabilitation. However, this does not mean that it has developed all the branches of heavy industry simultaneously, but developed it laying the main stress on those branches closely connected with light industry and agriculture, that is, with the people's livelihood.

## DEVELOPMENT

This made it possible for the state to ensure priority to the development of heavy industry with limited funds, improve the war-deteriorated life of the people and, at the same time, create the source of funds through the rapid development of light industry and agriculture.

Along with this, measures were taken to mobilize internal reserves to a maximum by relying on the great creative enthusiasm of the people mounting after the war. In the most difficult postwar period, the people of North Korea worked under the slogan, "For the maximum increase in production and the maximum economy".

Premier Kim Il Sung and

other leaders of the state personally visited factories, enterprises and co-operative farms, informing the working people of the hard situation in which the country was placed, and discussing with them to find ways and means to overcome the difficulties.

The working people who came to realize the country's situation set about exploring reserves to overcome a series of difficulties by unfolding a mass movement for increased production.

The country placed faith in the strength of the people, the makers of history, relied on them and organized and mobilized them to overcome the hardships.

## MORE GOODS

This brought forth tremendous strength. As an illustration of this, we may cite the policy of the simultaneous development of centrally-controlled and local industries and a mass movement such as the "machine-tool multiplying movement".

As their monetary incomes increased with the rapid development of the national economy, the working people came to demand more and more consumer goods. And the basic line of economic construction called for a speedy growth of light industry along with heavy industry. Nevertheless, investment in heavy industry could not be reduced in order to develop light industry.

Under these circumstances, it was decided to build more than one local industry factory in each city and county through a nation-wide movement.

The decision brought about a great upsurge in the production of consumer goods and mobilization of internal reserves. Thus in a matter of only a few months, more than 1,000 local industry factories were built all over the country by using the materials and manpower latent in the localities without additional state investment, with the result that today every city and county has more than ten local industry factories.

In 1963, the local industry occupied 37.8 per cent of the total value of industrial out-

put and 59 per cent of the output value of consumer goods.

Taking the capital investment made in the field of industry as a whole, the investment in heavy industry increased from 81.1 per cent during the Three-Year Plan (1954-1956) to 82.6 per cent during the Five-Year Plan (1957-1961), whereas the investment in light industry was reduced from 18.9 per cent to 17.4 per cent during the same period.

This notwithstanding that the average annual rate of growth in the production of means of production and in consumer goods were 5.4 per cent and 28 per cent respectively during the Three-Year Plan period, the corresponding figures during the Five-Year Plan period being 37.7 and 34.9 per cent.

In other words, the marked growth of local industry made it possible to produce a considerable portion of consumer goods through its extended production without additional state investment.

The same is true of the "machine-tool multiplying movement". The rapid development of industry demanded more and more machines. But at that time there was a big gap between the country's demand for machine tools and its production capacity.

## INVESTMENT

To solve this problem without building new machine-tool factories with additional state investment, the country called upon all existing machine-tool factories to raise their capacities and upon all other factories and enterprises which had machine tools to develop a machine-tool multiplying movement.

And this mass movement resulted in the production of more than 13,000 machine tools over and above the state plan in a little over one year.

Such measures commensurate with each stage of the socio-economic development plus the patriotic enthusiasm of the working people made it possible to mobilize internal reserves to a maximum and fully secure the necessary funds for the construction of an independent national economy.

The steady increase in accumulation also constitutes one of the important means to solve the problem of funds. The major source of accumulation lies in the rapid growth of production, high productivity of labour in all branches of the national economy, reduction in costs of