

IN THIS ISSUE

PAT SLOAN, A
REGULAR SPARK
CONTRIBUTOR,
CALLS ON THE
ANTI-IMPERIALISTS
TO UNITE
See Page 5

THE SPARK



WESLEYAN
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
JUN 10 1965

Notes of the Week 2

- What Free Education means to Ghana, Ready to Co-operate on Equal Terms ... 3
- Cuba's Young People Reorganise ... 4
- U.S. Diplomats Plan New Offensive Against Accra Summit ... 6

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 129 2d.

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

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1965

O.C.A.M cannot turn

EDITORIAL

New Parliament

THE fact that the 198 candidates nominated by the Convention People's Party were returned unopposed demonstrates the nation's unity behind the Party's policy of building Socialism at home and striving for African unity and peace abroad.

The new Parliament, the second in the history of our Republic, will be the first to be convened since our people voted overwhelmingly to adopt the one-party system.

It must be a Parliament of a new type—not a talking shop, but a Parliament which will play a vanguard role in Ghana's advance along the road to Socialism.

* * *

Likewise its Members must be M.P.s of a new type, men and women with no interests other than those of the people, men and women dedicated to the cause of building a better life for our people.

Socialism can only be built by Socialists. It cannot be built by demagogues, or by those who engage in passbook speculation, influence peddling or any other form of sharp practice designed to line their own pockets at the expense of those whose labour is the source of the nation's wealth.

There must be no place for such as these in our new Parliament. This has in part been ensured by the rule that the new Members must have a regular job, and thus make their own material contribution to our progress, and by the power of recall vested in the Party's Central Committee.

But these organisational, administrative measures, admirable in themselves, are not enough. Only a vigilant and politically aware people, and in the first instance a vigilant and politically aware working class, can ensure that our advance to Socialism on every front—economic, political, social, ideological—is not obstructed or diverted but accelerated.

* * *

"We are determined to proceed rapidly to build a strong economy in order to support and maintain our political independence. Our aim is to ensure that all persons living in Ghana shall have adequate means to provide themselves with enough food to eat, clothing to wear, a house to live in and free education for their children and dependents," Kwame Nkrumah has declared.

"They shall also", he went on, "have access to free medical treatment. Furthermore it is our aim to ensure that every citizen of Ghana will have full social security throughout his working life and will enjoy a pension on retirement from active work. All our Socialist policies have been geared to this end."

This is the programme for which all Ghanaians have this week demonstrated their support.

During the coming months and years they must ensure that those whom they elect are indeed playing their full part in its implementation.

* * *

Through their Party organisations and through their mass organisations such as the trade unions they must themselves work to rid our society of the careerism, the bureaucracy, the speculation, the corruption that can sap the vitality of our advance.

And now we must all, each at his post, work to build our new society. Factory worker, transport worker, farmer, teacher, builder, office worker—

WHEN O.C.A.M. was formed on February 13th of this year there were perhaps those who doubted whether Ghana's strong protests were really justifiable. But the presence of M. Rothschild, finance capitalist and financial adviser to the Belgian Foreign Ministry, might well have put anyone on his guard.

With such a midwife the offspring would almost cer-



President Hamani Diori.
"If enough mud is flung, some may stick..."

tainly turn out to be a monster. After M. Rothschild had officiated over the labour of bringing forth O.C.A.M. Mr. 'Soapy' Mennen Williams, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State rushed over to Africa to be present at the outdoor- ing. As we know Mennen Williams is responsible for advancing U.S. interests in Africa.

It was not abstract and dogmatic theorising which led Ghana to express alarm at the formation of this Organisation. Experience has already shown the danger of such divisions.

The success of the Addis Ababa meeting which formed the Organisation of African Unity came precisely because it put an end to the division of African states into two sepa-

each of us has his or her honourable part to play in the building of a new Ghana.

Work is the father of all wealth, and we are working to create a society in which that wealth shall be used not to enrich a few but for the benefit of all.

We must work too to increase our understanding of the principles of scientific Socialism. Only in this way can we eradicate the hangovers of colonialism in the minds of men and ensure our continued advance to Socialism.

Our country has entered a new stage in its development. It will be of historic significance not only for Ghana but also for the whole of Africa.

SERVANT OF THREE MASTERS

From Spark Correspondent

rate blocs. The Charter signalled a new, important development in Africa's struggle to be free because it drew together the state power of independent African states to work for a future, free of imperialism, free of foreign domination and free to play a full role in the search for world peace and prosperity.

INSTIGATION

We have always urged the need for unity, not for its own sake, not for the love of abstractions, but because we know that the full liberation of this continent of Africa will need the combined strength of every African state.

Our social and economic co-operation, too, is necessary to rid our peoples of poverty, disease and illiteracy. Our co-operation in the international sphere can assist the ending of the Cold War and help to create a world free from fear.

Our experience had already shown that where different groups of African states were called into being, the opportunity was created for imperialist interests to take up their old game of "divide and rule", playing off one group against another, diverting them from their essential, immediate anti-imperialist tasks which call for maximum unity.

This is why we expressed our opposition and our fears in February.

Our predictions have turned out to be all too true. It has become evident that the underlying aim of the Community is not for economic co-operation but is directed against the political aims of the Organisation of African Unity.

Of course, the statesmen responsible for this shameful splitting operation will not

openly come out and launch a head-on attack on the O.A.U. itself. Even the United States, which fears the strength and opposes the political, anti-imperialist objectives of O.A.U., has not had the guts to attack openly.

A more devious technique has been used. The strategy is to smash O.A.U.; the tactic is to achieve it by trying to isolate one of its most loyal and vigorous supporters, Ghana. By means of attacks and counter-attacks they hope to split the O.A.U. and render it ineffective, rent apart by internal strife.

ALLEGATIONS

Ghana has played a vanguard role in the O.A.U. striving to make it fully effective; so she has become the first, immediate target.

The absurd charge made in February that Ghana was harbouring refugees and encouraging subversion was followed up with allegations of complicity in the attempt on the life of President Diori of Niger.

On the well-known principle that if enough mud is flung, some may stick, they screamed their accusations aloud for the whole world to hear, repeating and reiterating them to anyone who would listen.



President Houphouët-Boigny.
"one of the travelling circus..."

To consolidate the propaganda campaign they then sent off the Presidential roving circus of Yameogo, Diori and Houphouët-Boigny to visit

other African states, and drop the poison, more officially into the ears of our brothers.

As a sign of "big brothers" approval, Yameogo visited the United States. Miles of red carpet were unrolled, the treatment full was laid on. Mr. Yameogo, was only paying for his hospitality when he obliged his hosts with an attack on the Government and people of the People's Republic of China. Thus he played his part in trying to involve Africa in the Cold War, stirring up hatred and suspicion. The voice was the voice of Yameogo, the words were the words of Johnson.

With the decision to hold a Summit meeting of O.A.U. in Accra this year, the two aims of trying to isolate Ghana and prevent a Summit meeting, coincided. Now O.C.A.M. members are declaring that they cannot attend the Summit if it is held in Accra. Having thrown in the apple of discord, they are now waiting and hoping for someone else to pick it up.

U.S. IMPERIALISM

In a third sphere, O.C.A.M. is assisting American imperialism. Not only are they attacking O.A.U., not only joining in America's cold war and anti-socialist chorus, but they are trying to carry through a colossal whitewashing job.

They have been charged with the task of making Mr. Tshombe respectable, of presenting him as the "legal" Prime Minister. Congo (Leopoldville) has been admitted to membership of O.C.A.M. and they hope to smuggle him into O.A.U. One of the most determined opponents of such a move is Ghana.

The Americans are embarrassed by Mr. Tshombe's isolation and if he cannot be made acceptable, they may have to find another stooge but they fear the dangers of switching when the Congo National Liberation Front is growing in strength and significance. O.C.A.M. has been given the task of saving them from these obvious risks.

Three short months have been sufficient to prove what we already knew; that at the instigation of United States imperialism O.C.A.M. has been created with the specific object of creating tension, confusion and division.

The attacks on Ghana are an indirect tribute to her militant, unswerving anti-imperialist role in Africa, but they damage the very future of the African continent.

INSTABILITY

We are sure that O.C.A.M. will collapse in ignominious failure. It is inherently unstable. Already at its second gathering four states failed to show up.

But it is unstable also because it will be unable to reconcile the conflicting claims of three rival imperialisms—France, Belgium, and the United States. How will they be



President Maurice Yameogo.
"Voice was his, but words were Johnson's..."

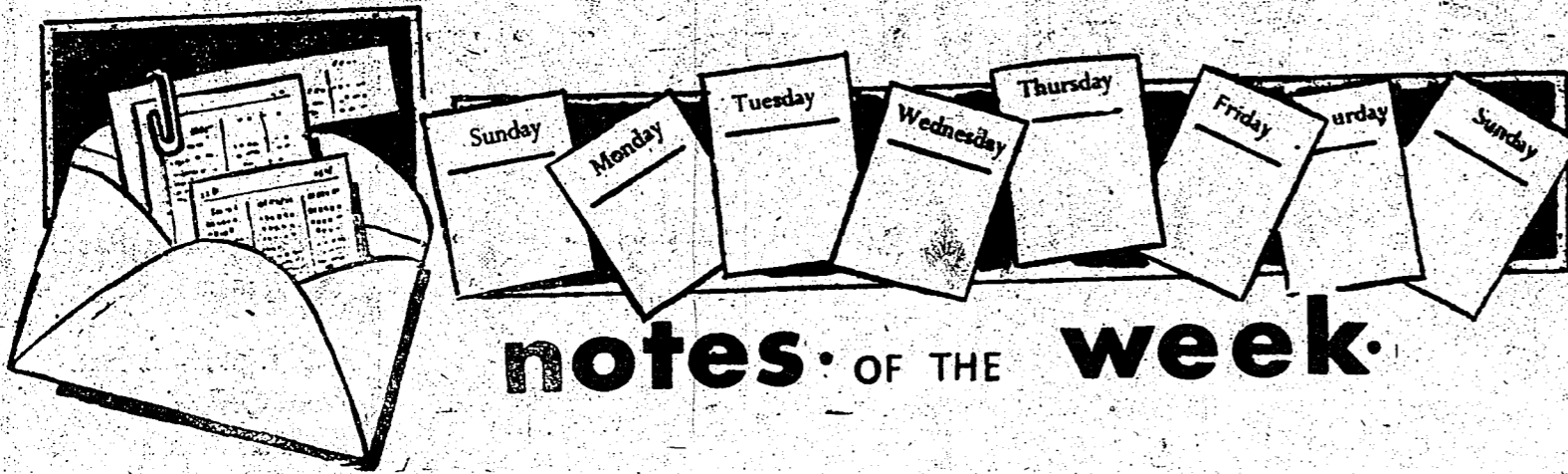
able to act on Mennen Williams' behalf to take steps against de Gaulle's attack on the dollar, or against S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O.? How will they be able to serve M. Rothschild while serving the American bankers?

Above all, how will the leaders of O.C.A.M. be able to serve imperialism and still lead their peoples? Already their screams of "subversion" betray their panic at growing opposition within their own states.

FRUSTRATION

Their shameful betrayal of the independence of their own peoples and their willingness to endanger the independence of other African states arouses the bitterest opposition. They are trying fruitlessly, to turn back the clock, to betray all the lessons of our national struggles. They will stand exposed in the eyes of the world as despicable and treacherous. The people will reject them and frustrate the designs of their patrons.

imperfect in original



notes OF THE week.

TWO hundred British Coldstream Guards have been flown from Aden to the latest of British imperialism's "trouble spots". This time it is Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean 550 miles East of Madagascar with a population of just under three-quarters of a million.

British spokesmen justified the dispatch of troops by pleading that there was racial tension in the island—a classic example of the colonialist "divide and rule" tactic: fan racial differences and then use their existence as a pretext for staying.

What in fact is happening in Mauritius is that the majority Labour Party and the more left-wing Independent Forward Bloc want independence, while the minority right-wing Parti Mauricien wants integration with Britain because it fears that independence will lead to the nationalisation of the sugar estates owned by a few wealthy French families.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach Mauritius in 1511, but they never established a colony on the island. The Dutch visited the island in 1598 and it was they who gave it the name by which it is now known.

But not till 1638 did they establish a colony, which they had to abandon in 1710. The French claimed it five years later and set up a colony in 1721 until they in their turn were driven out by the British in 1810.

A British garrison stayed for the next 150 years—and when it left was careful to hand over to a specially formed internal security force.

It was the British who introduced sugar, which now takes up 213,000 of the island's 230,000 cultivable acres, and

in characteristic colonial style made the island's economy totally dependent on this one crop which accounts for 96 per cent of export values.

Seventy per cent of the land is held by sugar companies and private estates, and the majority of the population are Indians whose ancestors were imported to work in the sugar fields.

There is no industry, and the unemployed include 26,000 youths who have never held a job of any kind.

The British Governor and the wealthy few have the island so well organised that names may not be printed in press reports of court cases involving people above a certain income level.

British Colonial Secretary Mr. Anthony Greenwood visited the island last month for talks on its future, and plans a constitutional conference in September.

In the 1963 elections the Labour Party won 19 out of the 40 seats, the Parti Mauricien only 10. In the words of the London *New Statesman* (21.5.65) "clearly the present violence assists the Parti Mauricien. So long as tension continues Britain must at least withhold independence."

What we are witnessing is a repetition of what happened in British Guiana, Cyprus and numerous other colonial territories: the deliberate incitement of communal hostility so that the colonial power may remain on the pretext of "protecting" the minority.

Britain and the United States are known to be seeking new bases in the Indian Ocean for use against the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa; this is no doubt a factor in Britain's unwillingness to concede the independence demanded by the majority of the population of Mauritius.

1,390 individual communications plus petitions bearing another 500 signatures protesting at the continuation of the war, and only sixteen communications advocating that it go on.

Meanwhile, Walt Rostow and Henry Cabot Lodge, whom the New York *National Guardian* called "two travel-

ling salesmen for Johnson's policy", were getting a hostile reception abroad.

Lodge was picketed in New Zealand and the Philippines. In Japan Rostow had speaking engagements at universities cancelled and was picketed in Tokyo, while Japanese seamen refused to man U.S. ships bound for Vietnam.

New Axis?

THE West German Chancellor, Dr. Ludwig Erhardt, is due back in Bonn today after a four-day visit to Washington. The visit marks a new stage in the emergence of a Washington-Bonn Axis. It has long been clear that Washington sees revenge-seeking West Germany as a more reliable cold-war ally than France or even Britain.

Bonn already has the largest N.A.T.O. Army in Europe, and was quick to voice support for the American plan for the creation of a Multilateral Nuclear Force, offering to foot 40 per cent of the bill and provide 40 per cent of the crews.

Dr. Erhardt's visit significantly coincided with an announcement in Paris that France will not take part in next year's N.A.T.O. military exercise code-named "Fallex", the latest in a series of French moves which have brought the differences between Washington and Paris right out into the open.

France last month withdrew from the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation manoeuvres in the South China Seas, and sent only an observer to the S.E.A.T.O. conference in London instead of Foreign Minister Couve de Murville.

She is known to be opposed to American policy in Vietnam, and Dr. Erhardt's visit likewise coincided with reports that the U.S. Secretary of State had rebuffed France for criticising U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.

In contrast to Bonn, France

wants no part of any Multilateral Nuclear Force, and she blocked British entry into the Common Market, seeing Britain as America's Trojan Horse in Europe.

Finally, France has recognised the People's Republic of China and is waging a spirited offensive against the domination of world currency markets by the American dollar.

The widening rifts between Washington and Paris reflect the contradictions between rival imperialisms. There is no doubt that they are leading to an erosion of N.A.T.O., the Western military bloc which has since 1948 played a key role in the maintenance of neo-colonialist power in Africa.

It has also consistently blocked any moves towards a relaxation of tension in Europe, such as proposals for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, and for a non-aggression pact with the Warsaw Pact Organisation of the Socialist countries as a first step towards the dissolution of all military blocs.

U.S.-West German collaboration is already close, but especially at the military level, with the U.S. supplying West Germany with weapons including missiles which could if need be carry nuclear weapons. The two countries are also co-operating on joint weapons development projects.

This collaboration, between aggressive U.S. imperialism and trustful West German monopoly capitalism (West Germany is the only country demanding a revision of Europe's postwar frontiers) bodes ill for peace in Europe and the world.

Timely Warning

FROM Kenya's Vice-President, Mr. Oginga Odinga, comes a timely warning. "Although Kenya is independent, the imperialists are still busy sowing their sinister designs among their population", he told a mass meeting at Kisumu (West Kenya) this week.

"The imperialists continue to work hard in dividing the and giving advice on be leaders. The use weak political ends.

primary aim is to sow hostility between the countries in the area. Mr. Odinga has served notice that such efforts to divide the freedom movement and hold up Africa's advance are doomed to failure.

he would like to overthrow President Kenyatta's Government in which he is Vice-President that "I am the person who fought for Kenyatta's release from prison when most of these leaders could hardly dare mention his name.

"If I wanted to lead I would have taken the leadership at that time. It is therefore nonsense to say such things."

There have in recent months been indications that the enemies of African freedom and progress have been stepping up their efforts to spread dissension within individual East African countries, and also to sow hostility between the countries in the area.

Mr. Odinga has served notice that such efforts to divide the freedom movement and hold up Africa's advance are doomed to failure.



24th MAY: GHANA: Nigeria High Commissioner in Ghana has said at Tamale that Nigeria would be fully represented at the September Summit of the Organisation of African Unity.

* Mr. K. B. Aidoo, director of the United Nations and International Organisation Department has called on independent African States to support and co-operate with the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa.

LIBYA: The Prime Minister of Libya Mr. Hussein Mazgh, has told the Libyan Parliament in Boldi, that the first stage of British troops withdrawal from Libya would start before next March.

S. RHODESIA: The racist Rhodesian settlers spokesman Ian Smith has said that the white settler electorate had given his regime the green light in the general elections and that it is now up to the settlers to see whether they could fulfil the election promises.

ZAMBIA: Members of the United Nations 24-nation special Committee on colonialism have arrived in Lusaka today to begin their one month visit to Africa.

TANZANIA: The Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-Lai is to pay an official visit to Tanzania early next month. Radio Tanzania has announced.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE) With 41 results more to be declared in the Congo Leopoldville's so-called elections which were boycotted in Leopoldville city and in many areas. Moïse Tshombe has already secured a clear majority.

25th MAY: GHANA: A five man delegation led by Mr. Davidson Bocheley, Vice-President of the Lumumba National Congolese Movement has left for Congo-Brazzaville after attending the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity conference at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute.

* Today is African Liberation Day, and in Accra capital of Ghana, several Party members and workers are taking part in a procession from the office of the Bureau of African Affairs to the Young Pioneers Centre where a mass rally is being held.

SOUTH AFRICA: Thirteen Africans have been sentenced to a total of 93 years imprisonment in Pletzemartzburg on charges of illegally leaving South Africa and allegedly undergoing military training in Tanganyika.

25th MAY: GHANA: Kwame Nkrumah has warned that unless the September Organisation of African Unity Summit takes a firm decision to create a machinery for a Union Government, the O.A.U. itself would be taking the road to disintegration.

* Mr. Z. Ayiami, a Kenya member of Parliament has told newsmen that "People who point accusing fingers at Ghana do so because of Ghana's impressive economic and social reconstruction."

MAURITANIA: President Moktar Ould Daddah, who is also to preside over the (OCAM) summit meeting in Abijan had decided not to attend the meeting, a Mauritanian Government source has said in Nouakchott today.

ZAMBIA: Mr. Coulibaly, chairman of the United Nations Committee on colonialism, has said in Lusaka that if Colonialist regimes do not yield their power to Local people, "force would have to be met with force".

NIGERIA: Chief T.O.S. Benson former Nigerian Federal Information Minister has joined the National Democratic Party (NNDP) led by Chief S. L. Akintola, Western Nigerian Premier.

GUINEA: Seventy-seven Portuguese colonial soldiers have been killed and several cars demolished following launching of several raids of guerrilla's attachments in the so-called Portuguese Guinea, it has been reported in Conakry today.

SUDAN: Mr. Mohammed Mahboub, Sudanese Foreign Minister has said at a Press Conference in Sudan that the Tunisian Embassy in Khartoum has been chased for economic reasons".

26th MAY: IVORY COAST: Four members of the (OCAM) have sent representatives to the organisation emerging meeting in Abijan today, these are Congo (Brazzaville), the Central Africa Republic, Mauritania and Cameroun.

GUINEA: Present Sekou Toure

has in a message to his people scarcely criticised countries which have sought to have September Conference moved from Accra and called them "peddars of division".

GHANA: Nkrumah has announced today that a general election for the second Parliament of the Republic of Ghana will be held on June 8.

TUNISIA: Mr. Mohammed Sahnoun, Algerian Assistant Secretary-General of the (OAU) has today delivered to President Habib Bourguiba a personal message from the Secretary-General of the (OAU) Mr. Diallo Telli.

TANZANIA: Mr. Michael Kamaliza who is the Secretary-General of the National Union of Tanzanian Workers has presented a cheque amounting to £2,000 for the African Liberation Struggle.

NIGERIA: Two supporters of Nigeria's numerous political parties have been killed in Kura, in the Kano emirate in Northern Nigeria in a clash between rival political alliances, the (UPGA) and (NNA) 27th May.

SIERRA LEONE: Mr. David Jawara, Premier of Gambia has described as "childish and an act of folly" the decision by 11 French speaking members of the OCAM to boycott the September Summit of the Organisation of African Unity.

NIGERIA: 23 American diplomatic missions in West Africa have started a four-day conference in Lagos. The Conference, according to sources, will discuss among other things, new offensives against the OAU September summit in Accra and find a suitable substitute for Tshombe in the Congo.

GAMBIA: Gambia becomes a republic within the Commonwealth on February 18, 1966—the first anniversary of her independence. Mr. David Jawara, the Prime Minister is to table a resolution to that effect when Parliament meets on June 1.

ALGERIA: Algerian youths are busily preparing for the ninth World Festival of Youth and students for Solidarity, peace and friendship which is to be held in Algiers, from July 28 to August 17 this year.

MALAWI: A two-man delegation from the world Bank has arrived in Ghana for a Three-week study tour of the country to examine its development programme and general economic prospects.

* 35 bodies of the people drowned last Sunday when a ferry sank in shire River, near Liwonde have been recovered by search parties. A police spokesman has said.

ETHIOPIA: The day for the emergency ministerial council meeting of the OAU requested by Nigeria would be announced if and when the required majority is obtained. The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr. Diallo Telli has announced.

ANGOLA: 62 Portuguese colonial troop including a lieutenant were killed by a detachment of Angolan People's Liberation Army, under Commander Pedale, on May 8 when the patriots attacked them in the Sanga-Wanda area.

28th MAY: U.A.R.: The National Revolutionary Government of the Congo (Leopoldville) has been reorganised to reflect the new trend in the Congo, it was reported in Cairo today, under the new organisation the Congolese revolution will be controlled by a Supreme Council of 20 led by Mr. Gbenye, as Prime Minister, who would perform the duties of President of the Republic.

ZAMBIA: Several members of the Zimbabwe African National Union who appeared before the United Nations Decolonisation Committee meeting in Lusaka have testified of police brutality and torture in Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Noel Mukoni, 2 ANU's Publicity Director, said he and others were chained and clubbed on every part of their body over a period of 24 days.

RHODESIA: States of emergency have been declared in two areas here one of which includes the Goñakudzinqwa restriction camp where Mr. Joshua Nkomo and about 400 other African nationalist are being held, by the racist minority Government. The other states are north-east of Bulawayo.

UGANDA: A Legislation given the government a closer control over trade has been passed. General secretaries of rival trade Unions in the country were asking their executives committees to meet for discussion of a merger in response to the Government's appeal.

GHANA: A three-man Ethiopian delegation led by Mr. Ato Ketama Yifrum, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has flown in here to have talks with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the forthcoming Conference of African Heads of State next September in Accra.

NIGERIA: President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria has said that African leaders are morally bound to attend the September Summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity in Accra.

TANZANIA: The Tanzanian daily, *The Nationalist*, has condemned United States policy in the Congo and urged the U.S. Government to leave Africans alone to solve their problems. The Paper was commenting on the current meeting of U.S. Ambassadors in Lagos, Nigeria.

GHANA: The Eastern Regional House of Chiefs has decided to appeal to the Government to enter into immediate negotiation with the British Government for prompt recovery of Ghanaian relics now housed in British Museums.

29th MAY: GUINEA: President Sekou Toure has said that African Unity is not a goal in itself, but a means for the African people's struggle for progress and, for complete and final liberation of the continent. He described the allegation that Ghana plans subversive activities as "groundless" and added that it is obvious the campaign is directed at the O.A.U. and its charter.

Continued on page 5

WHAT FREE EDUCATION MEANS TO GHANA

by Evan Ammah

EDUCATION is of fundamental importance to human society. It is the best form of investment of which a nation can boast. It provides the bed-rock on which a nation's development largely rests.

In Ghana, the Seven-Year Development Plan lays down that the progress of the nation can be assured only by brains which have passed through the crucible of systematic training.

This, the government believes, can only be guaran-

teed by a form of education which can make it possible for everybody, both high and low, to contribute towards the building of healthy society.

The Government's aim as envisaged in the Seven-Year Development Plan, is to make education free, from primary school to university level.

Ghana, advancing along the road to Socialism, is one of the few nations in Africa which have been able to introduce free education into their system of development.

Nor were social conditions such as would encourage poorer parents to send their children to school, even when the schools were available.

Today, we see the monumental achievements in education, and the other wonderful changes that have taken place within so short a time after the country's independence. Our educational system has been improved and expanded. Education has been made more wide-spread.

More primary schools, colleges, universities, training

and technical institutions, and Polytechnics with modern educational facilities have been made available for all.

This year alone the government is spending more than £17 million on education.

Gradual steps are being taken to revolutionise the country's educational system.

From the next academic year (1965-66), the school age for our children will be five instead of six. It is expected that after an eight year elementary education (instead of the ten years), the students will be well equipped for employment or for entering

number being found in the Ashanti Region (about 1,493).

There are also at least 74 secondary schools, 46 teacher training colleges with total enrolment of about 26,019, and 7,939 respectively.

Among the higher educational establishments in the country are: The University College of Science Education (Cape Coast), the University of Ghana, Legon (Accra), The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science & Technology (Kumasi), and the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute (Winneba).

These institutions are producing men and women armed with all the necessary tools to aid our revolution and also the African revolution. Workers can avail themselves of part-time training offered by the Workers' College, the Institute of Public Education, and by other specialised institutions.

The government, has demonstrated special interest in the welfare of our children by the introduction of Day Nurseries, and the setting up of three boarding schools for handicapped children where

children who are blind, deaf, dumb, crippled or otherwise handicapped are being cared for and trained to be useful citizens.

It is the intention of the Ministry of Education to carry out extensive programmes further to increase the number of schools and trained teachers.

It is also expected that many of the private educational institutions (especially secondary), will be absorbed into the public system in accordance with our socialist principles.

This move will help parents who still pay school fees to private owned institutions. It will also create the fundamental condition of equal educational opportunities for all.

The Mass-Education Programme, free elementary, secondary (from September next) and university education is a positive step towards the elimination of illiteracy and ignorance, in the bid to accelerate the Government's Socialist programme.

The Free Education Programme envisaged in the Seven-Year Development Plan is a challenge to every member of our society, especially those who are responsible for its

implementation — teachers, lecturers, students, pupils and parents too.

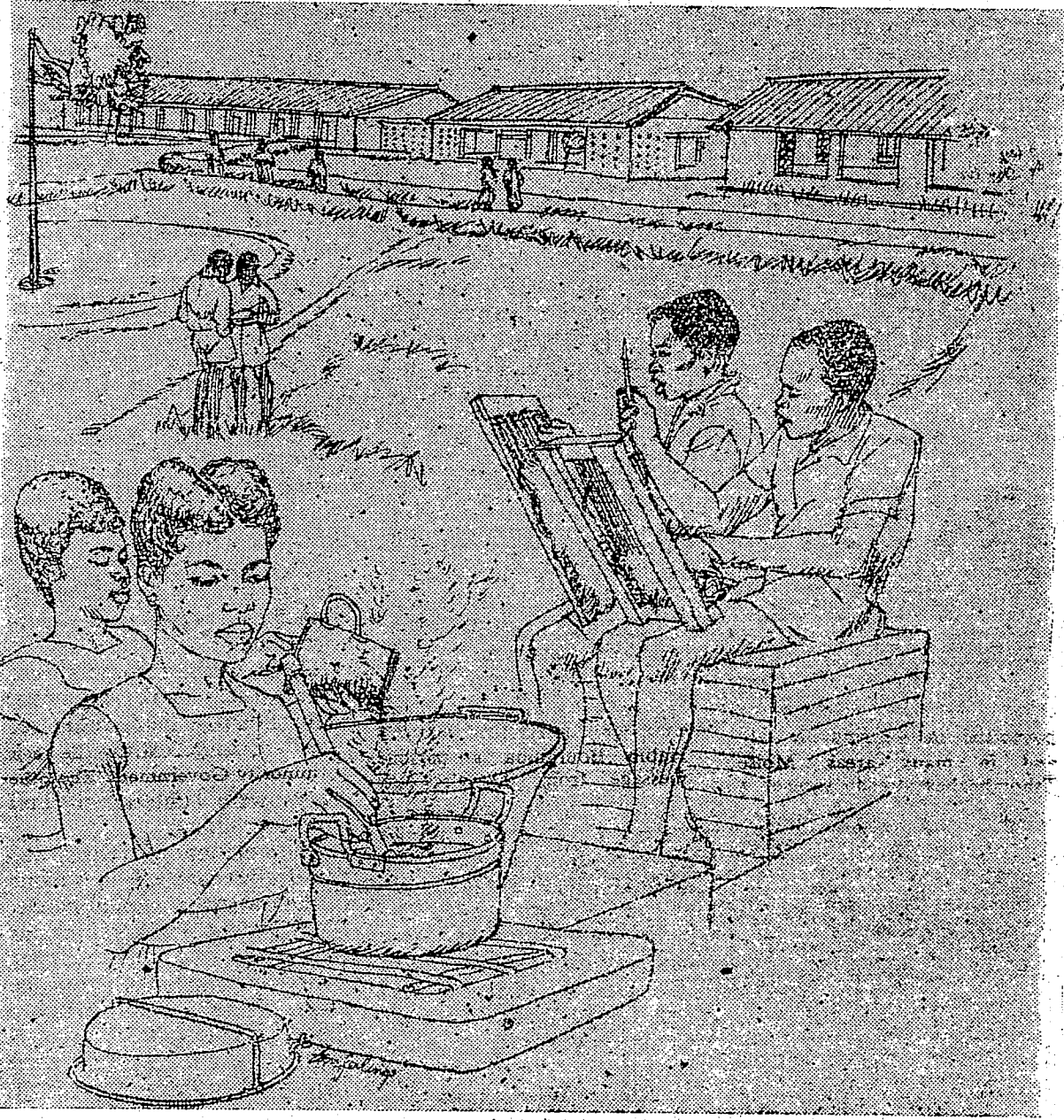
All of us have a crucial part to play—a unique responsibility to help in fostering the progress of education, not only in schools but among the entire community and in

solving other problems of illiteracy.

The advances in education which our country has made during the years since independence are among our proudest achievements. They are the guarantee of our continued progress towards a socialist Ghana.



FREE BOOKS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN



A MODEL VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

teed by a form of education which can make it possible for everybody, both high and low, to contribute towards the building of healthy society.

The Government's aim as envisaged in the Seven-Year Development Plan, is to make education free, from primary school to university level.

Ghana, advancing along the road to Socialism, is one of the few nations in Africa which have been able to introduce free education into their system of development.

Nor were social conditions such as would encourage poorer parents to send their children to school, even when the schools were available.

Today, we see the monumental achievements in education, and the other wonderful changes that have taken place within so short a time after the country's independence. Our educational system has been improved and expanded. Education has been made more wide-spread.

More primary schools, colleges, universities, training

and technical institutions, and Polytechnics with modern educational facilities have been made available for all.

This year alone the government is spending more than £17 million on education.

Gradual steps are being taken to revolutionise the country's educational system.

From the next academic year (1965-66), the school age for our children will be five instead of six. It is expected that after an eight year elementary education (instead of the ten years), the students will be well equipped for employment or for entering

number being found in the Ashanti Region (about 1,493).

There are also at least 74 secondary schools, 46 teacher training colleges with total enrolment of about 26,019, and 7,939 respectively.

Among the higher educational establishments in the country are: The University College of Science Education (Cape Coast), the University of Ghana, Legon (Accra), The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science & Technology (Kumasi), and the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute (Winneba).

These institutions are producing men and women armed with all the necessary tools to aid our revolution and also the African revolution. Workers can avail themselves of part-time training offered by the Workers' College, the Institute of Public Education, and by other specialised institutions.

The government, has demonstrated special interest in the welfare of our children by the introduction of Day Nurseries, and the setting up of three boarding schools for handicapped children where

children who are blind, deaf, dumb, crippled or otherwise handicapped are being cared for and trained to be useful citizens.

It is the intention of the Ministry of Education to carry out extensive programmes further to increase the number of schools and trained teachers.

It is also expected that many of the private educational institutions (especially secondary), will be absorbed into the public system in accordance with our socialist principles.

This move will help parents who still pay school fees to private owned institutions. It will also create the fundamental condition of equal educational opportunities for all.

The Mass-Education Programme, free elementary, secondary (from September next) and university education is a positive step towards the elimination of illiteracy and ignorance, in the bid to accelerate the Government's Socialist programme.

Ready to co-operate on equal terms

by Max Addo

SINCE the attainment of independence, the Government of Ghana has gone all out to consolidate the country's position as an independent state by striving to put her economy on a firm footing. This had called for strict economic measures both inside and outside.

It is only by so doing that an emergent or developing state like Ghana will be able to establish a society in which men and women will have no anxiety about work, food and shelter; where poverty and illiteracy will no longer exist; where disease will be brought under control, where educational facilities will provide the sons and daughters with the best possible opportunities for learning; and where every person will use his or her talent to the fullest in contributing to the general well-being of the nation.

FIVE SECTORS

The Government has defined five sectors, all operating side by side in the nation's economy as the pattern of business organisation in Ghana.

- These are:—
- state enterprises
 - enterprises owned by foreign private interests
 - enterprises jointly owned by the State and foreign private interests
 - the co-operatives, and
 - small-scale Ghanaian private enterprise.

The Government and people of Ghana believe that it is only by the co-operation of all five sectors that our socialist state can achieve its economic aims.

In achieving these aims and fulfilling the Seven-Year Development Plan launched last year, one body has a key role to play: the Capital Investments Board.

As Kwame Nkrumah has repeatedly made clear, and as expressly embodied in the pattern of the business organisation of the country, Ghana welcomes foreign private investments.

EXPERT ADVICE

Such investors need expert advice and guidance as to where to site their industries, and the type of industries needed towards the economic growth of the country and for our mutual benefit. It is to this end, and many others, that the Capital Investments Board was established.

What is the Capital Investments Board?

It was established by Act of Parliament under the Capital Investments Act, 1963. Its chairman is a businessman and economist. Eight members represent the Bank of Ghana, the Ministries of Finance and Industries, the National Investment Bank, the State Planning Commission. There are three others appointed by the President.

The Board's main responsibilities include:

- initiating and organising activities for the encouragement of investment of foreign capital and to provide for the creation of the conditions required therefore;
- approving capital investments and (perhaps the most important)
- maintaining liaison between investors and Government departments, agencies and other authorities concerned, making information available in Ghana,

and to assist investors in the implementation of their projects.

Thus it could be seen that all matters relating to investments in Ghana, no matter what Ministry, Government Department, authority, or body it will affect, should be channelled through the Capital Investments Board.

This enables the Board correctly to assess the feasibility of any project.

The Act establishing the Capital Investments Board also sets out various rules and regulations governing investments, all of which are handled by the Board. Some of these cover protection of investments, incentives for investors and obligations on the part of investors.

NO RESTRICTION

There is no restriction on the remittance of

(a) capital, including appreciation, to the country of origin of an investment in the event of sale or the liquidation of an approved project.

(b) on the transfer of profits to the country of origin of the investment after the payment of any tax due in respect of the investment.

(c) on the transfer of payments in respect of principal, interest and other financial charges where a loan has been granted to a project by a non-resident for the purposes of the project in accordance with the approved conditions of the loan.

It is also expressly laid down that reasonable facilities shall be provided to expatriate personnel employed or engaged in an approved project for making remittances home in respect of the maintenance of their families and other

contractual obligations such as insurance premiums and contributions to provident and pension funds.

There is provision for incentives for investors. The investor, subject to certain minor rules, is exempted for a period of five years or for such longer period not exceeding ten years beginning from the date of production from the payment of income tax.

He is also granted Capital allowances in respect of buildings, plant, machinery, structures, roads, furniture fixtures and fittings used for the purposes of an approved project after the specified period of exemption already stated.

In the case of approved projects engaged in the production of goods for export, and using domestic raw materials, or producing goods that replace imports, investors may be granted any or all of the following benefits:—

- exemption from imports and customs duties and purchase tax for materials, spare parts, fuel and raw materials which the approved project uses or consumes and which are not produced in sufficient quantities in Ghana; and
- exemption of up to 100 per cent from export or exercise duties on goods produced by the approved project provided that the goods are cleared through customs.

In addition, provision is also made, subject to conditions, for exemption from payment of Property Taxes and Rates.

These incentives are provided to attract foreign private investors and governmental bodies which, it is hoped, will co-operate in good faith and on equal terms in Ghana's economic development.

A Letter to the London "Times"

FROM ADVERSITY

YOUR back-page spread of photographs showing progress on Ghana's Volta river hydro-electric scheme is splendid. One of the most remarkable features of the speed with which this dam at Akosombo has been built deserves special mention: namely, that a flooded height in June, 1963, less than two years after the work began, broke

through the carefully prepared flood defences and swept away enormous quantities of the half-finished dam structures, ruining at the same time further acres of excavated and processed construction terrain.

As brokers for the complex insurance of this dam project—some 70 per cent of which is placed in London—my organization can measure the catastrophe

wrought by the 1963 flood in cold terms of the insurance claim which resulted: £584,454. That the Italian contractors can nevertheless still reckon with a first delivery of power in four months' time is a salutary lesson in drawing strength from adversity.

Yours faithfully,
Eric M. De Saventhem,
Interborke Schmitz & Co. Ltd.
Schanzengraben 23, Zurich,
Switzerland.

Queen Elizabeth's visit to Bonn

by Arthur James

THE ultimate British accolade has been bestowed upon the Federal German Republic: the Queen went there, and to West Berlin as well.

Fleet Street men had softened up the assignment in advance. There were many screams about how clever the West Germans are to have rebuilt their economy so completely from the ruins of war. Cassandra in the *Daily Mirror* began as long ago as March 10th.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

After an acknowledgement that the Germans are "just about the best soldiers in the world," he said: "Out of the ruins of the greatest defeat ever inflicted on any industrial country in history they have, in the space of two decades, emerged loaded with the riches of peace such as we, the triumphant victors, have never smelt."

Cassandra did not explain how this happened. So we will try.

First, a quotation from a French book, *Western Germany* by Alfred Grosser (1955):

"After the defeat German industry was at a standstill but not destroyed... Although the towns were wiped out, the destruction of plant was 10 per cent for metallurgy, 10-15 per cent for the chemical industry, 15-20 per cent for engineering, and 20 per cent for textiles.

REASONS

"There were a number of reasons for this comparative immunity: the efficient camouflaging of factories and the German system of dispersal, the Allies' concentration on the bombing of towns to sap the morale of the population which left the factories relatively intact, and finally the selective bombings which spared certain factories in which non-German companies had an interest. The immense I. G. Farben head office, which remained intact at Frankfurt while three-quarters of the town was destroyed, stands as the symbol of a war which was not quite total, for certain people."

When the last war ended in Europe just twenty years ago, the Allies met at Potsdam and signed a treaty which included

specific measures to prevent business becoming big enough again to back another Hitler. The monopolies were to be broken up.

This was carried out in the Soviet zone. The French had reservations but had to swallow them and follow suit.

Attlee's Labour Government even vetoed decisions of German electors in the provinces of the British zone in 1946 and 1947 that their industries and financial institutions should be nationalised.

RUHR

In the summer of 1947, Britain had exhausted most of the first U.S. multibillion-dollar loan and was asking for more. The previous week, talks on the future of the Ruhr had opened in Washington. The British were forced to agree to U.S. policy in the Ruhr as the condition for another loan.

A few days later, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin was compelled to announce another broken Labour pledge: "socialisation" of the Ruhr iron

and steel industries would be "postponed" for five years. It is still postponed.

INDUSTRY

Germany did appear to be in ruins in 1945. The cities and towns were rubble. There was no light or water. Shops were empty. Thousands lived in air raid shelters. It was estimated that twenty years would be needed just to make the damage good.

But today the signs of war have almost disappeared. The towns are rebuilt. There are bustling factories and bursting shops and new highways full of cars.

West Germany exports to the whole world and her production is two-and-a-half times that of the whole of Germany before the war. Her industrial output is the highest in Europe; her trading position is second in the world.

She produces more steel than Britain or France, more cars, and many more new homes per thousand of the population than, for example, Britain. Her banks are full of

money. The Deutsche-mark is almost as secure as the Swiss franc.

This is the "economic miracle" of West Germany. But it was not miraculous—it was the deliberate policy of the U.S. and Britain to convert Germany into an ally against the Soviet Union.

The first breaches between the Allies came quickly after the end of the war. Less than a year after the Potsdam Treaty, Churchill in his speech at Fulton, Missouri, revived the phrase first used by Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister, about an "iron curtain", and implied that eventually Germany would have to be rearm.

REFUSAL

The West refused to allow the Soviet Union any share in control of the Ruhr industrial centre. The western zones contained most of Germany's industries.

The turning point for West Germany came in 1948 when the Western Powers revalued the mark in their zones, thus making the division of Germany complete by ensuring that different currencies circu-

lated in west and east.

Up to July 1952, West Germany received about 1,400 million dollars in Marshall Aid, most of which was never repaid.

In 1952, the U.S.A., which was owed 2,000 million dollars by Germany in special credits additional to Marshall Aid, renounced the debt.

General Clay was the U.S. High Commissioner in Germany. His economic adviser was General William Draper who had been vice-president of the New York banking firm of Dillon, Read, Douglas Dillon was Secretary of the U.S. Treasury.

In 1926, seven years before Hitler came to power, Dillon, Read gave a group of German businessmen a loan which established Germany's second largest industrial complex, the United Steel Works (Vereinigte Stahlwerke).

Among its directors were Flick and Thyssen, indicted as war criminals by the Nuremberg tribunal. (In prison after the war these men and others, including Krupp, held board meetings of their directors. They did not stay in prison very long.)

As late as 1940, Draper was negotiating with German capitalists. President Truman's Defence Secretary, James Forrestal, was president of Dillon, Read.

INVESTMENT

Other Wall Street banking firms, like Morgan Rockefeller, Brown Brothers and Harriman, and Kuhn and Loeb, had their men in key posts in Western Germany after the war.

The restoration of monopoly capital was important to the Americans. U.S. citizens and companies held at least 5,000 million dollars of investments in Germany, according to the *Wall Street Journal* (26.9.49).

West Germany did not begin to rearm straight away. The bulk of their aid from the West went into capital investment. There were no arms to pay for and no colonial wars. So the economy was restored in record time.

Of the gross national product, 24 per cent went into capital investment (mainly the basic industries—coal, steel, chemicals, machinery) compared with 19 per cent in France and 16 per cent in Britain.

Between 1948 and 1959, the rate of investment in industry was two-and-a-half times greater than in Britain. The Korean War was a bonanza for West Germany, orders pouring in. In a single year of that war exports almost doubled.

Germans have a reputation for being good, industrious workers. They are, but the workers did not benefit from this economic resurgence as they should have done.

After the war, the trade union leaders agreed that investment in the consumer goods industries be kept low so that the basic industries could have priority. With this went concurrence in keeping wages low and rejection of strikes.

WAGES

After the reconstruction, these concessions continued to prevail. In the 1950's the proportion of wages remained constant at 40 per cent of the national income although the number of workers rose by 10 per cent.

Communists who took a more militant line were removed from trade union positions, and eventually the Communist Party was banned.

The course of events led to a great concentration of capital. In 1956 there were 3,600 millionaires compared with 1,200 in 1950, and half of the gross national income was ear-

ned by only 3 per cent of all enterprises.

The "miracle" turned out to be vastly more profitable for the big capitalists. Three per cent of the total number of industrial enterprises employ more than half of labour force, and control 55 per cent of the total industrial output.

Between 1938 and 1958 the number of limited liability companies with a capital of more than 100 million marks increased from twenty-five to fifty, and the value of their holdings increased to 46 per cent of the total share capital.

TRUSTS

In ten years, the value of shares increased seven times, but wages were not even doubled. Three-fifths of all shares belong to sixteen giant trusts, one-fifth to the state, and one-fifth to small shareholders.

The new trusts are bigger than those the Allies pledged to break up but did not. Eight trusts produce 80 per cent of all the steel, the most important being Krupp and Thyssen. Firms forming part of a trust even get tax relief on that score.

Erhard's policies of unrestricted capitalist enterprise when he was Finance Minister consistently benefited Big Business. The tax on earned income was trebled—but the minimum rate of tax on unearned income was reduced from 90 per cent to 55 per cent.

But the act that really started the boom was the Western decision to revalue the currency in 1948.

Those whose resources were liquid (i.e. bank accounts, savings) saw their value reduced. But the owners of factories, shops and other property were untouched and kept everything.

The relation of forces was drastically changed in favour of the owners of capital goods. Shareholders lost nothing as they were able to exchange their shares on a one-for-one basis, and sometimes more favourably.

And overnight, a great variety of goods appeared in the shops to show that much had been hoarded and that a lot of the crisis talk was artificial.

At the same time, the whole Eastern zone was threatened with disruption because the invalidated currency of the West could still be used there. The Russians took quick counteraction to protect the economy and the West retaliated with the Berlin airlift, a masterpiece of propaganda in which the peoples of the whole Western world were supposed to demonstrate their readiness to die for the people of West Berlin.

REARMAMENT

The rise of the phoenix created problems for the capitalists of the United States. West Germany began to get too competitive. This in itself became a factor in Western insistence that the Federal Republic must have its own armed forces, on which it would spend its own money on non-productive armaments.

For Adenauer it was essential to maintain tension with the east to sustain the flow of aid from the west. Right-wing politics and rearmament, derisive sentences on war criminals, revenge seeking propaganda, were the accompaniments of this policy.

A German author, Heinz Abosch, wrote in his *Menace of the Miracle* (1962):

"West Germany was brought into being on orders from abroad, under foreign domination and within the strategic framework of the Cold War. The latter stamped it with its seal."

Now Queen Elizabeth II has endorsed it.

Cuba's Young People Re-organise (3)

by a Special Correspondent

ANOTHER important area of work for us is propaganda. In this field a basic role is played by our weekly newspaper "Mella." This paper has a long history of struggle for the interests of the young people.

In the past it was a bastion in the struggle of the Cuban youth against imperialism, national reaction, and against the inhuman exploitation and oppression of the foreign monopolies and their Cuban class allies.

PUBLICATION

It was the young people's own paper, published illegally and facing constant harassment. But it never missed an issue and kept informing the young people about the battle against tyranny. The history of *Mella* goes back over twenty years of militance.

Today the young people have new tasks and new responsibilities, and *Mella* must help them in their struggle to carry out the tasks entrusted to them by the Revolution. It must provide young people with correct guidance, and explain the problems of the days.

Therefore it must constantly improve its quality both as regards content and as regards presentation.

Another very important task of the Union of Communist Youth is work among children and the leadership of their Pioneer organisation.

So far we have not been able to establish a really large-scale Pioneer movement. However, we have started a series of projects within the Union of Cuban Pioneers designed to transform this body into a real children organisation, and to make it the educational weapon the Revolution requires.

During the first stage, we intend to strengthen the Pioneers' Circles which already exist so that they can fulfill

the aims for which they were established, and so that they can carry out mass activities amongst the children.

We intend to use to the full the cinema, and to organise varied types of activity for the children, and prepare programmes for these activities which will give the children the opportunity of participating in traditional children's plays and other types of activity.

In this way we will train a good number of Pioneer leaders. We also intend to make full use of the weekly paper of the U.C.Y.

Sports and culture are two of the most important activities of the U.C.Y. Until recently these were on a small scale. During the recent National Organisation Conference the U.C.Y. did not attend the sporting activities. This was, no doubt, symptomatic of a narrow, non-youthful approval.

PREPARATION

This year we have prepared several sports projects. We are already working towards their realisation. As a result we have been able to mobilise nearly 100,000 youth to participate in various sporting events and celebrations.

Young Communists have participated in the "Mountains Plan" in which thousands of young people from the country side participated in sports organised in the mountain areas.

At the moment we, together with other Cuban sports bodies, are getting ready to take part in the Tokyo Olympic Games.

The work of U.C.Y. in the cultural field has been inadequate. The U.C.Y. intends immediately to discuss projects to be carried out in collaboration with the Councils of Culture and the mass organisations.

Our active numbers, without waiting for our plans in the cultural field to be pre-

pared, must increase their efforts amongst the members of artistic and literary groups, so as to help the development of young revolutionary intellectuals.

The defence of the socialist fatherland against the provocations and aggressions of the North-America imperialism and its puppet governments of Latin American, against the criminal actions of the counter-revolutionary groups armed and protected by the United States and against the counter-revolutionaries of the internal front trained by the Central Intelligence Agency holds a key place alongside the campaign to increase production.

For that reason the Union of Communist Youth has as a motto: "Work and study and a rifle besides".

This is one of the requirements for all those who wish to become members of the U.C.Y.

This is why Cuban Young people, led by the Communist youth, consider military service and honour and a duty. Ten per cent of the leaders of U.C.Y. in Havana have already done their military service, and in the provinces of Matanzas and Pinar del Rio the figure is nearly twenty per cent.

IDEOLOGY

The political education of Young Communists is closely lined with the rest of their activities. It is not possible to contribute to the building of a socialist society without grasping fully the basic tenets of the proletarian political ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Many of the active members of the U.C.Y. had already an ideological and political training. But many come to our ranks without such training. Therefore it is our duty greatly to raise the political and ideological level of all members.

The U.C.Y. has committed some errors in the political education of its members. We had not been able to relate the general study of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete problems of the transition stage from capitalism to socialism in our country today. We have limited ourselves to copying mechanically the programmes and methods of the Party Schools.

SOLUTION

However, we are now working to make good those deficiencies, incorporating in the programmes of our schools the specific problems of our youth and giving the education centres a form more in keeping with the character of the U.C.Y.

At the moment the U.C.Y. has six Provincial Schools and a National School. Furthermore, our active members participate too in the system of Revolutionary Basic Training Schools and we are sending many to the Provincial Schools and the National School of the Party.

In addition, we are developing the habit of individual study, by means of seminars, lectures with commentary and study circles within our organisations. Amongst the material used for study are selections of classical Marxist works, and speeches and articles by the leaders of our Revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist Party represents the highest level of organisation for the working class, and is its vanguard unit. Therefore, the Party has to guide the work of the U.C.Y. at all levels.

The guiding function of the Party has been carried out in such a way that the relations between both organisations are very good. The National Executive of the U.C.Y. draws up together with the Party the general lines of work, taking into consideration the points

of view of the Party and the U.C.Y. Committees in the provinces.

Experience has taught us that the role of leadership in the Party must be free from harmful tendencies; in the first place there is the economic paternalism, expressed in any under-estimation of the degree of mature young people.

This tendency hinders the initiative of the organisation and prevents its normal development, making its whole life and activities dependent on "what the Party may say".

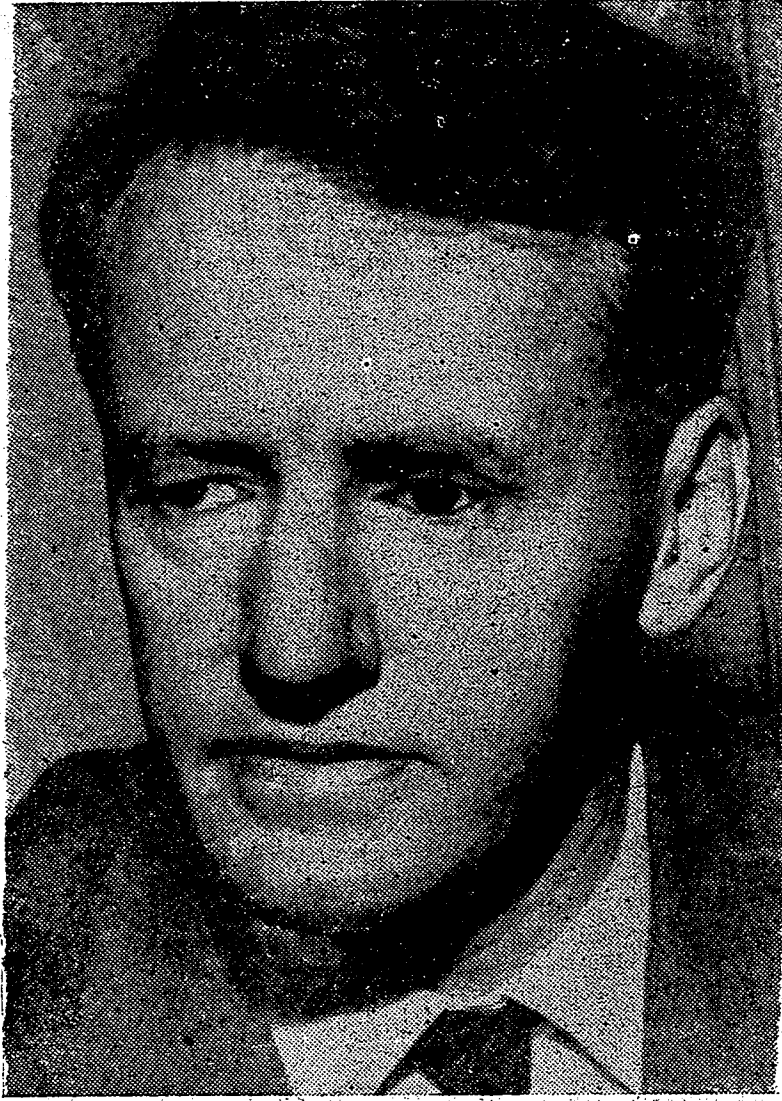
The second tendency is not less damaging. It consists of not giving any help or paying any attention to the U.C.Y., leaving it alone and not helping it to solve its difficulties.

Cuba and its Revolution are not isolated. We are part of the world socialist system and the progressive forces fighting against capitalism. That is why we are part of the movement of peoples struggling for peace and peaceful co-existence between countries with different social regimes, for national liberation and for a classless socialist society. That is why on the banners of our Revolution we have inscribed the principles of proletarian internationalism.

ACHIEVEMENT

Our organisation is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, participates in international events, is a member of the Latin-American Youth Preparatory Congress and with its solidarity helps all those peoples who fight for national liberation and democratic rights, etc. against colonialism.

The Union of Communist Youth is growing stronger. Its work is better every day. Despite the fact that there are still many problems to solve we have achieved considerable progress. The more important is that we are quite sure about our objectives and we have the will to win.



IAN SMITH

He ignores the adamant demand of 3,500,000 Africans for an end to white minority rule.

LAST month's elections in Rhodesia really represent nothing, and solve nothing. The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, can arrogantly blather away on TV about having the support of the "majority" of the people—but at best, he is supported by the majority of the minority.

Some 90,000 Europeans (out of a total white population of

200,000) were registered on the "A" roll which elected 50 European M.P.s. To get on this roll one needs to have an income of at least £330 a year, or to be a Chief.

To get on the "B" roll which elects the other 15 seats (mainly African), one needs to have an income of £132 a year or be a headman or minister of religion.

Average earnings for Africans are £114 a year. Most workers get less. And peasants, who are the majority of

Why so Smooth With Mr. Smith?

the 3,500,000 Africans, receive a gross cash income of only £12 per family holding per year.

Less than 11,000 Africans registered for this farcical "B" roll in 1964, alongside 608 Europeans, 114 Asians and 176 coloureds.

Last month's election exposes the farce still further. While the white settlers voted solidly for both Smith and for the maintenance of white domination, giving him all 50 seats on the "A" roll, the total number of voters on the "B" roll amounted to only 1,782—and that must have included some Europeans, Asians and Coloureds.

So, with the votes of a few hundred Africans, Smith ignores the adamant demand of 3,500,000 Africans for an end to white minority rule.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union (Z.A.P.U.), which voices the aspirations of the African people, has declared this week that it "does not attach any significance to the results of the election, nor does it recognise the election, the results of the election, and the Government in Rhodesia."

"This is simply because in 1961 we rejected the present Constitution: we reject it now together with the elections and the laws under this same Constitution."

SPECULATION

Most British papers are speculating what Smith will do now. But the real question is what will the British Government do for Smith, despite his bluster, has very few cards to play.

A British Journalist and expert on African Affairs JACK WODDIS discusses the situation in Rhodesia following last month's elections.

The threat to make a unilateral declaration of independence (known as U.D.I.) does not even command the support of decisive white forces in Rhodesia.

The Rhodesian Tobacco Association, the Institute of Directors, the Association of Rhodesian Industries, the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and the Rhodesian National Farmers' Union—the country's major industrial, commercial and farming organisations—have all warned of the disastrous economic effects which would follow U.D.I.

The United Nations Security Council last week adopted a resolution requesting the British Government to take all necessary action to prevent U.D.I.

As the Fabian journal *Venture*, wrote this month:

"Smith brandished U.D.I. like an actor with a sword made of papier mache. He knew that if he had to use

it in earnest he would be done for."

But Smith can go on waving his papier mache sword because the British Labour Government refuses to act.

Worse still, the continued talk and speculation about whether Smith will jump the gun or not serves to cover up the real problem—which is to end white minority rule and give the African people the right to run their own country.

It is all very well for Wilson to assert, at regular intervals (during which time Smith is free to consolidate his position), that if Smith declares independence, then the British Government will do this, that, and the other.

Why cannot the same pressure be used right now against the white settlers?

Why cannot Britain use all possible political, diplomatic, economic and other pressures to compel Smith to release the political prisoners, to end white domination and allow

the African people to take the necessary decisions for their own country?

If it is believed in Government circles that a mere threat from Wilson is enough to deter Smith from taking the plunge, then why is it not considered possible that a similar threat (if not action) could be used now to bring Smith and the settlers to heel?

Instead, we have the pathetic spectacle of Lord Caradon (formerly Sir Hugh Foot), who resigned from his U.N. post under the Tory Government as a protest against the repressive regime in Rhodesia, now abstaining in the Security Council, even on a vote calling on the British Government to take action to prevent U.D.I.

The British Government could suspend the Rhodesian Constitution tomorrow, and call a conference of all the main parties in Rhodesia to arrange for the handing over of power to the people on the basis of democracy and one man, one vote.

CONSTITUTION

By its refusal to act, and by its futile attempt to persuade the African political leaders to give the miserable 1961 Constitution a chance, the British Labour Government is only helping Smith and the settlers to maintain the appalling status quo.

Now, with his two-thirds majority, Smith is threatening



JOSHUA NKOMO African Nationalist Leader

to change the Constitution, allowing still more seats on the predominantly European "A" roll and reducing still further the value and significance (not that it ever amounted to much) of the mainly African "B" roll.

It is time to end the deadlock. Time to end the farce. Wilson's stream of love-letters to Smith will solve nothing. Nor will his game of "want and-see."

Smith is praying that nothing will happen before Rhodesia has sold its valuable tobacco crop, the June meeting of Commonwealth Premiers and the June Afro-Asian Conference.

He mustn't be allowed to get away with it any longer. The British Government must act now by suspending the 1961 Constitution and taking all necessary measures to end white minority rule in Rhodesia.

Anti-Imperialists must Unite

THE world is divided today between on the one hand the progressive forces—the socialist and newly-independent countries and the liberation movements and working-class movements of the capitalist world—and on the other the forces of capitalism and imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The progressive forces hope to preserve world peace and support peaceful co-existence between the independent states of the world whatever their social systems. But they fully recognise that peaceful co-existence between oppressed and oppressors is a physical impossibility.

Just as capitalist states are constantly threatened with the prospect, sooner or later, of being overthrown by their own working people, so imperialist states, in addition, are faced with constant revolts and threats of revolt by the oppressed peoples under their heel.

And neo-colonialist puppet states, flying their own "national" flags and playing their own "national" anthems, but still oppressing their peoples in the cause of imperialist profits, face the same dangers as the imperialist states upon whose protection they depend.

Among the imperialist states in this divided world are two countries far apart geographically, but intimate ideologically.

It was Nazi Germany that developed bestial racialism to a more brutal and more murderous stage than ever before in human history. It is South Africa today that is pursuing a ruthless racialist policy to an extent that shocks even politicians whose economic in-

terests are completely tied up with South African "prosperity".

At the end of the last war imperialist Nazi Germany was helpless. Certain measures were taken to prevent the revival ever again of the foul doctrine of Nazism. At Potsdam the main Allies, the U.S.A., Britain, the U.S.S.R. and France, agreed on a number of concrete steps to be taken. These included:—

"The complete disarmament of Germany... War criminals (to) be brought to judgement... the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis... All members of the Nazi party who have been more than nominal participants... shall be removed from public and semi-public office... The German economy shall be decentralised for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts..."

Finally, the frontiers of defeated Germany should be altered so that "the former German territories east of the Oder and Neisse rivers should go to Poland, and the northern part of East Prussia should go to the Soviet Union."

DRUM

The additional comment "that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement" obviously referred, in this context, to details of frontier marking and not to matters of principle.

The *Spark* has already attacked *Drum* for publishing here, in Ghana, a map circulated by the West German authorities which still lays claim to the borders of Ger-

many as they were before on the eve of the war.

An article in the *Ghanaian Times* has spotlighted another interesting point: the financial ownership of *Drum* is inextricably tied up with South African economic interests—those very economic interests which are inflicting on part of Africa today the same bestial racial doctrine for which the Nazis were responsible in Europe thirty years ago.

It seems that there is some connection.

HITLER-VERWOERD

There is a clear ideological connection between the vicious racialism of Hitler and the vicious racialism of Verwoerd. It is not therefore surprising that a South African journal should help publicise territorial claims which Germany's neo-Nazis have never ceased to put forward since the last war ended.

On March 30th, 1945, as World War Two moved to its close, the U.S. State Department, still—at least publicly—loyal to the anti-Nazi alliance, warned that "the Nazi regime in Germany has developed well arranged post-war plans for the perpetuation of Nazi doctrines and domination" such as "post-war commercial projects, endeavouring to renew and cement friendship in foreign commercial circles."

"German technicians, cultural experts, and undercover agents have well-laid plans to infiltrate into foreign countries", while a propaganda programme will aim at "softening up" the Allies... Unless these plans are checked they will present a constant menace to post-war peace and security."

Just how justified was this warning is demonstrated by the fact that the West Ger-

man revenge-seekers can, twenty years later utilise a South African magazine to publicise their claims among Africans.

West German maps claiming Germany's 1937 frontiers have also been a centre of controversy in Britain, where for many years the West German Embassy itself has been circulating a news bulletin on the first page of which a map showing Germany's old frontiers as they were in 1937 has appeared.

Though questions were asked more than once in Parliament, no British Government has ever taken steps to stop the circulation of this map, though the British Government still (in words, at least) adheres to the Potsdam Agreement through partnering American violations in practice.

PARLIAMENT

The whole subject came up again for discussion recently, when it was pointed out in Parliament that this same German imperialist map was being circulated to British troops in West Germany in an official West German bulletin.

Denis Healey, Minister of Defence, first agreed that the map should be prohibited. Then, two weeks later (and probably connected with Mr. Wilson's visit to Berlin) he announced in the House of Commons that he had decided "that there are no grounds for removing this map."

So *Drum* was in the "best" imperialist company: The Governments and rulers of South Africa and West Germany, and the imperialist Labour Government in Britain all see eye-to-eye on this matter.

Today, in the German Federal Republic, former Nazis hold leading posts in all spheres. The new West German Ambassador Herr Blankenhorn, is an example. He joined the Nazi Party and served in the protocol department of Hitler's Foreign Office during the war years.

Immediately after the war he was arrested by the Americans as a leading Nazi official, held for six months, and then released upon which he at once joined the West German Christian Democratic Party where many former Nazis still in Germany have found refuge.

Blankenhorn's career is typical of those of many West German officials.

But there is another side to all this: After the war many of the leading Nazis escaped from Germany by devious routes.

One of the countries in which they found refuge was South Africa, where the political climate was becoming rapidly more like that of Nazi Germany.

Immigrating into South Africa, they quickly found

jobs for themselves, and today have merged with the racialist ruling class of South Africa with whom they share a similar ideology.

From South Africa they go as mercenaries to the Congo or to any other part of Africa where their "help" is needed by the imperialists; inside South Africa itself they are aiding the building up of a powerful aggressive war base, a threat to all the rest of Africa today just as Nazi Germany was a threat to all the rest of Europe in the 1930's.

UNITY

Marx and Engels, more than 100 years ago, proclaimed the slogan "Workers of all lands unite!" Lenin saw the benefit of altering this slogan to "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples unite!"

And the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference has clearly underlined the need for unity: unity of Africa, unity of Africa and Asia; unity of Africa, Asia and Latin America; and unity with all the progressive forces of the entire world.

This unity is essential. The imperialists have learned the lesson of unity, and despite their internal squabbles, there is a clear united front between the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany and South Africa today.

This unity is directed against the liberation forces of the world, and the main threat to Africa is, as the South African delegate at Winneba declared, the "core" of imperialism in Africa—South Africa.

South Africa has a menacing degree of intimacy with the former Nazis of Germany, and with the revenge-seeking imperialist government of West Germany.

The U.S.A. looks with equal benevolence on imperialist West Germany and imperialist South Africa. Britain, despite the facade of a Labour Government, is tied hand-and-foot to South Africa by its highly profitable investments.

Hence, the imperialists of the world are united. There is only one response to this: "Anti-imperialists of the world unite!"

DIARY

Continued from page 2

ZAMBIA: A resolution, calling for Independence of Rhodesia under African rule, has been passed by the United Nations Committee on Colonialism at the end of the Committee's meeting in Lusaka.

NIGERIA: A student of Nigeria in the Federal Germany, was rejected from his room in Frankfurt-on-Main because of the colour of skin.

TANZANIA: South African petitioners who appeared before the United Nations Decolonisation committee in Dar-es-Salaam have

accused the NATO of supplying arms to the South African apartheid government.

* Mr. Paul Bomani, Tanzanian Finance Minister, has told the Tanzanian Chamber of Commerce that there was too much idle gossip about the political implication of aid to Tanzania and said that aid to developing countries should be clearly separated from the cross-currents of international politics.

SOUTH AFRICA: Chief Sekhonyana-Maservare, the recently-

appointed pro-apartheid Prime Minister of Basutoland, came face to face with the apartheid laws in South Africa when he was refused admission at the main entrance of a leading bank.

He was ordered to use the bank entrance for non-Europeans. It has been announced in South Africa today.

ALGERIA: The Government has decided to nationalise 69 abandoned iron, lead, zinc, and copper mines in the country.

U.S. Diplomats Planned New Offensive Against Accra Summit

LITTLE has been revealed about what was discussed at last month's top secret conference of U.S. diplomatic representatives in Africa in Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, presided over by Mr. Mennen Williams, U.S. assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and attended in its closing stages by President Johnson's special representative, Mr. Averell Harriman.

But there can be little doubt that the forthcoming September O.A.U. Summit meeting in Accra topped the agenda, for the State Department is determined to resist any advance toward the achievement of real African unity.

Keeping Africa Safe For U. S. Big Business

Now, what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands?"

That was before the First World War. The United States had already displaced Britain's industrial supremacy. But Britain still held supremacy in world trade, the mercantile marine, international finance, overseas investment, naval armaments and colonial power, while the United States was still a net debtor country.

The war of 1914-18 brought the first change in this position. The United States monopolists, maintaining neutrality until the last stage, drew enormous

profits from the belligerents and intervened only in the final stage with the minimum of losses and with unexhausted forces to exercise a decisive voice in the settlement.

The United States advanced to the position of a creditor country and embarked on large-scale foreign investment. It was during these years that the pattern American neo-colonialism—imperialism without the flag—began to take shape.

It was the Second World War that brought the decisive

shift in the relationships between Britain, France and the other traditional imperialist powers on the other hand and the United States with its new-look imperialism on the other.

Once again the United States intervened as the last of the major belligerents. All the other belligerents suffered heavy losses, far greater than those of the United States; other countries were devastated, overrun or blitzed. The United States was immune.

Three of the United States imperialist rivals—Germany, Japan and Italy—were vanquished, while the older impe-

A year later the *Christian Science Monitor* (22.12.42) spoke of the "prospects that the war for the first time will bring the United States into close trading and other connections with the great continent of Africa."

And in 1943 U.S. State Department official Henry S. Villard declared that "I feel certain that the American principle of equality of opportunity in trade will remain a permanent factor in Africa, applicable in the colonies of whatever nationality... Africa needs our skills and services in order to achieve greater productivity, just as we need access to Africa's resources."

EQUALITY OF TRADE

Mr. Villard was serving notice on the "traditional" colonial powers that "equality of trade"—in other words, the open door for American access to Africa's raw materials and investment—was part of the price they would have to pay for post-war U.S. aid.

The older imperialist powers were well aware of the threat—but knew they were powerless to avert it.

"On the one side are the indispensable economic requirements of the British peoples, and on the other side the tenaciously held theories of Americans who make no secret of their determination to 'burst wide open' the markets of the Empire"

wrote the London journal *East African and Rhodesia* (16.10.47).

But this relationship of antagonism between the older imperialist powers such as Britain and France and the United States was paralleled by another relationship—one of dependence and common interest in the struggle against the mounting national liberation movement.

The older imperialists sought to use American aid to retain their colonies. Sometimes America was prepared to give it—at a price; at other times—and sometimes simultaneously—particularly when the freedom movement was gaining strength, Washington would flirt with it in the hope of ousting the old imperialist power and establishing its own indirect domination by winning over leaders or sections of the movement.

American penetration of Africa gathered tempo rapidly in the postwar years. By 1953 an American newspaperman, Edwin A. Lahey, was able to report (*Chicago Daily News* 18.3.53) that

"Imperialism would be a nasty word to describe our own expanding interest in Africa, but the list of American projects to develop the vast mineral resources of this continent suggests that the 19th century imperialism of England, France, Belgium and Portugal is child's play by comparison..."

INVESTMENT

The postwar years have seen substantial increases in U.S. investments in Rhodesia, the Congo, Morocco, Kenya and the Portuguese colonies, with the emphasis on strategic minerals such as uranium, copper, chrome, manganese and lithium.



MR. KAPENDA MOISE TSHOMBE, America's puppet Premier of Congo Leopoldville

rica, blurted out three years ago,

"If the State Department gave the money it would be branded 'imperialist money', but if it comes from a trade union they can't say that."

But despite this ideological offensive, the people of Africa have not been deceived. Facts speak louder than words, and they know that despite all American spokesmen's fine talk about freedom and democracy, it was American planes that carried the Belgian paratroopers to Stanleyville, and that America is supplying Tshombe with arms, war planes and money.

They recall that America likewise supplied the arms used by the French in their war against the Algerian people, and that Washington is dragging its feet on effective action against Verwoerd because American Big Business has a vested interest in apartheid.

And they know too that they can expect little from a government which cannot even ensure the lives, dignity and democratic freedoms of its own citizens of African descent.

These are among the factors that have led to a decline in U.S. standing in Africa, and to a series of diplomatic rebuffs and set-backs. There can be no doubt that these rebuffs and setbacks stood high on the agenda at Addis Ababa.

But the main outcome will undoubtedly be a new U.S.—inspired offensive designed to wreck the Accra Summit. The coming weeks will see new moves by Washington's African mouthpieces to sabotage the meeting that can mark a new step along the road to African unity—the thing the neo-colonialists most fear.

A special role has been played by the Right-Wing leaders of the U.S. trade union movement, both directly and through the U.S.-dominated International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Their role has been to impose so-called "moderate" leaders on African trade unions—in other words, leaders who are content to work within the framework of capitalism—and to transform African workers—the vanguard of the African revolution—into tame puppets of capitalism and neo-colonialism.

U.S. SET-BACKS

As Leonard Woodcock, Vice-President of the United Automobile Workers of Ame-

NEW INTEREST

It was in the following year that a new bureau of the State Department was set up to deal with African affairs, and U.S. universities and research bodies have been showing a growing interest in Africa.

THE WEST

The State Department, no less than its counterparts in London, Paris, Brussels, Lisbon, Madrid, Bonn and Pretoria, realises only too well that a United Africa means an Africa in which foreign diplomatic and economic domination will be ended for all time.

What Washington would like to see in Africa is an agglomeration of petty states, ruled by men readily amenable to U.S. pressure, loyal supporters of the interests of foreign Big Business.

It wants to see a new Latin America of pre-Cuba Revolution vintage—a continent of states each ostensibly independent, but each in fact tied firmly to America by dollar strings.

American diplomats in Africa like to boast of the fact that their country never had colonies in Africa; in this way they hope to curry favour with progressive African opinion.

It is interesting to recall that in 1913 Ambassador Page, Washington's representative in London, wrote in a private letter complaining about Britain's "unctuous rectitude in stealing continents... I guess they really believe that the earth belongs to them".

PROFITS

But in a subsequent letter to President Wilson Ambassador Page wrote that

"The future of the world belongs to us. These English are spending their capital ...



MR. MENNEN WILLIAMS, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

ous profits from the belligerents and intervened only in the final stage with the minimum of losses and with unexhausted forces to exercise a decisive voice in the settlement.

The United States advanced to the position of a creditor country and embarked on large-scale foreign investment. It was during these years that the pattern American neo-colonialism—imperialism without the flag—began to take shape.

It was the Second World War that brought the decisive

rialist powers which had been her allies—Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland—emerged from the war economically and financially weakened.

By contrast, America Big Business had made enormous profits from the war, totalling, according to official records, £15,000 million after taxation. They had increased the productive power of their industries by one half and accumulated capital reserves of some £21,250 million.

By the end of the second world war American capital controlled 60 per cent of the productive capacity of the capitalist world and 73 per cent of its investment capacity.

This vast expansion of accumulated capital and productive power sought an outlet after the war. It led to the drive for American world expansion which has been so marked a characteristic of the post-war years.

PENETRATION

It was this, together with the search for military and strategic footholds, which led to the great post-war increase in U.S. penetration of Africa—a continent in which the United States had previously not been in a position to gain any substantial footing (with the exception of Liberia).

Indeed, even while the war was still in progress U.S. business circles were casting calculating eyes on Africa. As early as November, 1941 the American magazine *Fortune*, voice of influential U.S. Big Business circles, described Africa as "the jack pot of World War Two".

Buy and Read

THE SPARK

Africa's Socialist Weekly

TWOPENCE PER COPY

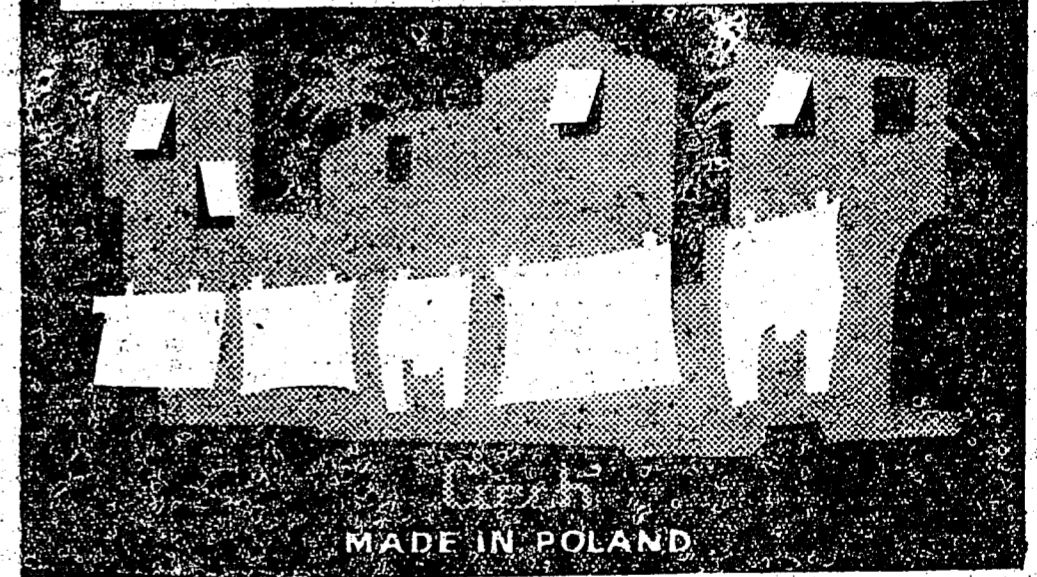
For subscription details

Contact: NAPADO Ltd.

Box 2052

Accra.

ULTRAMARINE BLUE



ULTRAMARINE

is...

BLUE

High tinting strength; Excellent fastness to light, makes your clothes look ...

Exported by:

Ciech LTD.

Import/Export of Chemicals Warsaw, Jasna St. 12, Poland.

Information in Ghana: TRADE REPRESENTATION OF POLAND, P.O. BOX 2552, COCOA HOUSE, ACCRA. PHONE: 64326



Try Ultramarine Blue today!