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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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EDITORIAL

STRIKING CONTRAST

A GROUP of young Soviet science and mathematics teachers who have for the last two years been teaching in our secondary schools left for home this week.

The shortage of science teachers was one of the most serious shortcomings of the inadequate and one-sided educational system bequeathed to us by colonialism.

Without science teachers it is impossible even to begin the training of the engineers, the physicists, the chemists, the agriculturalists that are necessary if we are to achieve genuine economic independence.

The Soviet teachers came to help fill this

Before they left for home they were received by Kwame Nkrumah, who on behalf of the nation thanked them for their efforts.

The Soviet young people won our respect by their knowledge and competence, by their enthusiasm and hard work.

They won our affection by the quiet modesty with which they came and did their job, and by their sympathetic understanding of our hopes and aspirations, and of our determination to build a Socialist Ghana.

It is impossible not to contrast the quiet way in which they came and did their job with the much-publicised activities of such organisations as the American "Peace Corps", whose leaders make no effort to conceal the fact that they see its members as propagandists of the "American way of life", "missionaries of freedom" and champions of capitalist free enterprise.

Indeed, there are indications that for many in Washington this propaganda role is primary. Otherwise, how are we to account for the fact that, according to U.S. Congressmen, the majority of "Peace Corps" teachers are not qualified to teach in the United States itself?

There was also the case of the twenty-six "Peace Corps" volunteers designated for agricultural work in a tropical country—but according to evidence given in the U.S. House of Representatives at the beginning of March last year, only six could in any way be described as specialists in agriculture—and not one was a specialist in tropical agriculture.

The organisers of the "Peace Corps" are concerned less about professional skill than about the ideological purity of the volunteers.

They see the "Peace Corps" not primarily as a means of assisting the developing countries, but as a means of winning support for the "American way of life" among young people. and of influencing those who will be the future leaders of their countries.

Those who guide the activities of the "Peace Corps' have no sympathy with our efforts to build a Socialist Ghana in which the exploitation of man by man will be ended; they would like to see the developing countries take the capitalist road, the road of continued subordination to neo-colonialism.

This has been recognised by a number of developing countries which have either restricted the activities of the "Peace Corps" or rejected its dubious services altogether.

Other neo-colonialist Powers have followed the U.S. example, by setting up their own "Peace Corps", trying to harness the ideal-ism of youth and use it for their own ends. There is talk of a "Combined Peace Corps"

uniting groups of volunteers from these countries for a 'joint offensive'.

Such projects clearly demonstrate that the intentions of their inspirers have little in common with the aim of giving genuine disinterested assistance to the developing countries. They are merely ill-concealed attempts to extend the Cold War.

n In Scilsbury?

Is Wilson planning new 'Facing both ways' Deal?

WHAT goes on in Salisbury, where Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, the British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations has for nearly two weeks been carrying on talks with racist Prime Minister Ian Smith? The subject of the talks has been a closely-quarded secret in both Salisbury and Landon, but there are clear indications that Mr. Hughes is preparing the way for a deal at the expense of Rhodesia's African majority.

The first ominous indication of what was afoot came when on his arriv-



Mr. Nkomo, the detained African leader. "Distance involved is too great", said Mr. Hughes.

al in Salisbury Mr. Hughes said it was unlikely that he would see Mr. Nkomo, the detained African leader, because "The distance involved is too great"—a scarcely convincing plea in this age of air travel.

- After only two days of talks, Mr. lan Smith told a public meeting a that progress had been made on Rhodesian independence.

LISBON JOB

"i have made it clear to the British Government that we will have our independence. The only uncertain thing is in what manner we will have it", he declared.

Mr. Smith is already going ahead with plans to set up his own Embassy in Lisbon—the latest

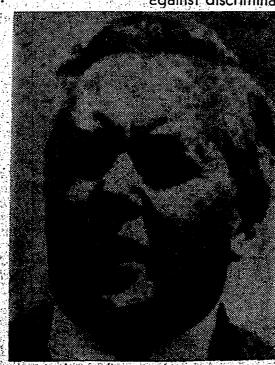
by a Spark Correspondent

in a series of moves the made to cement relations with Portugal, Khodesia's partner together with South Africa in an alliance to maintain white domination south of the Zambezi.

Other moves planned include a red carpet tour of Rhodesia by the Governor-General of Fortugal's neighbouring colony of Mozambique, in twenty years' time". while Mr. Smith's deputy Prime Minister and Minizambique, last month elect an African Prime and, in the words of the London "Economist" (3. ing".

CLEAR HINT.

Commented the London journal: "The pieces are falling into place for e thorough-going alliance of the white south, with Rhodesia assigned the major task of holding the Zambezi, frontier against the black north. The time will come when Mr. Smith will feel secure enough to go over from the defensive to the offensive in his pursuit of independence.'



"Mr. Wilson has on other issues shown that he likes to be everything to all men... Is he now trying to do the same thing on Rhodesia?"

Mr. Smith had already racist Prime Minister has given a clear hint of v. h a t "independence" under the rule of the white settler minority would mean for the African majority in a press interview significantly timed to coincide with Mr. Hughes' arrival. Mr. Smith said that while he did not believe in apartheid now, "this is not to say I will feel the same

He admitted that under the present constister of Defence, Mr. tution it would take Dupont, was in Lourenco around thirty years for Marques, capital of Mo- an African majority to Minister.

And he made it clear 7. 65) "came back smil- that the white minority believe they have made 'all the concessions they could morally be asked to make when the electorate (that is, the overwhelmingly white settler electorate—Ed. accepted the 1961 Constitution.

It was this Constitution which the present Labour leader when in opposition described as 'intended to implement constitutional proposals which fail to provide for the African people of Southern Rhodesia either ade quate safeguards egainst discrimination or



Mr. Smith says he doesn't believe in apartheid nowbut "this is not to say I will feel the same in twenty years' time."

adequate representation every new U.S. move to in the legislature.

The present British Chancellor of the Exchequer, the present British Home Secretary, the present British Minister for Overseas Development and the present British Attorney-General all predicted in every detail the tyranny and oppression which would result from its imposition.

FORM OF WORDS

Are they now conspiring with Smith to find a form of words which they hope will mollify the African Commonwealth leaders but on every essential qive Smith what he wants with independence under this Constitution?

Mr. Wilson has on other issues shown that he likes to be everything to all men: for the men in Washington, he has given service support for

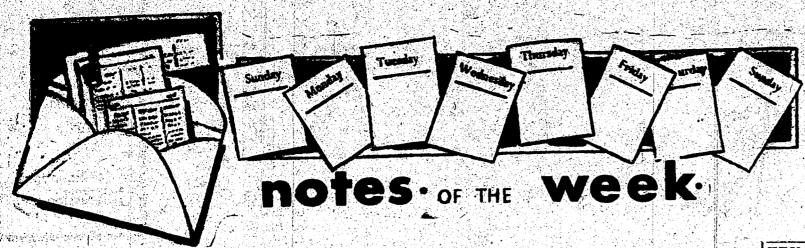
step up the war in Vietnam -but for growing rumber who demand an end to the way he has posed as the champion of peace.

Is he now trying to do the same thing on Rhodesia—satisfy Mr. Smith and the white supremacists both in Salisbury and London on the one hand while seeming to satisfy the African majority and the African leaders of the Commonwealth on the other?

But this time the "facing both ways" trick won't work. This time Mr. Wilson has to decide which side he is on.

Mr. Wilson, like his Tory predecessors, pleads that Rhodesia is a "self-governing colony (whatever that may be) and that a Parliamentary convention prevents the British Government exercising

Continued on page 6



THE "New York Herald Tribune" (20.7.65) made a great discovery. In a headline which must rate high on the list of understatements of the year, it with an air of pained surprise declared: "Bombed villages learn to hate U.S."

The headline was on a story from one of the paper's correspondents who had visited a South Vietnam village shortly after it had been, to use the paper's ewn words, "blasted by U.S. and Vietnamese planes."

"The wailing of women and the stench of burned bodies greeted the column of troops as they marched wearily into Ba Gia", the report said.

"Four villagers carrying a pallet with a wounded man stared hatefully at American advisers accompanying Vietnamese Marines, seeming to accuse the Americans of the death and destruction.

"Sitting in the middle of a dirt road was a woman cradling a baby and flanked by two other small children. Her cries of anguish made most of the Vietnamese troops turn aside.

"Surveying the shattered, stucco and bamboo homes and the machine-gunned Catholic church, one U.S. adviser said ==

"That's why we are going to lose this stupid damn war. Senseless, its just sen-

Ba Gia, the report continues, was considered a pro-government village". But that did not save it from being hit three days running with bombs, rockets and cannon fire from American and puppet Vietnamese fighter-bombers.

In attempt to justify this terror bombing of innocent villagers, a U.S. Air Force officer pleaded that "when we are in a bind like we were at Ba Gia we unload on the whole area to try to save the situation. We usually kill more women and kids than we do Viet Cong (National Liberation Movement fighters—Ed.).

Some pilots, says the report, "have expressed reservations about hitting villages, but many say they have been told that women and children have been evacuated from the target area... This is not true in

all cases" (italics ours-Ed.). Side by side with this story was another from the big U.S. air base at Da Nang describing how two drunken U.S. Marines had tried to steal two jet combers in order to carry out an air raid on Hanoi, capital of the Democartic Republic of Vietnam.

"The Marines reportedly said then that they wanted to bomb Hanoi, because they felt the war should be "Peace, Freedom and pushed harder", said the Socialism", the inter-

There have in the past been cases of U.S. servicemen becoming mentally unbalanced and threatening to drop atomic bombs; now two drunken U.S. Marines were apparantly able to gain access to aircraft with which they could have brought the war in Vietnam to a new pitch.

The United States asks he world to believe in its sense of responsibility Pentagon "whizz kid" Mac-Namara would have us believe that all U.S. actions are carefully weighed.

Tell it to the Marines especially those at Da

for the workers-and that even in the advanced counincludes the workers in the State enterprises—and not at their expense.

Nor, to judge from the published excerpts, does Mr. Foevie seem to understand that Ghana is as yet only on the road to Socialism; it has not yet reached Socialism; there are still many elements of capitalism in Ghana, still many old fashioned private employers who would like to go on in old way.

Finally, at a time when

tries strenuous efforts are being made to increase the number of graduates at all levels in industry—a move prompted by the growing complexity of modern industry-Mr. Foevie's attacks on "theorists" are to say the least short-sighted.

needs every Ghana highly-trained engineer and scientist it can get. To dismiss them as "theorists" while hailing the 'practical man" is to do Ghana's industrial future a disservice.

Symptomatic review

KWAME Nkrumah's Consciencism" 'has won a worthy place in the ideological struggle presently under way in Africa, and has evoked keen interest also beyond its boundaries". writes a leading Soviet student of African affairs, Dr. Iskenderov, in a review published by national Marxist journal.

Kwame Nkrumah, writes Dr. Iskenderov, "is a thinker who has made a profound study of the complex problems of the African revolution.

Extirpating the last vestiges of colonialism, throwing light on the forms and methods of neo-colonialism, advocacy of Afriacn Unity. the continents role in world politics its economic andsocial prospects—these and and other issues have been the subject of his investiga-

Iskenderov recalls Dr. that Ghana was the first country in Tropical Africa to win political independence following World War Two. This determined its place in the national liberation movement of the African people. It became a beacon illumining the way to independence for other

It was in the capital of Ghana, Accra, that the first meeting of representatives of eight independent African states took place in 1958, and in Accra that the first African people's conference was held.

The Soviet reviewer underlines that Kwame Nkrumah's sympathies are with the materialist philosophy which not only explains the world but helps to remake it.

"It is", he writes, "symptomatic that Nkrumah chose as the epigraph to his Consciencism the passage in in a letter by Engels to J. Bloch in which the writer underscores the indispensability of the materialist conception of history."

For many years now, Dr. Iskenderov goes on, Kwame Nkrumah has been elaborating a theory of Socialism applicable to African conditions. Socialism alone, he maintains, offers the possibility of achieving in the shortest possible time a good life for the people, because Socialism presupposes public ownership of the means of productionthe land and its resourcesand the utilisation of these means for production for the people.

This review is symptomatic of the widespread interest aroused by Kwame Nkrumah's efforts to apply the teachings of scientific socialism to African conditions.

JULY 9:

GHANA: Ghanaian Science Students will be among 500 other students from 30 countries who will attend an international youth science conference opening in London later this month. The conference is organised by the World Friends International Service for Youth. * Three Afro-Asian countries

(Sierra-Leone, Tanzania, and Ceylon) have placed orders with the state match company for Made-in-Ghana matches, the managing director Mr. J. E. Ackah has said in Kade.

RHODESIA: OUTHERN Mr. Oscar Kambona, Tanzania's Foreign Minister, has urged U.N. Members to call on Britain to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule with guarantees for the maiority.

AMBIA-TANZANIA: Mr. Reginald Freeson, a British Labour Member of Parliament, has urged his government to seek consultation and make plans to set up a Zambia-Tanzania railway consortium under the auspices of an appropriate U.N. agency. He said the consortium should be formed with the United States and other Commonwealth and Western governments.

JULY 10: GHANA: The three-member Liberian agricultural mission now visiting Ghana, today begin a tour of state farms in the Volta Region.

SOUTH AFRICA: The British Goevrnment is to be asked to place a complete ban on the distribution and production of British films in apartheid South Africa, the British Screenwrite Guild has announced in London.

MALAWI: Mr. V. H. B. Gondwe, Malawi High Commissioner who has been in Ghana for a year has left Accra by air for Washington. for re-assignment as his country's ambassador in the United States.

GHANA: Professor N. G. Bakhoom, Principal of the University College of Science Education has left Accra by air for Prague, Czechoslovakia, to recruit staff for the College.

JULY 12:

GHANA: Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's Foreign Minister and President of the United Nations General Assembly has arrived in Accra by air from London for consultations.

* Soviet Science and mathematics teachers who arrived in the country two years ago to teach in secondary schools and are due to leave, called on Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the Flagstaff House to bid him good-bye.

MALI: President Modibo Keita of Mali addressing delegates from Africa, People's China, North Korea and the German Democratic Republic in Bamako has accused the colonialists of conspiring to isolate African countries from their brothers.

GHANA: Ghana produced 64,790,347 fine ounces of gold in May this year, the Commercial Industry Bulletin has said in Accra. The whole figure for the year, is 337,032,583 fine ounces.

UGANDA: Three Uganda Members of Parliament at the week-end left the Kabaka Yekka Party and joined the ruling Uganda Congress.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The multilated bodies of four African Freedom Fighters murdered by white settler Rhodesian jailers, were

buried in the prison yard in Salisbury, Tass reported.

of 67 fascist South African

white mercenaries left Johan-

nesburg for Leopoldville to

join Tshombe's hired troops

under the British blood-thirsty colonel Mike Hoare.

ALGERIA: During the naming

of the new Algerian Govern-

ment according to report re-

leased in Algiers at the week-

end, Colonel Houari Boume-

dienne, head of the Algerian

Revolutionary Council, was

appointed Prime Minister and

and Minister of Defence.

Seven out of the 20 Cabinet

Ministers who served in the

government of former Presi-

dent Ben Bella were retained

GHANA: A delegation of

Ghana's Agricultural Union

has arrived in Prague today,

the Czechoslovak News

* Dr. Subandrio, Indone-

sian Vice-Premier and Fo-

reign Minister has arrived in

29-member goodwill mission.

cond batch of Premier Moise

Tshombe's white mercena-

naries left Johannesburg,

South Africa today by air

for Congo (Leopoldville).

The chief mercenary recruit-

ing officer Captain Cde Jeep-

er has said the batch of 190

mercenaries would replace

those who have finished their

term of Service in the Congo.

SUDAN: Seventy-one people

are reporetd killed in the

latest clashes between the

South Sudanese dissidents

and Government forces in a

serious fighting which took

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile

Selassie of Ethiopia begins

state visits to Zambia and

Malawi at the end of July

and the beginning of August,

it has been reported in Addis

U.A.R.: The Soviet Govern-

ment has invited President

Gamal Abdel Nasser of the

United Arab Republic to pay

an official visit to the Soviet

Union starting from August

27, it has been announced in

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

The Rhodesian minority set-

tler regime has banned all

branches of the Zambian rul-

ling United National Inde-

pendence Party (UNIP) for

Zambians resident in Rhode-

sia. The copy of the banning

order was given to Mr. Amon

NIGERIA: Kuwait is to lend

Nigetia £2 million, the "Al

Rai Al Aum" newspaper re-

ported in Kuwait today. The

agreement for the loan was

reached during the visit of

Northern Nigeria Premier Sir

GHANA: Mr. N. A. Welbeck,

Minister of State for Party

Propaganda, addressing the

World Peace Council Con-

gress in Helsinki, Finland,

stated that, "Ghana believes

in supporting and upholding

the authority of the United

Nations but this does not

mean that she regards the

world organisation as per-

TANZANIA: Mr. William S.

J. Maleceia, Tanzania's first

High Commissioner to Cana-

da, presenting his credentials

to the Canadian Governor-

General has said in Ottawa

today that his country will

accept aid from any country

that will help it combat the

three greatest problems fac-

ing its population—poverty,

GHANA: President Kwame

Nkrumah has sent a message

of condolence to President

Lyndon B. Jonhnson of the

United States on the death

of Mr. Adlai Stevenson,

American Ambassador to the

United Nations, saying that

the United States has lost an

extremely able and capable

disease and ignorance.

Salamu today.

Ahmadu Bello.

fect".

JULY 15:

place in the South.

Ababa today.

Cairo.

JULY 14:

CONGO (Leopoldville): A se-

Ghana as the leader of a

in the new Government.

JULY 13:

Agency reports.

SOUTH AFRICA: A planeload

* Mr. Robert K. Gardiner, Ghanaian Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa has called on African countries to shake off their dependency on outside factors in order to ensure their economic stability.

SOUTH AFRICA: The move by African countries to oust apartheid South Africa from the International Civil Aviation Organisaiton failed to get the necessary majority at a meeting of I.C.A.O. general assembly in Montreal, Canada.

JGANDA: The Prime Minister of Uganda, Dr. Milton Obote, currently touring China today left Peking by air for Shanghai for a day's visit. The Prime Minister would extend his visit to Japan, it has been announced in Peking.

NIGERIA: Mr. Abraham Adedire, a Nigerian student, who underwent a kidney transplant operation last February died today in hospital at Ann Arbor, Michigan, United States.

GHANA: The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, now in Ghana, replying to a toast proposed by Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey, at his Ministry in Accra has said that Ghana under the leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, had been an inspiration to many emergent nations in the Afro-Asian world.

JULY 16:

SUDAN: Mr. George Kwanae, publicity secretary of the Azania Liberation Front, speaking at a press conference today, accused the Sudan Government of attempting an all-out anihiliation of the Southern population. He declared that Northern Sudan authorities had planned to kill all educated Africans in the south because they were desperate. GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah has been invited

by President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to visit Hanoi. * Dr. Subandrio, the Indonesian Foreign Minister today called on President Kwame Nkrumah at the Castle.

LIBERIA: President William Tubman of Liberia has said in Monrovia that his country would not rush to recognise the new Algerian Government. ALGERIA: Thirty-two Iraqi

lawyers have informed the new Algerian Government of their readiness to defend the deposed President, Ahmed Bella, if he is to be tried. KENYA: The Kenya Supreme

Court, today sitting in Nairobi, sentenced Kisilu Mutu to death for the murder of a Kenya Member of Parliament, Mr. Pio Gama Pinto. Cheg Thue, charged jointly with Kisilu, was acquitted. * Mr. Humphrey Slade, British-born Speaker of the Kenya House of Representatives, has said in Nairobi that he may resign following defeat in the House of a motion to suspend a member he had named for gross misconduct. JULY 17:

UGANDA: Uganda Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote and Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai in a joint communique issued today in Canton, have condemned the United States armed aggression in Vietnam. TOGO: The Togo National

Assembly today unanimously approved the country's first five-year development plan providing for a total investment of 28,592 million France (about £40,845,715) from 1966 to 1970, after a two-day debate.

GHANA: Mr. J. J. Nquku, President of the Swaziland Progressive Party, has paid a courtesy call on President Kwame Nkrumah at the Castle today.

Attention Mr. Foevie

THERE are those who arque that because Ghana is advancing along the road to Socialism, the trade unions should renounce their role as defenders of the workers.

In an address to the last biennial conference of the Mine Workers' Union at Tarkwa, excerpts from which were published by the Ghanaian Times (27.7.65) Mr. D. K. Foevie, Managing Director of the State Mining Corporation called upon trade unionism to avoid the use of what he termed "prejudice" against employers. "In a state enterprise, the

union must always bear in mind the paramount interest of the State"- he declared.

There is, of course, something in what Mr. Foevie says but let us be clear that the trade unions cannot and should not allow the managements of state enterprises to make a success of their undertakings, at the expense of their workers, or through holding back the improvement of conditions, still less through the whittling away of advances that

have been made.

State enterprises exist to serve the people, and the people includes the workers who work in these enterprises. Workers in state enterprises cannot be expected to accept a slower pace of improvement in their conditions merely because they work for state enterprises.

Indeed, it should be the aim of management and trade unions together to bring about a situation in which the state enterprises can provide model conditions for their workers, setting an example for other employers to follow.

* * *

This is the direction in which Mr. Foevie's thoughts should be moving; instead, he utters threats: "if any member of the Union does not consider it desirable to cooperate with the management towards the common good and do his duty as he should, it will be our sacred duty to take such action as is necessary to protect the industry".

This is not the way the manager of State enterprise in a country advancing along the road to Socialism

talks to the workers. Management must realise that Socialism is being built

nam U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara is reported to have found the situation

> There is speculation that as a result of his report to President Johnson, the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam will increase to 100,000 or more by late summer or early autumn, and that a limited call-up will be necessary in the United States.

In view of the frequent attempts to depict Mr. McNamara as some sort of a genius whose mind works with computer-like infallibility, we thought it appropriate to recall some of the things Mr.

DURING his latest McNamara said after earlier visits to South Vietnam.

> Progress in the last eight to ten weeks has been great... The [South Vietnam] Government has asked only for logistical support" (May, 1962).

be completed by the end of 1965 although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. training personnel" (October, 1963).

We have every reason to believe that [U.S. military] plans will be s u c c e ssful in 1964" (December, 1963).

plans point the way to victory" (March, 1964).

WHIZZ-KID?

visit to South Vietworse than it was on his previous visit.

"The major part of the U.S. military task can

We are confident these

Apartheid means big profit IN South Africa, ten for Big Business

million Africans in the land that is theirs are helots to three million whittes. Every African. whether in rural reserve or urban location, is a potential or actual worker for the European. This is what the law says and provides for, without guaranteeing him the means of keeping himself and his family

Need must force him out to work, and need is promoted by depriving him of land, henming him within over-crowded, soil-eroded reserves, and imposing upon him hut and poll taxes from which not even unemployment exempts him.

As though this were not added a series of pass laws from place to place, and make him a vagrant, a pariah and a permanent breaker of laws as a way of providing a constant source of slave labour for farms, mining and industry.

The gold industry was founded in the Transvaal, where Johannesburg had been established in 1886, and the Chartered Company formed by Cecil Rhodes had acquired and settled large territories in South Central Africa.

The grievances of the Boers which led up to the war of 1899-1902 against the British had their basic cause in the disagreements between the two settler groups over the methods of securing African labour.

Out of the Boer war came the Union which, like that America, was the instrument which far-sighted imperial realists like Sir George Grey and Lord Carnaryon regarded as vital to the economic future of South

Likewise, the main cause of the wars for union in both countries revolved round the problem of establishing a policy in relation to black labour which would be uniform throughout the land.

IN AMERICA

In America, capitalism was building a diversified economy upon the primary resources of the land, and had come to the point where so-called free labour was regarded as more productive and, therefore, more economic than slave labour.

In South Africa, the output of mining and the surpluses of agriculture were for export. In contrast to America, the white settlers were in a minority, and had at their disposal a fivetimes preponderant majority of Africans that could be kept as hewers of wood and drawers of water without outright slavery.

The scramble for maximum profit demanded the lowest possible wage levels for the Africans, not only asthe general policy of capitalist competition but also to offset the inflated rewards paid to white labour, which is a highly privileged group in South Africa.

Over a century ago, Karl Marx urged the "workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains"—but in South Africa the chains are heaviest upon the black workers and some of the white workers have helped in no small way to lock them.

It was European workers who in the Labour Party, formed a bloc with the

party of the Boer farmers, Nationalist Party headed by General Hertzog, to fight the general election of 1924, in which General Smuts was defea-

This move followed the strike on the Rand mines in 1922, when Smuts, under pressure from the mining capitalists, attempted to abolish the agreement of 1918 which established the colour bar in the distribution of jobs as between Europeans and Africans.

Hertzog's win led to the passing of the Mines and Works Amendment Act of enough, South Africa has 1926, which made it an offence for the mine-owners which hound the African to employ Africans in any but unskilled jobs. Skilled and semi-skilled work was reserved to Europeans because, declared Hertzog,

"the white man in South Africa has to fight anunequal fight against the natives of South Africa, and if we do not take the necessary precautions to see the inequality and competition existing between the two are placed on such a footing that there is room for the native, as well as the European, then not only will the strike and bloodshed of 1922 be repeated, but other things will be repeated in South Africa imported labour from

of a more serious nature". It would be quite wrong to think that the succession of extreme racialist rulers from Hertzog to Verwoerd of the United States of are alone responsible for the excesses of apartheid.

CONSISTENT

Racial segregation has been the consistent and considered policy of the European imperialism that governs South Africa, whose economy rests directly upon the mining industry, whose gold and diamonds provide almost 70 per cent of the country's exports.

Even though agriculture may employ larger numbers than mining, the latter's central position in the economic life of the country dictates the national wages policy for all non-whites. Under the colour bar legislation, mining is obliged to employ at least one white worker for every ten African workers.

It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that white workers in the mining industry earn an average of fifteen times the wages of Africans, while in other industrial branches the ratio may fall to five times as much. In 1959, the per head income for whites was £245, for Coloureds and Asians £53 and for Africans £39. It is no wonder that 55-60 per cent of Africans families live in perpetual

BOOM

South Africa is now passing through a boom period, in which the mining industry is expanding, with a corresponding increase in its demands for labour. Wages for Africans have to be kept at a depressed level in order that profits may keep rising.

The reserves are deliberately kept over-crowded, unkept and squalid, and unable to support themselves. These conditions, together with the pressure to find tax money, force the young and able-bodied to

of European imperialism's profits.

Long before apartheid came into the political dictionary, the Native Affairs Department was created to regulate the flow of labour from reserves to mines. The secondary industries, trade and commerce that grew up upon the basis of mining created further demands for labour.

'More and more laws pressed upon the non-Europeans, but mostly upon the Africans, whose labour, as long as the economy was mainly agricultural and mining, it was hoped would provide sufficient number.

LABOUR

. The mines today rely for some 60 per cent cent of their labour upon neighbouring countries, which is obtained by special arrangements with the authorities of those countries. The Portuguese government has long profited from the traffic in the hire of Africans from Angola and Mozam-

bique. South Africa's growing industrialisation and widening economy, coupled with the growing African Free-dom movement has created a shortage of labour. Apartheid eannot trust too much nearby countries "tainted". with freedom.

These are factors from which spring the growing viciousness of South Africa's laws. And the point has come when those sections of non-white population—the Coloured and the Asians-until recently treated as more privileged BRITISH Big Business groups in order to divide them from the "natives", must also be brought into the stream of workers in mine and industry.

Division between the non-European groups has been maintained by education.
There was "Coloured education" and "native education", and there was also wage differentiation according to racial group.

WHITTLED AWAY

Before the time of the National Party, in 1943, when the United Party was in power, a Coloured Advisory Council was formed to work with a sub-department under social welfare. Out of this developed the existing Coloured Affairs department and the Union Council of Coloured Affairs.

Mr. I .B. Tabata, of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (an affiliate of the All-African Convention), in the course of his presidential address in Cape Town in April 1962, relates these creations to the discovery. of rich deposits of gold in the Free State,

"and that double the size of the existing labour force would be necessary to extract it. Thus the United Party set about a 'Native Affairs department' for the coloured and Indian sectors. It was to be a department of state that would specialise in the field or making

labour available." Gradually the privileges that divided the other nonwhite groups from the Africans have been whittled away and, finding themselves loaded with similar disabilities and humiliations, waste their life in the service they too are playing their by a Spark Correspondent

part in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Yet, there are still certain differences. For the Indian and Coloured workers there is still some semblance of trade unionism. For the Africans trade unionism is an impossibility.

But South Africa is not without its history of trade unionism among the Africans. The most renowned is the I.C.U., or Industrial and Commercial Union, formed in 1919 by Clements Kadalie, who came from Nyasaland. The I.C.U. had a membership of some quarter of a million by 1928.

Its impact was so powerful that in the Cape election of 1924 Hertzog appealed for it to rally behind him against Smuts.

The lesson is that the combined might of the African workers represents power, and the lesson has been well remembered by South Africa's rulers.

The formation of an African trade union is more than a means of economic pressure. It is a dynamic political act which aims at changing the status of the African. So the apartheid regime has all along set out to smash the unions.

South Africa's laws specifically exclude the African workers from their definition of the term "workers". They are refused the right to strike, no matter how legitimate their grievances. Strike action by Africans renders them liable to a fine of up to C500 or three years' imprisonment or both Coloured and Indian workers have a statutory right to organise themselves into their exclusive unionsprovided they have "whites only" on their executives.

VULNERABLE

Thriving as South Africas' economy is, it is dangerously vulnerable. The apartheid rulers fear any slump in the mining industry. They fear that any change in the staties of the African worker will undermine its profits.

are not enough whites to do the jobs, while the law living standards of the Africans ... restricts internal South African market to a fraction of its potential white competition in external markets grows keener.

A correspondent of the conservative London Sunday Telegraph, Kenneth Fleet, giving A View of South Africa (April 5, 1964) while supporting the Verwoerd regime raises some relevant questions:

"The economic issue is not simply that of keeping the whites in charge. Beyond the present boom which seems likely to run through this year and into the next, South Africa has to look seriously into the difficult and sophisticated problem of building up secondary industry to a pitch where it can replace the mines as the prime source of wealth exports when they eventually run out. This will not be easy. It will be impossible within the present frame-work of South Africa's law and a siege economy" (italics aded).

He quotes Harry Oppen-On the other hand, there heimer, the king of mining

and many other interests in South Africa, who was his host as saying:

"If we can handle the economic side of the situation, certainly some of the asperities of the social and political conflict will be removed".

The Sunday Telegraph's correspondent prefers to put it the other way round:

"unless some of the causes of social and political conflict are removed the economic situation cannot be handled". Mr. Fleet expresses him-

self as confident that the situation will be handledbut quotes South Africa's Minister of Labour as saying that if the Bantu settled in the white areas "he would want political rights and once he gets political rights the white man is finished. This is our simple philosophy."

Against this "simple philosophy" of the Afrikaner nationalist, who regards and treats the African as an interloper in his own land, there is opposed the simple philosophy of the African: his right to live as a free man in human dignity, to possess the land that is rightfuly his and guide his own affairs.

Between these philosophies there can be no compromise. Nothing can solve South Africa's situation except the complete reduction of the present policy of apartheid.

BIG STAKE OF BRITISH **BUSINESS**

has a stake in apartheid, for it is by far the largest foreign investor in South Africa. The figures for 1958, for example, show that total foreign investment in the apartheid republic was £1,580 million—£900 million of it British.

Most of the capital of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Ltd., responsible for 18 per cent of South Africa's gold production in 1961, is British. The company's net profit in that year was just over £4 million on £14,500,000 capital.

Likewise, the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa Ltd., once partly American, is now almost entirely British and South African, and is run by its chairman Harry Oppenheimer and his associates.

Its capital is only £7,750,000, but its 1961 profits were £8,400,000 and its dividends to shareholders £4,900,000. It is the centre of a ramified group of companies operating in many parts of Southern Africa.

It is an old-established company on the Rand, and has also been one of the corporations active in the recently-developed Orange Free State gold-

Union Corporation, another big corporation active in the Orange Free State mines, has £1,250,000 capital and its profits in 1961 were £6,400,000. The chairman of this corporation is Sir Charles Hambro of Hambro's Bank, who is also a

England. Other directors of the Corporation include two Conservative peers.

In addition to mining, of which we have only quoted a few examples above, there is hardly any field in which British companies and their subsidiaries are not engaged. To mention only a few, there is African Explosives and Chemical In-

dustries, a huge concern manufacturing industrial explosives, fertilisers, chlorine and now engaged in making ammunitions for the Verwoerd govern-

African Explosive is owned half by De Beers and half by the British firm Imperial Chemical Industries. which has agreed to leave the market in Africa south of the Sahara to African Explosives. Its chairman is Oppenheimer and its deputy chairman Paul Chambers, the chairman of I.C.I.

Other leading British companies with South African subsidiaries include Courtaulds, Vickers, English Electric, Stewarts and Lloyds, Tube Investments, Guest Keen and Nettiefold, Turner and Newall, and Unilever.

In banking, the two most important of the four large banks in South Africa are Barclays D.C. & O. and the Standard Bank (no longer "of South Africa") both of which are British.

British Big Business likewise has an interest in trade with South Africa. Britain's exports to South Africa last year totalled £224,600,000, compared with only £148,200,000 in

director of the Bank of In the words of the Financial Times Annual Review, "South Africa is in fact Britain's third best customer in the world, after the U.S. and Australia."

> According to Verwoerd's Ambassador in Britain, Dr. Carel De Wet (who before the full details of the Sharpeville shootings were known, complained in the South African Parliament that not enough Africans had been killed)

South Africa is Britain's best market for motor cars and agricultural. ipment, telecon cation equipment, railway vehicles, lorries, coaches and ships.

These facts demonstrate why Britain is stalling in sanctions against South Africa. Its profits matter more than the human rights of ten million Africans.



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SOME PROBLEMS OF TH AFRICAN VILLAGE THE African Village is deceptive. On the

surface it appears to be just awaking from sleep. Men talk lazily in the shade. From beyond fences come the voices of women preparing dinner. Some faces have an expression of apathy, and the very rhythm of life appears slow and monotonous.

The unusual, it seems, could never happen here. Each new day is repetition of yesterday. If someone comes from a neighbouring village, it is a whole event.

The stability of political regimes often depends on the mood and wishes of the village. In Africa the peasant is an integral part of the revolutionary forces. This is well understood from Senegal to the Congo.

MANY FORCES

Events in the Congo have shown how angry the peasant can get. Of course, it was not the peasantry alone that stirred up the sleepy kingdom of the Belgian colony and then smashed the emerging government machinery.

A great variety of contradictions have become intertwined in the Congo. Many forces are struggling

on the political arena.

But if the village had not joined the struggle, the imperialists and local reago established their tyranny.

When I visited the neighbouring kingdom of Burundi in 1964, I saw samples of the weapons used by the Congolese guerillas. I was shown iron-pointed wooden javelins, a spear and a quiver with arrows, all similar at the complexity and conto those I had seen earlier tradictory character of the in a Leopoldville museum. dominant social relations. How much the peasant must hate the present way of life many different ways of life. if he is ready to face go- in the African village. But vernment troops with such

weapons! The peasant fights the Katanga police force and white mercenaries but there are far more serious forces he has challenged. To him colonialism means more than Belgian officials or merchants.

The Congo's villages also seek liberation from the fettering limitations of tribal life and from oppression by the clan aristocracy and the upper crust of the commune.

HOW IS IT?

How is it that the African village, to all appearance sleepy and conservative, has become the cradle of revolt? Is it poverty?

But some of the most devasted and impoverished regions of Africa are well known for their conservatism.

Is it brutal exploitation? But the African village was never so ruthlessly plundered by colonialism as it was between the two world wars, yet there was little in those years to disturb the colonial peace.

Apparently, the desire to break cut of poverty and the anger against colonial degradation, to be found everywhere, come to a head in specific conditions.

One condition to my mind is the aggravation of the social struggle within the peasantry itself that is, the movement of the lower sections of the village population against the exploiting upper crust.

The time has obviously come in the history of the African village when the scattered, weak and chaotic Republic I saw work crews to fighting the traditional

'thrusts" of dissatisfaction have suddenly taken on definite directiton and thereby acquired unusual strength.

Social relations in the African village have been a topic of debate for decades. It is often said they are feudal relations. Advocates of this view point out that in many parts of the continent the peasant is faced by a section of society that has power over the village and the land.

ARISTOCRACY

The peasants must serve the tribal aristocracy in many ways; they cultivate the land and are obliged to make numerous gifts which, in effect, are assessments.

Opponents of this view underline the strength of the African peasant commune. In pre-colonial Africa, they say, there was no feudal system of landholding to speak of: the land belonged to the commune or tribe.

According to them, the duties of the peasant arise from communal traditions. They deny the feudal character of the tribal upper crust in Equatorial Africa, which very often is not hereditary and in composition is very unstable.

Even the top chiefs, the actionaries would have long advocates of this view point out, are bound by the customs of the commune and tribe, and in many cases can be replaced by ordinary commune members.

The debate itself shows what a many-sided picture the African village presents. Scholars are often confused

What is more, there are everywhere in the past few decades the African commune has shown signs of a breakdown of the relations between people sanctified by tradition. The commune is crumbling.

To understand what is happening, we must discard certain widespread illusions about the African commune, namely that there is equality, no exploitation of man by man, and the commune is monolithic.

None of these assertions could be made about the pre-colonial villages, they are even less true today.

THE WOMEN

One of the specific features of the village commune in Equatorial Africa is the division of labour between the generations, and between men and women.

Throughout the African West none but women make pottery, and only the men have a right to work up-metal. In most of the African tribes there is a strict division of all agricultural duties between men and women.

I was told in Brazzaville that the women of local tribes still do all the field work except for clearing the ground of trees and underbush.

Over the centuries there has developed a very de-tailed division of labour between the different age groups. Custom divides the adult population of the village into three main groups; the youth, the married, and elders. Their rights and duties differ greatly.

On the outskirts of the town of Segou in the Mali

A Soviet student of African affairs, VLADIMIR IORDANSKY, discusses some of the developments which he believes are taking place and which are changing the pattern of life in the African village

ing after the areas and clearing the savannah. Beno part in the affairs of the village council and had no

land of his own.
At the top of the traditional society are the elders and chiefs. Everywhere custom released them from a direct part in agricultural work and gave them admi-

nistrative duties. The elders saw to the redistribution of communal land, maintained order and handled relations with neighbouring villages. Their privileges were extensive and their authority indis-

The division of labour within the commune was once a means of uniting the members in an integrated labour process. The advent of colonialism brought a radical change.

EXPLOITATION

The division of labour between men and women became means of exploiting the women. And the division of labour between the generations consolidated the subordinate status of the youth in relation to the elders in farm production.

In the hands of the tribal upper crust the whole system became a means of subjugating and exploiting the lower strata of the village.

At the same time capitalist relations have begun to develop in the village, perhaps slowly when measured by the limits of one human life, but rapidly when viewed historically.

The landless peasant used to be the young peasant without a family. Now it is the peasant that has lost his land because of debts, or the settler who is too poor to buy land.

The only source of weath in times past was the labour of ordinary commune members, who were subdedinate to the elders. Now in the more developed areas the rich man tends to rely more on the labour of sharecroppers or hired labour.

74 8008 5 CHANGING

The very character of the village upper crust is changing. The prestige stemming from age is giving way to the power of money.

The mixture of clan and class contradictions produces a kind of acid that is according the former foun-dations of peasant life. Morals, religion and cus-

It is difficult to grasp the depth of the spontaneous revolution, but it has affected everything. The striving of the peasants to get their families out of the clan and the growing emancipation of women are putting an end to traditional morals.

Politically the peasant sentiment is often expressed in the demand to do away with the institution of the chiefs or at least with their privileges.

The democratic Party of Guinea has dedicated itself

of youth cultivating the col- and so-called "cantonal" lectively-owned field, look- Chiefs. In Ghana the government has reduced the role of the chiefs to the fore, the young peasant took minimum and put them under its control.

Reforms in Nigeria have also somewhat restricted the influence of the top chiefs and their entourage. But this is not all the peasants

hope for. In February 1963 I met a group of teachers in Elizabethville who had come to the capital of Katanga to see whether there was any chance of getting back pay which the authorities had held up for several months.

The teachers worked in village schools, they loved their work, and it was only dire need that drove them to the city.

One of the most interesting of the group was a thin man with a sensitive, strained face. After quéstioning him about school

affairs, I asked about the sentiment of the peasantry.

The people were exhausted, he said. There were no manufactured goods to be had. They could not sell their produce. The villages struggled with each other over the land because there was not enough of it.

time. The peasants had hoped for something better, they had expected the land would be given to them and they would be helped to acquire implements, but it had become even worse than, In the Republic of Niger before the government safeguards before.

in the Congo has developed rather unusually. The government machinery has practiteally collapsed. The attempts made at the beginning to ease the plight of have not been continued. when life followed the com-

But the sentiments I heard from the teachers in Elizabethville may be heard in other countries of the continent as well.

In many African countries the causes of peasant dissatisfaction have yet to be removed. Ghana, Mali and some of the other more advanced nations are taking steps to reduce the dependence of the peasant on the communal hierarchy, and a great variety of attempts are being made to modernize production in the villages.

DIFFERENT

The situation is different The poverty was worse in countries in the grip of than it had been for a long neo-colonialism. The Ivory Coast and Upper Volta have retained the power of the chiefs whose control over the distribution of communal land has not weakened in the late years.

the aristocracy from any Of course, the situation infringements on its privileges. The leaders of the Moslem sects of Senegal have retained all their influence and continue to exploit the peasantry.

The old machinery of enthe peasantry somewhat slavement that existed

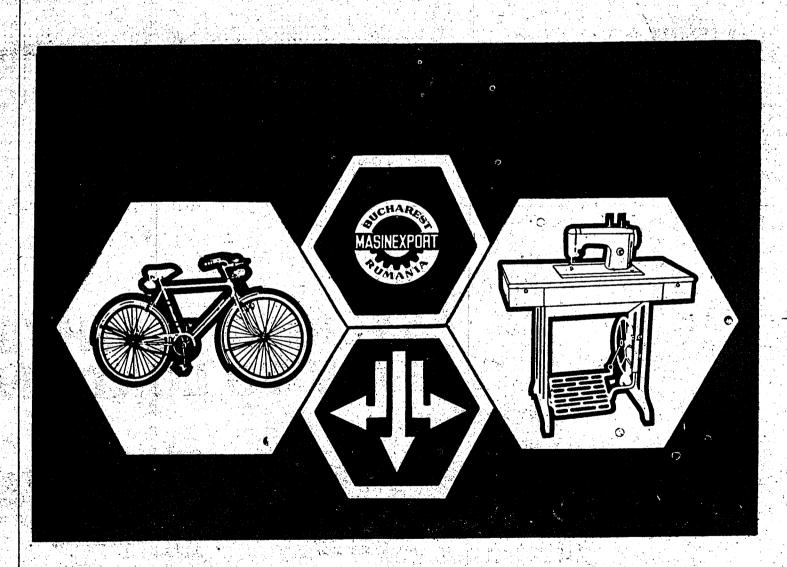
munal pattern has not been destroyed. It was once used by colonialism. Now it is used by foreign interests and neo-colonialists regi-mes. The solicitude of Africa's reactionaries for "social antiquities" has a political explanation.

When I visited the capital of the Ivory Coast, Abidjan, a prominent official of the Ministry for Internal Affairs told me:

"You may be right about growing anti-commune sentiment among the peasantry in the less developed areas and increasing class conflicts in the more developed, but that does not disturb us. The peasants can do no more than boycott hated elders. At the worst the village will refuse to pay taxes. As long as there is no opposition in the cities capable of uniting the dissatisfied in the villages, there is really no threat

to the government". But the present rulers of the neo-colonialist states cannot be sure that the pre-sent way of life is stable There are constant internal disturbances and conflicts, and the village with its aggravated social contradictions is more and more being drawn into them.

Only a large-scale Programme of economic and Social reforms can satisfy the African peasant. Ultimately, of course he will get the reforms.



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DISCUSSION ECONOMIC

THE Swiss newspaper Tribune de Lausanne" made a staggering discovery the other day. It found out that there is a revolution going on in the Soviet Union:

The newspaper, it is true, adds that it is "less violent in nature than it was fifty years ago, but no less far-

Where has the Tribune de Lausanne discovered this revolution? Apparently in the introduction into the Soviet economy of "the hated concept of profit and the concepts of competition and freedom for enterpri-

NOT ALONE

The Swiss paper is not alone in its "discovery". Many western newspapers and magazines have been writing in sensational terms about the discussion which is taking place in the U.S.S.R. on the problems of enhancing the role of profit, material incentives and commodity-monetary relations in general in the Soviet economy.

Even the modest Kharkov economist Yevsel Liberman, one of those who are advocating an enhanced role for profit, is presented by these publications as some kind of super-hero and discoverer, and his name is linked with certain mythical transformation due to take place in the very near future in the actual social structure of Soviet society.

The Paris L'Express, for instance, recently claimed that it was only three years ago that Soviet people were able for the first time to read in an article by Liberman, published in a Moscow newspaper, such sentences as "The higher the profits the stronger the motive to produce" and "What is good for the enterprises is in the case of the category good for society".

The French journal's assertion, however, is simply the result of ignorance, if not something worse.

SOWE

The fact of the matter is that in the Soviet Union profit, as an economic category, has never been rejected. Furthermore, starting from 1921 Soviet enterprises have been making this "hated" profit in the form of money.

It was precisely at that time that Vladmir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, was tirelessly emphasising the need for "increasing the productivity of labour and achieving the self--sufficiency and profitability of every state-owned enterprise".

LENIN

Lenin himself proposed in 1922 that the amount of the wages paid to the employees of trading enterprises should depend on the trade turnover and the profits made by Soviet trading organisations.

Commodity - mon et a r y categories which act as material incentives for production have also been introduced as an organic part of the planned economy, proceeding on the basis of certain theoretical prerequisites and the experience accumulated both in the Soviet Union and in other socialist states. Here it is a question of profits and pri-

The point is, however. that in the conditions of a planned economy these categories, while not undergoing any outward changes, do undergo a fundamental internal change as regards their social content.

This is seen very clearly

by Ivan Artyomov

called free enterprise, profit is the only motive for production-its alpha and omega. In the conditions of the socialist economy however, profit is only a very useful index determining the level of economic efficiency.

As regards the motive for production, the planned economy has only one mo-tive—the - satisfaction of society's needs.

The question arises: If the basic principles of the planned economy have long since been determined and are clear, what then is the subject of the present lively discussion which is being conducted by Soviet economists and by economists in many other socialists countries as well?

What is actually being discussed is the question of a better, more flexible application of these principles in accordance with the tremendous successes achieved in economic development.

NEW CONDITIONS

To begin with, the entire industrial output of the U.S.S.R. during the whole of 1921 is now produced in approximately one and a half working days. The number of enterprises has increased dozens and dozens of times over.

In the new conditions it has become much more diffcult to plan and take into consideration the special features of each individual enterprise.

This explains the natural and obvious desire to deter- in a joint announcement levance to the powers ment's plea that the

In the sphere of so- mine in a single state plan only the main indices for the operation of enterprises and to give the enterprises

greater independence, regulated by such economic levers as profit and the introduction of material incentives for the employees to achieve the maximum profit.

URIOR

The economists are now also posing the following

specific question: Should not enterprises pay a cer-tain percentage for the production capacities given them by the state?

The amount of idle equipment-equipment that is needed by new projects-is now growing with alarming speed. If there are now ten uninstalled machine tools at some enterprise, the director of that enterprise is not greatly worried about it, because he does not have also unscrupulous.

to pay for them.

In short, there are many such problems. The discussion, portrayed in the West as a "revolution", as a renunciation of socialist economic methods and gradual transition to capitalism, is devoted precisely to solving these problems.

Western newspapers are thus showing themselves to be not only ignorant but

ON IN SALISBURY? GOING

to the full its legal authority over Southern Rho-

This convention is aid to derive from the fact that for forty years successive British Governments have not used their powers to safeguard the African maiority, and that, in eftect, these powers have become obsolete.

In other words, because Britain has not interfered with the internal machinery of Southern Rhodesia's government, it cannot. This contention has no legal iustification.

FALSE NOTION

The notion that Southern Rhodesia has enjoyed control of its own internal affairs for forty as 1961. years is false.

convention to which British spokesmen refer in fact only goes back to 1957. It was contained

Continued from page 1 of the United Kingdom Government and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and does not even actually refer to Southern Rhodesia as a separate political en-

DUBIETY

The dubiety of the entire "convention" argument was highlighted by a Tory Attorney-General, Sir John Hobson who in reply to questions is not an independent during a debate in the British Parliament in July, 1963 admitted that it Kingdom who remain was not quite accurate to say "that the conven tion had existed for forty years."-

He argued instead that it had "coalesced or congealed into the formality of a convention much more recently"—as recently in fact.

Furthermore, in re-The history of the gard to British Parliamentary authority over Southern Rhodesia, he suggested that "the convention and its re-

of this Parliament and whether they should be exercised may be subject to discussion hereafter."

Marckton Commission appointed by the British Government in 1959 unanimously agreed that the Federation and therefore Southern Rhodesia "falls short of the status of a full international person", that "it sovereign state" and that "it is the United ultimately responsible in international law."

The members of the Commission found that 'the United Kingdom Parliament has inherent power to legislate for any part of Her Maiesty's dominions except in so far as in this has been qualified by the Statute of Wesminster" — and in regard to Southern Rhodesia there was and is no such qualification.

The British Govern-

British Parliament is powerless to intervene to end a racialist regime in a British colony which does not differ in essen-What is more, the ce from the vicious and brutal regime which exists in Verwoerd's South Africa is therefore baseless.

Britain can act. It must act. There must be no backstairs deals with Mr. Smith.

Our Flag

RESPECT for our national flag should be an essential feature of our

But in many places and institutions torn and dirty flags are being used. This is a disgrace to the Nation, and certainly shows little respect.

All concerned should do their utmost to check this. A. O. Marquaye, Accra.

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