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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27, 1965

No. 141 2p.

# Peace and Trade... The Finest Aid

**EDITORIAL**

**ON TO SOCIALISM**

**I**n his address to the first session of the Second Parliament of the Republic this week, Kwame Nkrumah charted an inspiring programme for the building of a strong and prosperous socialist Ghana, able to fulfil the aims and aspirations of our people.

He called for the consolidation and integration of all our achievements since independence, of which he enumerated an impressive list, within the framework of a socialist society.

This, he underlined, calls for no departure from our stated policies regarding the role of private enterprises and foreign investment in our socialist economy.

It does, however, call for greater vigilance against clandestine encroachment in those key spheres which we believe must be owned by the people.

We welcome the sharp warning given to those abroad who have made no secret of their hopes that they will be able to derive some far-reaching benefits from our current economic problems caused by the fluctuation in the price of cocoa, upon which we, thanks to the legacy of colonialism, must still largely depend for the money with which to finance our development programmes.

"Let me state here and now that under no circumstances will we allow those who now control and manipulate the world price of cocoa to alter, hamper or curtail our programme of industrial and agricultural development, and the expansion of our educational and other social services. The implementation of our Seven-year Development Plan will proceed," he declared.

\* \* \*

"Neither the machinations of monopolists in the cocoa trade, nor the obstacle placed in our path by those who seek to control foreign currencies and credits, will cause us to slacken or halt our pace of development.

"If more sacrifices of luxuries are required, we shall make them. If greater efficiency must be reached in our present production, we shall reach it. But our development will go on."

It was a fitting answer to those who are unrelenting in their efforts to turn us aside from the Socialist path of development, or who seek to regain by covert means the dominant influence which once was theirs.

Kwame Nkrumah underlined the special responsibilities that this second Parliament bears as the first parliamentary expression of a people's Socialist Democracy in Ghana.

"Ours is a House united by one Party, one ideology, one aim, one destiny. One of the fundamental aims of our National Assembly is to assist in the building of a Socialist society in Ghana," he declared.

He reminded the House that in a socialist democracy, the people should be the final repository of political power; the people are the ultimate sanction of authority.

It is therefore, he underscored, of the utmost importance that the Party through democratic

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**A** POLICY statement from the British Government's Ministry of Overseas Development, newly established and headed by Mrs. Barbara Castle, would be expected to arouse high hopes and interest.

After 10 months of organising her Ministry, building up a team of advisers, and travelling to some of the developing countries, Mrs. Castle has at last launched her White Paper on the waiting world. It is entitled quite simply 'Overseas Development'.

The battling Mrs. Castle, with her reputation for Left policies and for championing progressive causes, especially in the British Commonwealth and Empire, must feel acutely embarrassed by what she has to produce as a Minister.

The White Paper cannot but help revealing an acute awareness of the chronic problems facing the developing countries and the puny resources which the British Government is prepared to allow its Minister to disburse.

How she must envy her colleague, Mr. Healey, the Minister of Defence with his £2,100 million budget.

**WIDOW'S MITE**

Mrs. Castle, with her mere £190 million is rather in the position of the widow with her mite. Perhaps she hopes that evidence of good intention will be taken so that we can overlook the paucity of the practical help she is offering.

More and more it seems that Britain is herself resembling a developing country. Her balance of payments problem becomes more chronic. July saw a drop of at least £90 million in her gold reserves. Her 'stop-go' economy is now on the verge of ano-

ther 'stop' which threatens to last longer than previous similar periods, bringing the threat of unemployment to many of Britain's workers.

These circumstances have forced the Ministry of Overseas Development to accept the unpalatable fact that it can get no more money for Government aid. They are not helped by present Foreign and Defence Policies.

In view of their inability to extract more money out of the Treasury the experts have set about trying to use the limited available resources 'more rationally'.

**ADVICE**

In the words of the White Paper, "It would be unrealistic to disregard the constraint at present imposed on our aid programme by the pressure on our resources and in particular on the balance of payments".

The Ministry proposes to use its £190 million on loans, in some cases interest free, on organising a team of about 100 specialists who can be sent out to developing countries, on 'topping up' the salaries of others already there or going under other auspices.

In addition 400 other specialists will be got together who from time to time will be available to work in, or give advice to, the developing states.

Research on development is to be more effectively organised and there will be a new Institute of Development Studies established at the University of Sussex.

There is also the promise to assist voluntary organisations in making more effective selection of the people they send abroad.

With £190 million there is very little Mrs. Castle can do. Perhaps

she can draw comfort from the London Times which commented; "As a tract on how to make a limited amount of aid go the longest possible way, the White Paper on overseas development is convincing."

A few simple statistic will illustrate the scale of the problem.

**PRICES FALL**

Two-thirds of the world's population lives below subsistence level. Many of these hungry millions live in what was the British Empire. This two-thirds shares only one-sixth of the world's income.

The gap between the advanced industrial countries and the developing states is widening. This is in spite of the strenuous efforts of the United Nations which is now half way through its "Decade of Development". The rich are getting richer, the poor more poverty stricken.

Between 1950 and 1962, the share in world trade of the developing countries declined from 33 per cent to 20 per cent. The prices for agricultural primary products on which the economies of the developing countries have been based, go down and down.

It is a fact that against this background of increasing economic problems, the money moving out of the developing countries has increased, while the actual financial flow into these countries is levelling off and is likely to decline.

Many countries are, ironically enough, becoming victims of aid previously received. At present one-third of all financial assistance never even arrives to be used. It is already committed for the repayment of the interest due on previous loans.

With the combination

of declining prices for their products, the rising prices of industrial goods, the growing burden of interest repayments, the developing states though running faster are falling back in their race against poverty.

British aid between 1964-65 was provisionally allocated to major recipients in the following way:-

India	£30 m.
Kenya	£14.8 m.
Pakistan	£9.3 m.
Malawi	£8.9 m.
Malta	£6.6 m.
Aden	£6.5 m.
Zambia	£4.5 m.
Nigeria	£4.4 m.
Tanzania	£4.4 m.
Swaziland	£4.3 m.
Libya	£3.3 m.
Bechuanaland	£3.2 m.
East Africa Com-	
mon Services	£3.1 m.
Turkey	£3.1 m.

Ghana is allocated £1,855,000. It is a sobering thought that India's 439 million population can look to Britain for only £30 million aid or Pakistan's 93 million people for £9.3 million. It is not the way in which the money has been allocated which arouses our criticism. We challenge the basic assumptions which have inspired the whole document.

**ROOT CAUSES**

From a Tory Government we would be foolish to expect very much, even by way of a gesture. From Labour however, we might have expected a passing recognition of the root causes of the problem. Imperialist relations lasting over centuries is the cause of the world's poverty.

For centuries, the millions of workers in the British Empire, farmers, labourers, miners have been 'aiding' British capitalism, albeit unwillingly.

Every banking house, every insurance and finance company in the City of London, stands as a monument to the riches of the Empire, extracted from the labour of its millions of people.

Surely with such a history, we do not need to ask for aid. The repayment of even a little of what has been stolen from us in the past, would solve many problems. A Government with claims to caring for social justice might have thought of this aspect of the problem, of the way we see it.

**NATIONAL INCOME**

How can we be repaid? If Mrs. Castle's experts are baffled by the question, we can attempt an answer.

Look at Britain's re-armament figures. While Mrs. Castle doles out her £190 million, which is a mere two-thirds of one per cent of Britain's national income, her colleague, Mr. Healey spends £2,100 million a year, over ten times as much.

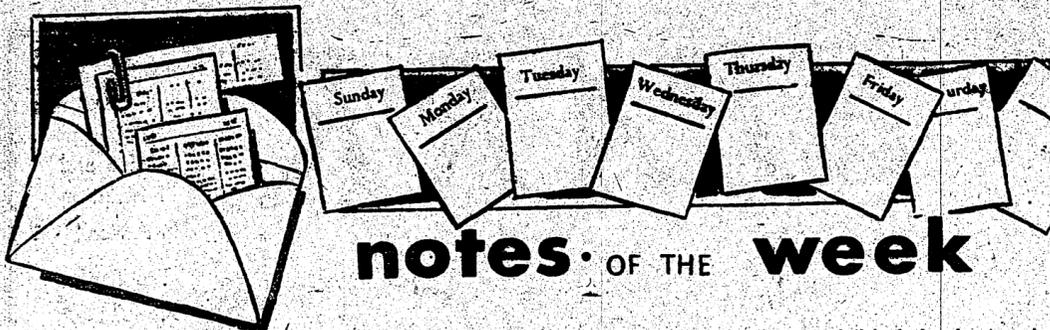
Some of this vast sum is divided in the following ways. £60 million spent in the Middle East, £60 million in the Mediterranean area, £270 million in the Far East, on arms and military manpower.

If Mr. Healey would stop defending British business interests in these places at high cost to the British taxpayer, Mrs. Castle might be able to get some of the money for more effective use.

The British Government is so committed to the Cold War, "defending freedom", that it can't spare enough to save those it 'defends' from starvation.

A break with the policy of the Cold War would release millions of pounds for real aid.

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**DR. Adenauer, former West German Chancellor and veteran cold war warrior, is at it again. Although American spokesmen have admitted that the new American proposals on "non-dissemination" of nuclear weapons submitted to the Geneva Conference do not bar a West German finger on the nuclear trigger as a member of a N.A.T.O. nuclear force, he has described them as "monstrous and terrible."**

Speaking during a one-day election tour for the ruling Christian Democratic Party, the 89-year-old ex-Chancellor described the proceedings of the Geneva Disarmament Conference as "a tragedy for us Germans." While the West German Government has officially dissociated itself from his remarks, his bitter attack on the U.S. draft makes it clear that the more concessions that are made to the West German die-hards, the more they want.

**FOREIGN MINISTER**

Last month no less official a person than the West German Foreign Minister himself, Dr. Schroeder, made it clear that West Germany was not going to be denied nuclear weapons.

In a newspaper interview he warned the U.S. and Britain not to give discussions on non-proliferation precedence over the plans for the creation of a multilateral nuclear force.

"He indicated, implicitly at least, that if no satisfactory solution to the nuclear problem were forthcoming, Germany might be compelled to ensure her own security by acquiring her own nuclear weapons."

(The Times 12.7.65)  
He said that West Germany "must be drawn into the organisation of the Western nuclear defence

potential in a convincing fashion." And the West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine* underlined the point by declaring that West Germany's 1954 undertaking not to produce nuclear, chemical or bacteriological weapons on German territory did not mean that West Germany could not acquire them from elsewhere.

**SECOND STRONGEST**

West Germany is already agitating for a place in the nuclear sun in line with her economic strength and her contribution to the military strength of the West.

West Germany is already the second strongest capitalist power: in 1963 her share of the capitalist world's industrial output was 9.4 per cent compared with Britain's 8.3 per cent and the United States 47.8 per cent.

She already holds second place in the world capitalist market, accounting in 1963 for 10.7 per cent of all the exports of the capitalist world, compared with Britain's 8.4 per cent and America's 16.9 per cent.

In 1956 there was not a single West German Army division; now there are twelve-266,000 soldiers compared with Britain's 180,000.

West Germany has been conducting nuclear research, ostensibly for peaceful purposes, since 1951. Atomic power units are being designed for merchant ships—but they could be used for submarines; atomic power stations are being built to supply electricity—but they will also produce plutonium, the nuclear explosive that goes into atomic bombs.

West Germany is also co-operating in nuclear and rocket research with Verwoerd's apartheid regime in South Africa—one of the main suppliers of nuclear raw materials.

A West German finger on the nuclear trigger—or even on the safety catch, which amounts to very much the same thing—would be a threat not only to the peace of Europe, but of the whole world.

slaves, who rapidly became a new ruling caste over the indigenous inhabitants of the territory.

But even this ruling caste did not enjoy full independence, for it was closely tied up to the United States and Britain, who controlled it.

For many years Liberia's customs administration was largely run by British officials, and Britain had a key influence in the Liberian Navy, whose officers and ratings were British-trained. Even the rubber concessions, for which Liberia has since become famous, were originally granted to an English company.

In 1910, however, the United States acquired virtually monopoly control over Liberia. American Big Business began to look for opportunities for profit-making.

**FIRESTONE**

It was in the 1920s that the big American firm of Firestone, acquired the concessions for growing and exporting rubber from Liberia, and Liberia became known as a "Firestone colony", just like one of the "banana republics" of Latin America.

However, rubber no longer hold the place it did. Its place as Liberia's main source of export earnings has been taken by iron ore, of which Liberia has vast quantities and which is attracting most of the new capital which is pouring in.

Republic Steel of the United States is the majority shareholder in the Liberian Mining Company which is exploiting the iron ore in the Boni Hills, while LAMCO which is exploiting the Nimba "iron moun-

tain" includes the American Bethlehem Steel, as well as Swedish and West German firms, among them the Thyssen group.

Another West German firm, Krups, is also associated with LAMCO and also with the Mano River mine, while a group of Ruhr steel companies dominate the Bong Mining Company.

**CARTED AWAY**

This sort of investment will bring few lasting benefits to Liberia: solid mountains of iron ore, which could be used to provide an iron and steel base for Liberia and thus pave the way to industrialisation and progress, are simply being hacked down, ton by ton, and carted away to Europe and the United States.

But Liberia cannot be quarantined off from the great winds of liberation that are sweeping our continent. A working class is growing, trade unions have been formed, and it is not so very long since a general strike of 30,000 workers paralysed the capital for two days.

The Liberian Government also finds it necessary on many issues to take a stand in line with the sentiments of the awakened millions of Africa.

Thus Liberia has officially introduced a total boycott of South African goods and her spokesmen at the United Nations have spoken strongly on this issue.

The writing on the wall is there for all to see: it is inevitable that Liberia will eventually take her place with the rest of Africa and win her fight for economic liberation.

**Broadening Horizons**

**THE Institute of Public Education announces its Third Annual 'Bubere' School to be held from September 14th. to September 21st. at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, on the theme "Focus on Africa 1965".**

"It is now accepted the world over that the New Africa is definitely the Continent of the Century", declares the Prospectus.

"Why has the New Africa become the focus of world attention? What factors contributed to the resurgence of this ancient continent? What challenges does 'Africa 1965' throw to the world? What has the New Africa to offer to the promotion of world peace, prosperity and happiness?"

These and other relevant questions will be among the topics discussed at what promises to be a most stimulating school.

**LECTURE THEMES**

Themes for lectures include the moral foundations of African unity, the problems of racialism, the role of the African writer, continental planning, agriculture and its contribution to Africa and the United Nations.

The I.P.E. is playing an important part in broadening the horizons of more than 15,000 adult students throughout Ghana who for one reason or another are unable to attend full-time courses.

It has a vital role to play in the shaping of the new man who is helping to build a socialist society in our country.

It is therefore all the more surprising that scientific socialism as such is not among the themes listed for consideration.

**IN OWN RIGHT**

No doubt it will be considered by many of the lecturers in relation to their particular topic, but nowhere does it appear in its own right.

It cannot too often be emphasised that socialist ideas do not grow of themselves, particular in a society such as ours, which still contains strong elements of capitalism which are constantly giving rise to, capitalist ideas, while neo-colonialism's ideological offensive is unremitting in its pressure.

The battle for socialist ideas must be fought; it cannot be won as it were incidentally, as a sort of by-product.



**AUGUST 9th**  
**ALGERIA:** Colonel Boumediene, head of the Algerian Revolutionary Council is planning to send missions to tour African and Asian countries to ensure the widest possible participation in the Afro-Asian Summit Conference due to be held in Algiers on November 5.

**AUGUST 10th**  
**GHANA:** Nine local council officials from all over the country led by Mr. D. A. Abbey, senior executive officer of the Ministry of Local Government left Accra today for Lagos, Nigeria on their way to Federal Germany to attend a six-week seminar on public administration in Berlin.

\* The National Council of Ghana Women entertained Mrs. Arthur Bottomley, wife of Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary and Lady Garner, wife of the Permanent Under-Secretary of State of the Commonwealth Relations Office to a tea party at the National Headquarters Party Secretariat in Accra today.

\* The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey returned to Accra today from Washington U.S.A. with the reply of President Nkrumah's special message to President Johnson of United States.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Commenting on Mr. Ian Smith's threat that he would declare Rhodesia unilaterally independent, Alhaji Nuhu Bamali, Minister of State in Nigeria's External Affairs Ministry has warned racist Ian Smith, leader of Southern Rhodesia white settlers, that if he declared the territory unilaterally independent, he would have a United Africa against him.

**TANZANIA:** Tanzania has withdrawn its candidature for the seat on the Security Council to be vacated by the Ivory Coast this year in favour of Uganda.

**GHANA:** Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the visiting Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary, told a press conference in Accra today that the ultimate transfer of power to a representative Rhodesian Government rests with the British Government.

**CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE):** About 10,000 refugees from Congo (Leo.) and the Southern Sudan have fled to the Centrafrique Republic.

\* All Lumumba youth organisations of the Congo (Leo.) have now resolved to unite and set up a single movement known as the *National Lumumba Youth*, it has been reported from Brazzaville.

**UPPER VOLTA:** Upper Volta's former Minister of Works, Bongouroua Ouedraogo, was today sentenced to two years imprisonment at a court in Ouagadougou for fraud, misuse of funds and forgery to the detriment of the State.

**SUDAN:** Sudanese Prime Minister Mohammed Maghoub has alleged that there is foreign hand and interference in the violence plaguing Southern Sudan, and immediately after the U.S. Ambassador William Rountree pledged American Government's readiness to prevent any foreign interference in the Sudan's affairs.

**LIBERIA:** President William Tubman of Liberia had an hour of talks on interesting political and economic matters with the Kenyan goodwill mission led by Mr. Joseph Murumbi today.

**GAMBIA:** The Gambia People's Progressive Party and

the Democratic-Congress Alliance, the two main political parties in Gambia's coalition government have merged into a single party.

**AUGUST 11th**  
**GHANA:** Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has left Ghana this morning for Lagos, Nigeria after a four-day visit to the country. Mr. Bottomley told newsmen at the airport before leaving for Nigeria that he had been highly impressed with what he had seen in the country especially the Volta Dam.

**MALAWI:** Malawi Security forces are today searching for armed men who allegedly killed three people, including a sub-chief and burned down several buildings in the Kasupe area of Fort Johnson last Sunday, it has been officially announced in Blantyre today. The men are said to be supporters of former Education Minister, Mr. Henry Chipembere, according to the announcement.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** Mr. John Balthazar Vorster, the minority South African Minister of Justice reiterated in Durban today that there would not be judicial inquiry into allegations of brutality in his fascist prison.

**NIGERIA:** Britain and United States objections to the proposed association of Nigeria with the Common Market have been rejected by the European Economic Community.

**UPPER VOLTA:** The trial of the former Upper Volta Minister of Labour, Mr. Maxime Ouedraogo, on 52 charges of fraud, opened in the Court of Justice in Ouagadougou today. Ouedraogo was arrested on June 23, 1963, on his return from Geneva where he represented his country at an International Labour Conference.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. George Rudland, Rhodesian Minister of Transport has said in Salisbury that the Rhodesian settler regime has called for an immediate meeting at Ministerial level between Rhodesian and Zambia to discuss a dispute over the jointly operated railway system between the two countries.

**ZAMBIA:** Zambia is shortly to start mining for coal in the Gwembe Valley, Southern Zambia, it has been officially announced in Lusaka today. Zambia with her giant copper industry, depends entirely on coal supplies from white-ruled Southern Rhodesia.

**GHANA:** A four-man Ghanaian delegation led by Mr. Mr. S. A. Kwaku-Bonsu, Minister of Pensions and Insurance, today flew to Congo (Brazzaville) to represent Ghana at the second anniversary celebrations of the 1963 August Revolution in which the Youlou Regime was overthrown.

\* President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, has received a message from President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia thanking him for the wishes the Leader extended to him and the Tunisia people on his birthday.

\* President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana has sent another message to President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States of America on the Vietnam issue, the Office of the President announced in Accra today.

**CAMEROON:** Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity arrived in Yaounde, Cameroon today by air from Addis Ababa for talks with President Ahmadou Ahidjo.

**ZAMBIA:** The Zambian Minister of Labour and Social Development, Mr. Alumino Mundia, has said that any interference by the racist Rhodesian regime regarding the transfer of railway staff from Rhodesia to Zambia could be regarded as a political move to undermine Zambia.

**UPPER VOLTA:** Mr. Maxime Ouedraogo former Upper Volta Labour Minister, was today sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, when he was found guilty by a court of fraud in Ouagadougou.

**CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE):** Mr. Moise Tshome, Prime Minister of the Congo Leopoldville Republic arrived today in Brussels, Belgium, on his way to Federal Republic of Germany.

**KENYA:** Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Minister of External Affairs and Minister for Commerce and Industry Dr. Julius Kiano arrived in Lagos, Nigeria from Monrovia, Liberia today.

**NIGERIA:** A Magistrate's Court in Lagos, acquitted five leaders of the Federation of Nigerian Dockworkers Union including the general secretary, Mr. Sidi Kham. The men were arrested last week after 3,000 Lagos dockers had gone on strike in sympathy with their 2,000 workmates sacked as a result of a lack of contract by the Nigerian Ports Authority.

\* Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has said in Lagos that if Britain used force in Southern Rhodesia it would mean a war with serious economic consequences to Africa, Britain, and the Commonwealth.

**Symbol of What?**

ON August 16th. the readers of the Overseas Edition of the "New York Times" were favoured with what must be one of the most costly advertisements to attract foreign investment ever undertaken—a lavishly illustrated sixteen-page supplement on Liberia, "Symbol of the Free Enterprise System in Africa".

Liberia, declares the Liberian Development Corporation in a full-page "invitation to invest" is "the land in which to invest and prosper. To the business man and investor, it offers: a business climate that ranks second to none in West Africa; a firm commitment to the free enterprise system; one of the highest growth rates in the world over the last decade; U.S. Dollar a Medium of Exchange."

The announcement goes on to declare that foreign investment in Liberia has been running at the rate of over £20 million a year for the last five years, most of it in agricultural and mining projects.

Among the "leading factors which serve to make Liberia's investment climate so attractive" it lists "the Open Door Policy which allows business ventures wide latitude of action. Risks of expropriation, whether overt or covert, are virtually non-existent" and complete freedom to repatriate profits.

The picture is in fact one of a foreign investor's paradise. Nor is it a false one, for Liberia is one of the classic examples of neo-colonialism in action.

Formally speaking, it has been an independent African state since 1847. But the independence was—and has always remained—very limited.

Originally it was settled by Afro-Americans, former

**Editorial**

*Continued from page 1*

means should always explain its intentions and actions to the people, so as to gain their confidence and support.

In this connection, his call to the trade unions to tackle the practical problems of increased industrial production, of increased productivity, of the organisation of production in the factories and on the farms assumes a special importance.

"Our workers must take part in planning production at the factory level. They must take part in the implementation of such plans. They must enjoy some of the benefits accruing from the fulfilment of the production plans. This for us is the meaning of industrial democracy."

The attitude of the managers of our economic enterprises towards the workers must be animated by mutual co-operation and by the desire to eliminate frictions and shortcomings, he said. Each state factory must have a production committee on which both management and workers are represented.

These are the next steps on the road to a Socialist Ghana.

# FOR A STRONG AND RICH SOCIALIST SOCIETY

I OPEN this First Session of the Second Parliament of our Republic at a difficult, but most promising and exciting period of our national life. This Session marks, as it were, the watershed in our strivings to consolidate the gain we have made since independence.

From now on, we must devote all our energies to the pursuit of a unifying and progressive ideology, and dynamic but flexible economic policy, a positive and constructive role in the African Revolution, and a balanced relationship with the rest of the world.

Above all, we must devote our energies to the establishment of a strong and prosperous socialist society, which can fulfil the aims and aspirations of our people.

## LAWS

In order to accomplish these tasks, it will be necessary to carry through a series of legislative acts. These acts will be designed to create a legal framework for our development, and to protect our achievements with the full legal support of our people.

The parliament here assembled contains within itself representatives of our industrial, agricultural, educational, and cultural institutions. The nation can, therefore, expect that its affairs will be discussed and determined by Members of Parliament who reflect the truest interests of the people and are absolutely committed to those interests.

In a socialist democracy, the people should be the final repository of political power; the people are the ultimate sanction of authority. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the Party through democratic means should always explain its intentions and actions to the people, so as to gain their confidence and support.

Because the people confirmed the Party's choice in the recent General Elections, our National Assembly has emerged as a consensus between the people and the Party. In this sense, this Parliament is in reality Ghana's first parliamentary expression of a people's Socialist Democracy.

This Parliament, therefore, must undertake its responsibilities and obligations with skill and resolution. We can have no time or desire to dwell on past mistakes.

We must at all times be intent on promoting and developing a free, prosperous and democratic society in Ghana. We have enough work on hand to make unity of purpose, tireless and sustained effort the only possible hall-mark of the first Socialist Parliament of Ghana.

And now, Mr. Speaker, let me take this opportunity to congratulate you and your colleagues, the Deputy Speakers, on your election to office. With our adoption of the One-Party system of government, this House—this National Assembly of Ghana—has ceased to be a battleground where rancour and vituperation were often used by the Opposition as weapons to discredit the Government with the aim of overthrowing it.

The House has now assumed a new character and atmosphere and this has made a significant change in the role and conception of the Speaker's Chair. The days are gone when the Speaker sat like an umpire over the dissensions, bickerings and parliamentary manoeuvres of rival political parties. Ours is a House, united by one Party, one ideology, one aim, one destiny.

## NEW CHANGE

One of the fundamental aims of our National Assembly is to assist in the building of a Socialist society in Ghana. In conformity with this aim, it is clearly the duty of the Chair to guide the House in its deliberations for the fullest realisation of our aspirations in the supreme interest of the nation.

Mr. Speaker, in international affairs, we are con-

## Address by KWAME NKRUMAH to the first Session of the Second Parliament of the Republic on August 24, 1965

cerned at the moment not only with the liberation and unification of Africa but also with the struggle for world peace and security.

We must keep a vigilant eye on the explosive areas of the world today. I refer to the German situation, the issue between India and Pakistan, the border problem between India and China, the issue between Malaya and Indonesia, and other such national issues.

We should be careful that these delicate political issues do not escalate into major conflicts and thus disturb the peace and security of the world.

## WORLD PEACE

From its first day of independence, Ghana has been concerned with world peace as a priority both for its own development and for humanity's survival. In this nuclear age it will avail us nothing to seek refuge in geographical remoteness from the main centres of world tension, or in creating an illusory shell or cocoon for our own industrial, agricultural and cultural progress.

The pace of world events and the triumphs of technology will no longer permit us to live in isolation. We must either learn to live together now, or together perish.

We have seen, in the case of cocoa—our primary product and our main source of revenue—that we cannot exist as an economic island, separated from the strivings of the whole developing world for a just price for its raw materials and products.

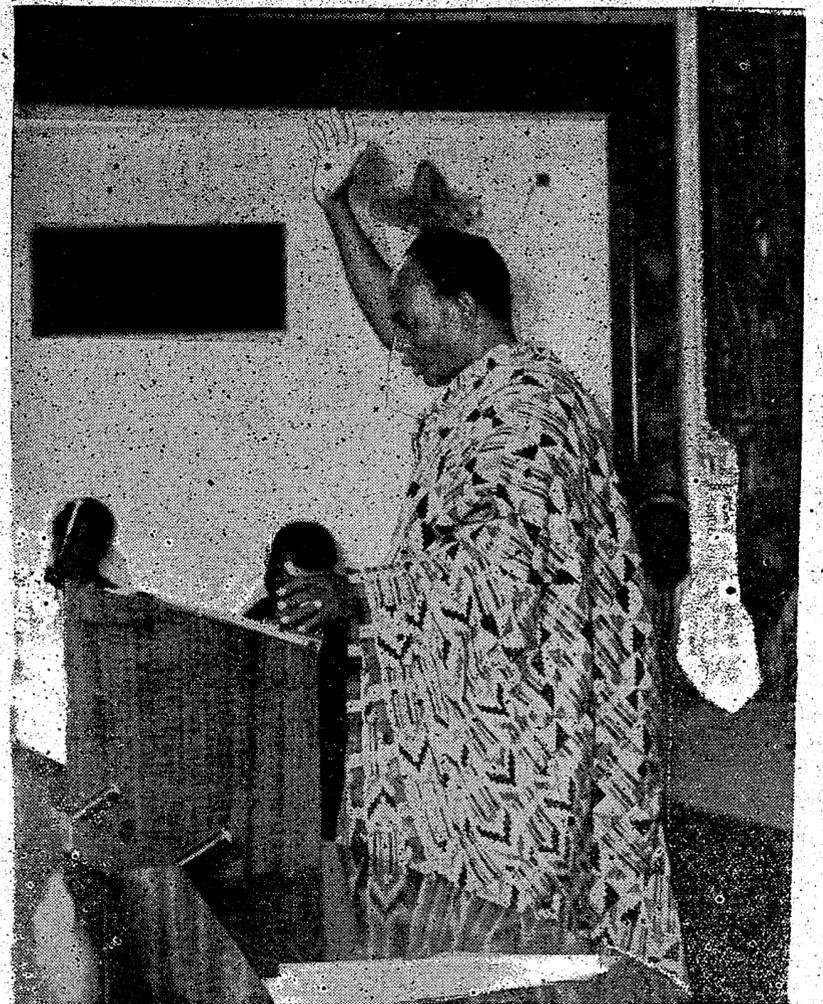
Mr. Speaker, until the economic, political and military and financial aggressions of imperialism are ended in every part of the world, and until neo-colonialism has been unmasked and driven out everywhere, we cannot retire from the struggle against imperialism.

It is foolhardiness to think that we can buy security by coming to terms with imperialism or neo-colonialism. Nor can we find security, even if we were prepared to pay that price.

At the same time, without a sense of security, no man and no nation can make the maximum contribution towards a constructive and progressive interdependent existence. It is not humanism or altruism only, but also enlightened self-interest which moved Ghana to initiate the Accra Assembly for the World Without The Bomb. The same combination of motives drives us to do our utmost to help bring the war in Vietnam to a permanent end.

## NEW HEIGHTS

This Parliament should reach new heights in its support for every effort we are making to attain general and complete disarmament; to strengthen the authority of the United Nations as a peace-keeping body; to achieve the solidarity of the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialism; to liberate the rest of Africa still in chains; to cleanse the world of imperialism and war, so that Ghana together with other nations can devote her energies and re-



"One of the fundamental aims of our National Assembly is to assist in the building of Socialist society in Ghana."

sources to the promotion of peace, progress, and the welfare of mankind.

While we pursue at home the tasks of national reconstruction, seeking the highest possible degree of success and happiness for all our people, our foreign policy remains rooted in the principle of positive neutralism and non-alignment, dedicated to the preservation of peace, and aimed at the elimination of poverty, ignorance, superstition, illiteracy and disease—thus in short, the emancipation of man.

Mr. Speaker,

The preservation of world peace demands that all the instruments of war should be controlled now and eventually abolished. Unless this goal is consciously and deliberately pursued, the possession of these weapons of total war will develop an inner logic of their own,

which independent of our will, could propel mankind into a great suicidal act.

The Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is an attempt in this direction, and it is for this reason that we supported it at that time and today.

## DISARMAMENT

We are aware that general disarmament cannot be achieved in a day. We know of the many problems—strategic, economic, political and emotional—which are used to thwart man's efforts and advance towards general and complete disarmament.

We must nevertheless continue to agitate for a solution of these problems, otherwise we shall be heading towards man's doom and annihilation. Why can't the nations agree now on the creation of nuclear free zones and thus prevent the spread of nuclear weapons?

As long as there remains in the world any vestige of colonialism in any shape or form, as long as racialism persists in any part of the world, we shall continue to have implacable antagonisms in the world, and situations pregnant with threats of war. We have affirmed our unremitting opposition to these systems and our determination to see them liquidated by every possible means.

Mr. Speaker,

Our policy of banning trade with the Republic of South Africa remains unaltered. We call upon those countries which have not gone as far as to impose a trade embargo on South Africa, but recognise the iniquity of the policies pursued in that country, to respect the resolutions of the United Nations against the supply of arms to the apartheid regime. In this way, the collapse of apartheid will be hastened.

## Summit Conference

IN my address to this House last January, I stated that 1965 is the year of decision for Africa and that it was my earnest hope and expectation that the forthcoming O.A.U. Summit Conference in Accra will bring us nearer to our goal of a unified Africa.

The preparations we are making to receive our distinguished guests are symbolic of our determination to ensure that nothing will hamper the effectiveness of our deliberations.

It is heartening to note

that our determination in this regard is shared by the people. We are mobilizing our resources to ensure the success of this Conference. We are determined to prove and demonstrate that no sacrifice is too great for us to make in order to achieve our cherished aims and aspirations for Africa.

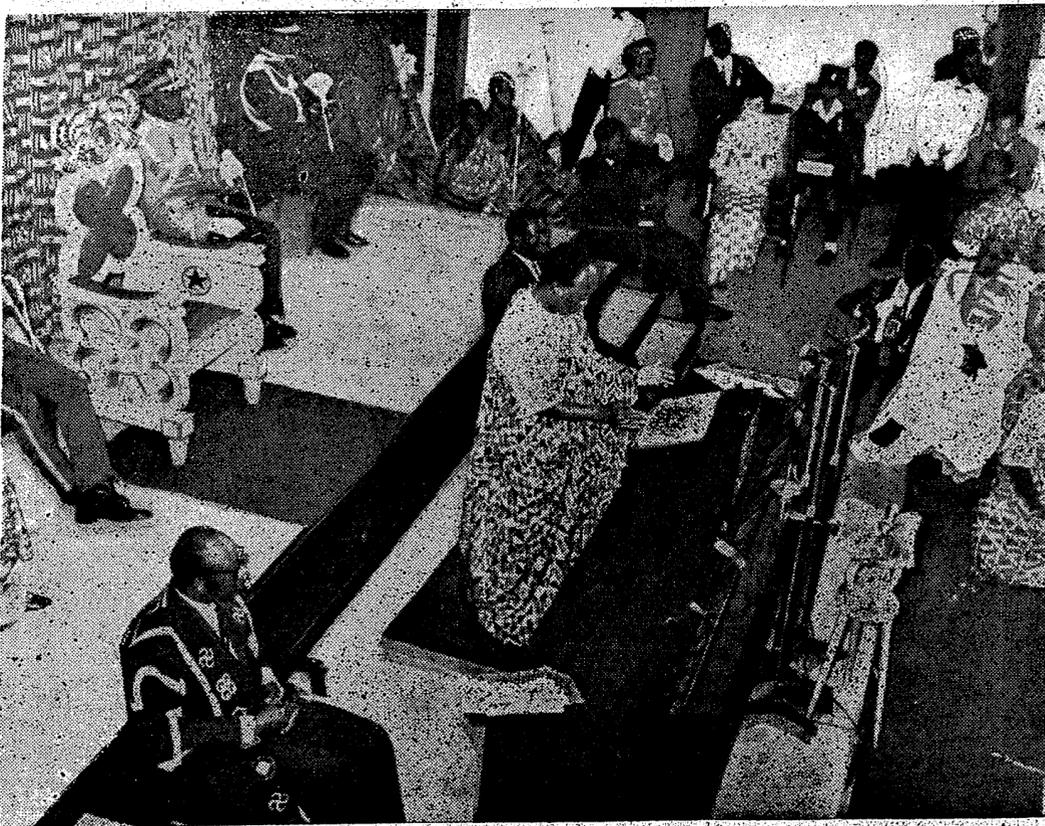
Recent events have shown that the ties that bind us in Africa are much stronger than the forces that try to divide us. We harbour no malice against anyone. We assure our critics no less than our friends a sincere and fraternal welcome to Ghana.

Mr. Speaker,

As Members know, it was agreed at the Lagos Conference of O.A.U. Foreign Ministers that certain political refugees should leave Ghana.

The policy of the Government of Ghana with regard to refugees has been made abundantly clear by repeated statements by me. As recently as March 22 this year, I said in my address to this Assembly, and I quote:

"With regard to the political refugees staying in Ghana, I have already stated the policy of the Government of Ghana in  
Continued on page 4



Kwame Nkrumah, addresses Ghana's First Socialist Parliament

# Ghana Harbours no Malice

Continued from page 3

this very House nearly two years ago. I stated then that all political refugees could only remain in Ghana on the clear understanding that they do not undertake any subversive activities whatsoever against our sister States. I consider that such problems confronting not only Ghana but other independent States who have political refugees can best be solved by adhering to the long-established rules of public international law, namely, that no state should allow anyone within its borders to carry out acts inimical to the interests of any other state, and secondly, that every state has the right to decide who may be permitted to reside within its territories. If all Independent African States adhere to these principles, the difficulties which we have previously experienced will, I am sure, cease to exist, and we shall be conforming to the long established practice among nations. If there were ONE AFRICA based on a Continental Union Government, this problem would cease to exist."

The Government of Ghana still stands by this policy. The House will like to know that, in order to ensure that everything possible has been done for maintaining absolute security for the Heads of State who will attend the forthcoming O.A.U. Summit Conference, we stand by our determination to make Accra completely safe for the Summit Conference.

It is in this spirit that we welcome the Lagos Resolution of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers, and the House will be happy to learn that my Government is doing everything possible to restore normal relations between us and our neighbours. In this connection, Members are already aware

that the border between us and our sister Republic of Togo has been re-opened.

*Mr. Speaker,*

We have almost completed on the grounds of the State House a magnificent complex of buildings and other facilities required for the O.A.U. Conference. (It is there for all to see).

The residential part of this complex consists of a 12-storey building of sixty self-contained suites carefully arranged to give maximum comfort. There are also an up-to-date Conference Hall which can contain 1,000 people, and a Banquet Hall capable of seating nearly 2,000 guests near this residence, both of which are linked by a series of covered ways to the residential edifice.

This complex of buildings is all centrally air-conditioned. On the same grounds provision has been made for garages which will accommodate up to forty cars for the Heads of State, and a parking area for over 750 cars.

Two large fountains operated by seventy-two jets with multi-coloured interplay of lights, and rising to a height of sixty feet when fully turned on, have been installed. The scale and nature of these buildings show the great importance which the Government of Ghana attaches to the Conference of the Organisation of African Unity.

*Mr. Speaker,*

Despite exceptional effort and diligence it was clear that these buildings could not be fully completed before 1st September, the date agreed last year for holding the O.A.U. Summit Conference in Accra.

I therefore made a special appeal to my colleagues, the Heads of State, inviting them to agree to a postponement of the Conference. I have accordingly suggested that they arrive in Accra between October 19 and 20 so that the Conference may start on October 21.

In view of the heavy agenda of the Foreign Mi-

nisters' Conference which usually provides that of the Heads of State, the O.A.U. Secretariat has suggested that the Foreign Ministers may require nearly one week to complete their business. Accordingly, I have also suggested that the Foreign Ministers' Conference may begin in Accra on October 12.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the whole House joins me in assuring the Heads of State and other delegates of a very warm and brotherly welcome in Accra.

*Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,*

We are sometimes overmodest about our achievements. When Ghana became independent in 1957 there were only eight independent African States including Ghana. Since then, we have, through the persistent and uncompromising application of our policy, helped to raise the number of independent States in Africa to-day to thirty-six.

In this connection, it will be recalled that in April, 1958, we convened the First Conference of Independent African States. In December, 1958, we also convened the all-African Peoples' Conference which was attended by no fewer than sixty-two nationalist organisations in Africa. The momentum set up by these two conferences has never subsided, and indeed is changing the face and fate of Africa.

But, Mr. Speaker, so long as our brothers in Angola, the so-called Portuguese and Spanish Guineas, Mozambique, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, South West Africa and all the islands surrounding our Continent remain under the yoke of imperialism, so long as the minority of settlers continue to dominate our brothers in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, so long shall we continue to give all the help that is within our power to all those who are fighting to overthrow oppression; so long shall we strive to regain Africa's inalienable right, and restore her dignity and heritage.

nisation and educational imperialism under the cloak of neo-colonialism have stepped up their offensive against the African Revolution.

The strategy and tactics they adopt to-day in Africa take various forms and our trade unions are very much exposed to the dangers of neo-colonialist machinations. This demands on our part continuous vigilance.

The intrigues and subversion perpetrated against African Governments by some international trade union agencies must arouse the consciousness of the African States to a realisation of the threat these agencies pose to Africa's independence.

Only an independent All-African Trade Union Federation, not aligned with any of the world international organisations—an All-African trade union grouping which is anti-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist—can be the surest guarantee of safeguarding the true interests of the African working people.

My faith in the trade unions as instruments for building socialism has never wavered. The workers of Africa know and have felt the effects of exploitation.

Our struggle to build socialism is first and foremost in the interest of the workers and peasants of our continent. That is why we must give them all aid and assistance, in fulfilling their orga-

## The Price of Cocoa

**THE House may be aware that we have entered into a number of bilateral agreements under which we are increasing trade, technical exchange and general co-operation with other African States. We intend, in the years ahead, to extend this process.**

Under these bilateral agreements it will be necessary for us to examine ways and means of promoting our export trade with our sister African States. It is high time for Ghana to set up Economic and Trade Missions attached to our Embassies in Africa.

But all these activities, technical co-operation, bilateral agreements, however useful, cannot solve the fundamental problem facing Ghana and the independent African countries. Fragmented and balkanised, the independent African States need a unifying instrument. Our future rests upon the speed and extent to which we can achieve total Continental Unification of our energies and resources for the safety and security of Africa.

*Mr. Speaker,*

In spite of our necessary pre-occupation with international affairs and in spite of our efforts for the unification of Africa, we are nevertheless giving full attention to our domestic problems.

Our programmes for the diversification and mechanisation of our agriculture, for the industrial and technological development of Ghana for the expansion and improvement of our educational, medical and other social services, are being pursued with unabated vigour and dynamism.

Members of the House know the details of the agreement reached recently between the cocoa farmers and the Government in order to relieve the unprecedented strain on our eco-

nomical and educational role in the struggle for the unification of Africa.

Our trade unions must tackle the practical problems of increased industrial production, of increased productivity, of the organisation of production in the factories and on the farms. Our workers must take part in planning production at the factory level. They must take part in the implementation of such plans. They must enjoy some of the benefits accruing from the fulfilment of the production plans. This for us is the meaning of industrial democracy.

Our workers must study and solve the practical problems of production—how to economise and avoid waste, reduce production costs, raise labour productivity and maintain industrial discipline. The attitude of the managers of our economic enterprise towards the workers must be animated by mutual co-operation and by the desire to eliminate frictions and shortcomings.

Each State factory must have a production committee on which both management and workers are represented. The system of collective bonuses must be fully studied and carefully implemented. Every practical step must be taken to ensure that the necessary conditions exist for stimulating the interest of the workers in production management.

The readiness of our farmers to accept a voluntary reduction in the cocoa price paid to them has given us greater strength and encouragement to deal with this national emergency.

It has given us a first-class lesson in the value of socialist morality and socialist responsibility. We congratulate the farmers. This is how a socialist society should function.

*Mr. Speaker,*

It has always been the view of the Government

that there should be Commodity Agreements to stabilise the prices of all the primary products of developing countries, including cocoa. We believe that, given goodwill and real desire to reach a just solution, it should be possible to achieve an agreement on cocoa.

In the immediate post-war period, the dollar earnings from cocoa and other primary commodities, were important factors in maintaining the position of sterling.

Ghana was urged and encouraged by the British Government to increase its cocoa production, and there was even an understanding with the British Chocolate Manufacturers, who have had traditional interest in Ghana cocoa, that the price of cocoa, irrespective of production would not be allowed to fall below Five-hundred and twenty-eight Cedis (£220 sterling) to Five-hundred and four Cedis

£210 sterling) per ton. As everyone knows, the world price of cocoa only recently stood at Two-hundred and sixteen Cedis (£90 sterling) per ton.

At the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, we stressed the urgent need for negotiating new Commodity Agreements.

The Government of Ghana is of the view that a special Commonwealth Cocoa Conference should be convened to discuss the cocoa situation. And this will be a first step towards a World Cocoa Conference. The object of such conferences, however, should include a study of what immediate action, whether on the Commonwealth or international level, can be taken to ensure a guaranteed and fair minimum price for cocoa.

*Mr. Speaker,*

Let me state here and now that under no circumstances will we allow those who now control and mani-

pulate the world price of cocoa to alter, hamper or curtail our programme of industrial and agricultural development, and the expansion of our educational and other social service. The implementation of our Seven-Year Development Plan will precede.

Neither the machinations of monopolists in the cocoa trade, nor the obstacles placed in our path by those who seek to control foreign currencies and credits, will cause us to slacken or halt our pace of development.

If more sacrifices of luxuries are required, we shall make them. If greater efficiency must be reached in our present production, we shall reach it. But our development will go on.

Shortages and high prices in local foodstuffs have shown us, among other things, that our agricultural production of these commodities have fallen behind the national requirements.

In Ghana, where we have doubled our cocoa production since independence because it was then profitable and necessary for our development, we cannot now plead inability to double our food production, or to treble it if need be.

The provision of cheap food for our people and raw materials for our factories and industries is the essential pre-requisite for our national development. That is the goal which the Ministry of Agriculture, the other agencies responsible for agriculture, and our farmers and our Party must keep in mind and must attain.

In a socialist society like ours where man is regarded as an end in himself and not merely as a means, all the productive effort of the State must begin on the basis of meeting man's basic needs.

We are in a unique position for an emergent developing state in that we have a national income and facilities for agricultural pro-

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## End Minority Rule

**AT the recent Commonwealth Conference in London, my African colleagues and I emphasized Britain's responsibility to see that Rhodesia passes rapidly to independence on the basis of majority rule.**

In most British colonies, the extension of the franchise to a majority of the population took place before the colony had reached the stage of constitutional advance at present existing in Rhodesia.

The introduction of universal suffrage was part of a process of constitutional change leading, first, to internal self-government, then to independence. There was never any question of independence being passed to a government representing only a minority of the people.

Indeed, in many cases independence was delayed, even when there was universal suffrage and a minority-elected government, if it was suggested that the government did not enjoy sufficient popular support.

That was our own experience in Ghana where the C.P.P. won an overwhelming majority of seats in 1954 and was mandated to seek independence, but because of the noisy and externally-inspired agitation in our country, with the active support of their imperialist friends, the British Govern-

ment insisted on a further general election before acceding to our request for independence.

They even demanded from us a so-called "reasonable majority" at a time when our Party's majority was not in doubt.

How extraordinary, then, that in the case of Rhodesia there should even be consideration of the possibility of giving independence to a Government that represents no more than only a minority racial group.

Most of the controversy about Rhodesia during the last year has been clouded by the threat of Mr. Ian Smith to make a unilateral declaration of independence if Britain does not grant independence to his government. Last year the British Prime Minister quite properly warned Mr. Smith of the consequences of such an action.

But it is not sufficient to leave the matter there. The principal purpose of the threat to declare indepen-

dence unilaterally is to prevent constitutional change.

In other words, the Smith Government is not primarily seeking this power of independence for its own sake, but to create a legal basis by which to resist any encroachment upon the privileges it already enjoys.

Mr. Smith knows that once the constitutional cord binding his racial minority government in Rhodesia to the British Government is severed he is free to take any further steps he likes.

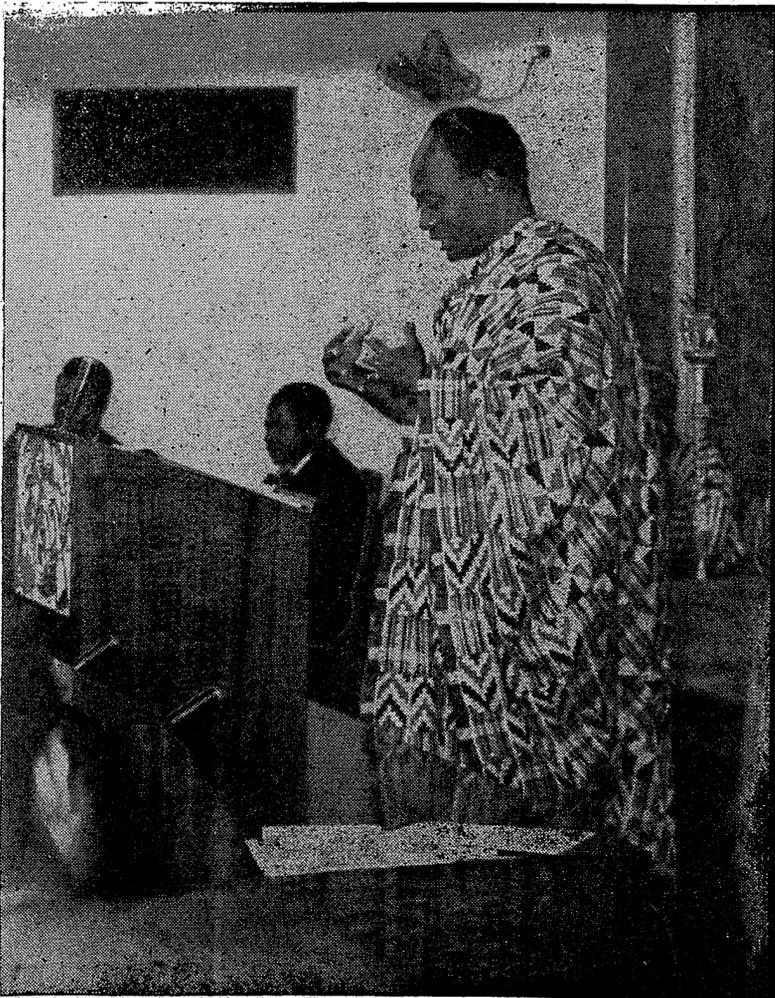
Many of the independent African countries have already made it clear that if a showdown comes in Rhodesia and if, as part of that showdown, a provisional African Government in Exile is established, they will be prepared to recognise that Government and support it. It will, indeed, be necessary for the O.A.U. to reach agreement on energetic steps which it is bound to take to thwart a seizure of independence by a racial minority in Rhodesia.

## Industrial Democracy

**I HAVE always underlined to our National Assembly the importance the Party and the Government attach to the role of the All-African Trade Union Federation in our strug-**

**gle for African Continental Unity.**

Today, although we are living in a period characterised by the ascending strength of the liberation movement and the consequent weakness of imperialism, the agents of interna-



"The State must begin on the basis of meeting man's basic needs"

# Against Any African State

Continued from page 4

duction which can provide adequate food for the people and at the same time earn for us sufficient foreign exchange to meet most of our development plans.

But we must face the position that there is at present a scarcity of locally grown food in certain urban areas in Ghana, and a rising cost of food associated with that scarcity, resulting in considerable hardships to the people in those areas. The Special Committee of the Party which I appointed recently to deal with this problem has gone about its task with energy and enthusiasm.

In order to counteract difficulties in the distribution of food, as the House may know, the government has completed plans to establish a Ghana Groceries Corporation which will organise a chain of modern grocery

## The seven year plan

I HAVE said that our Seven-Year Plan, which will soon enter its Third Year, will continue and triumph over our financial difficulties and vicissitudes. It will be a major policy during the rest of the Plan period to intensify and redouble our efforts to achieve the central objectives of our socialist planning and reconstruction as outlined in the Plan.

It must be recalled that the cardinal objectives of our Seven-Year Development Plan are:

- (i) The economy must be developed rapidly and efficiently so that it shall, within the shortest time possible, assure a high rate of productivity and high standard of living for each citizen based on gainful employment.
- (ii) The income from our physical assets and from the labour of our people applied to these assets year by year must be utilized for socially purposeful ends, such as education, welfare, and health services for our people. Never must public want and private affluence be allowed to co-exist in Ghana.
- (iii) The Community, through its Government must play a major role in the economy, thus enabling it to assure the maintenance of a high level of economic activity, the provision of adequate employment opportunities, the equitable distribution of the nation's

## The Volta Project

Mr. Speaker, Members and Comrades,

I AM happy to inform the House that progress in the construction of the Volta River Project has surpassed our best expectations. The main Dam was completed in February this year. Work on the Power Plant, Intake Channel, Spillways and the 500-mile Transmission system proceeded rapidly and the Akosombo over-all development is to-day Ninety-seven per cent complete.

As I am speaking to you now, the Volta lake has risen to a level which is sufficient to commission the

stores in the areas affected.

This venture, which is based on the research and plans drawn up and financed by the State Investment Bank, will go along way to solve some of our present food problems.

At the same time the Government will mobilise, encourage and assist our food farmers to increase the local production of food-stuffs.

To this end, I have directed the Minister of Industries to establish without delay a factory for the production of hoes and machetes.

The Government is also setting up a national organisation to assist our traditional food farmers in a new crusade to increase the production of foodstuffs. The State Farms will from now on concentrate their energies and resources on the production of industrial and economic crops.

output, and the availability of the means of satisfying over-riding social ends.

(iv) The production strategy must be so designed as to enable Ghana to play her full part in a Pan-African economic community.

A country's total production of goods and services is measured by its gross national product. This determines the rate of the nation's growth and progress. An increase in gross national product can be brought about by four main causes:

- (1) Increase in labour input
- (2) Increase in capital input
- (3) improvement in labour efficiency
- (4) improvement in investment

As a corollary to these objectives, the Seven-Year Plan envisages a minimum growth rate of 5.5 per cent per annum for the economy during the period till 1970. This compares favourably with five per cent minimum growth rate set by the United Nations for the developing countries during the current United Nations Development Decade which will end in 1970. Our target, therefore, is neither unrealistic nor over-ambitious.

We hope to execute our Seven-Year Plan on schedule. In this regard, the timing, phasing, and the quality and feasibility of projects that come up for execution during the Plan period will henceforth be subject to a very critical examination and scrutiny.

In the light of this examination and scrutiny, it is our intention to embark upon a programme of consolidation.

first power unit. The lake is still rising and has another sixty feet to go. At its maximum the Volta lake will be the largest man-made lake in the world.

The House will be gratified to know that experimental trials which took place two weeks ago were entirely satisfactory, and that the Volta River Authority will commence power generation, on a commercial scale, early in September this year.

A note-worthy feature of the Akosombo development, rare in schemes of this kind, is that the final cost of the Project will be considerably lower than the original estimate.

On the resettlement front much progress has been made. Of the 80,000 people who are being displaced by

the lake, 62,000 have already been resettled in forty-four out of the Fifty-four new townships, possessing model houses, sanitation, pipe-water supply, schools, market places and

to find ways and means of implementing projects such as lake transportation which will help to promote balanced development of the full economic potential of the Volta basin.

tal outlay, and it is therefore vital to ensure optimum utilization of the power that is produced and to avoid as far as is possible, idle capacity in order to maximise the returns on our invest-

transportation which it is the intention of the Government to exploit.

The Report of the Kaiser Engineers and Constructors Incorporated, submitted last August on the Lake Volta Transport System, has been carefully studied and its recommendations found generally acceptable.

On the satisfactory conclusion of financing arrangements, it is our intention to inaugurate the lake transport system initially with minimum essential facilities and expand these to cope with traffic growth and demand.

Yapei which will be the

northernmost port on the Volta lake will be linked to Tamale by a super highway.

Haulage vehicles will be carried on a network of barges along the lake to Yapei where they will join the highway to Tamale for the cheap distribution of goods in the Northern and Upper Regions. The same combination of transport facilities will permit the produce of these regions to be carried cheaply to the South.

An extension of our railway system will link Tema with Akosombo to join the Koforidua rail loop at Apimso.

## Birth of a Town

THE Tema Township which had a population of 2,000 inhabitants in 1948, now has a population of more than 70,000, and it is expected that by the end of the Seven-Year Development Plan the population will exceed 100,000.

During the current year, 1,500 dwellings were completed and occupied by workers and high executives. Out of this number, 860 dwellings were provided for VALCO to enable the construction of the Aluminium Smelter to be completed on schedule.

A number of negotiations are in hand for the construction of at least 2,000 houses per year. In addition to this the two factories for prefabricated panels will provide for the construction of 3,400 dwellings for workers.

The City of Tema consists of a residential area of twelve communities and an industrial area covering 3,000 acres. Each community has been provided with approximately 2,000 houses and is fully equipped with water, electricity, sewerage, drainage, roads and a network of radio and tele-

phones. The entire project has been financed by the Government and construction of the communities is ahead of schedule. Each community will be provided with a community centre equipped with all social amenities.

In the main town centre, development is already under way with the construction of a hotel with 180 rooms which will be completed shortly.

Of the various industries set up, forty-eight sizeable ones of a total cost of about 100 million Cedis have been sited in Tema.

Transport facilities have been provided for those workers willing to stay outside Tema, and bus facilities link up the entire suburban area of Accra with Tema in order to generate labour for the factories of the township.

A twelve-mile concrete double carriage motorway comparable to the best anywhere in the world has been constructed from Tema to Accra where it will be integrated into the traffic network of the country. This toll motorway will be completed within a few months at a cost of roughly 10 million Cedis.



"I am happy to inform the House that progress in the construction of the Volta River Project has surpassed our best expectations... a noteworthy feature of the Akosombo development rare in schemes of this kind, is that the final cost of the Project will be considerably lower than the original estimate."

newly cleared farm lands.

To implement my assurance that no person will be worse off than before, Government authorised additional expenditure on resettlement over and above what was budgeted in the Project cost estimate. Government has gone further and authorised a crash programme to help resettle people to complete their "core" houses.

I am confident that the resettled people will not only command higher living standard than before, but they have the tools and the opportunity to develop scientific, mixed agriculture and healthy community living.

The lake has also opened up vast opportunities for fishing. Surveys are being carried out and will be continued to determine what kind of fish will thrive in the lake, and the biological conditions suited to their growth will be promoted.

Every encouragement and technical advice will be given to the fishing communities around the lake to develop and improve their occupational activities.

The construction of the Aluminium Smelter at Tema of which I had the pleasure of cutting the sod sometime ago is proceeding apace. VALCO are vigorously prosecuting work on the Smelter which should be ready to utilize Volta Power on schedule.

At the initiative of Government, the Volta River Authority has secured expert technical surveys into multi-purpose development potentialities of the Volta lake and Akosombo such as lake transportation, irrigation, fisheries and ancillary industries.

I attach great importance to these related projects. Government is determined

While power production will commence in September, all the four generators will be installed and ready for operation by June, 1966. With the virtual completion of main construction, it has been decided that the formal inauguration of the Volta River Project should be held on 23rd January, 1966, the fourth anniversary of the ground-breaking ceremony at Akosombo.

Four years is a short span of time for completing such a gigantic undertaking, and a tribute is due to the Consulting Engineers, Contractors, Volta River Authority personnel, and above all, to the Ghanaian workers who helped to translate our cherished dream into a concrete reality.

I am sure the House will like to be associated with me in recording a tribute to all persons and Agencies concerned with this great and challenging endeavour.

The implementation of the Volta River Scheme has meant great financial effort on the part of Ghana. Already Ghana has spent over 64.8 million Cedis (£27 million sterling) on the project of which nearly 16.8 million Cedis (£7 million sterling) has been in foreign exchange.

Apart from this, loan funds totalling nearly 43.2 million Cedis (£18 million sterling) have been spent.

Whilst these loan funds are to be repaid with interest, Ghana's contribution represents an equity investment.

The Volta River Authority, however, expects to pay to the Government a return on its investment of not less than eight per cent as from 1974.

Power development involves a considerable capi-

ments to enable us to carry our socialist programme of reconstruction and development. To achieve this, it is necessary for us to have a realistic programme of power development phased to keep pace with power demand.

Considerable work has already been done in this regard by the Power Planning Committee which I set up. From the studies which have so far been carried out it is hoped that the fifth generator unit for the Akosombo Power Station of 147 megawatt-capacity will be commissioned in 1970, when the load growth will have reached a level to warrant its installation.

As construction activities at Akosombo draw to a close, the Government is exploring with the prospects of siting a number of industries at Akosombo which will utilize the facilities provided for the workers on the Volta River Project.

Already, agreement in principle has been reached under which the Government of Ghana and the Government of India will go into partnership for setting up a textile mill in Akosombo.

The whole of the Akosombo area, from the Adomi Bridge to the Dam Site itself and beyond, will be developed into an industrial and commercial area. This area will be replanned, landscaped, floodlit and provided with modern recreational facilities and tourist attractions, including shops, motels, parks, gardens and fountains for the enjoyment of the residents, tourists and visitors alike.

The creation of a large inland water lake as a result of the construction of the Akosombo dam opens up new opportunities for cheap

## All-Round Advance

WE have been assured that the power from the Volta River Project will be sufficient to meet the needs of Ghana for the next ten years, at least. Nevertheless, we must look ahead and provide for a greater expansion of our needs.

To this end, a survey of the possibilities of developing power on the Bui River has been undertaken with the assistance of the Soviet Government. This survey has shown that that project is economic and feasible. The Government has therefore decided to initiate discussions on the possibility of implementing the Bui Project Scheme. In the meantime, a start will be made to construct the ancillary works such as access roads in the area.

In addition to the development of electric energy, especially hydro-electricity, the Government has also been actively pursuing the possibilities of exploiting and developing other equally important fuel resources such as oil and natural gas.

Mr. Speaker,

The period since independence has been characterised by an impressive industrial advancement in Ghana. Cocoa processing factories, cement clinker mills, textile mills, a jute bag factory, the paint factory, the sugar factory at Akuse, are but a few of the many projects completed or nearing completion.

It is the firm determi-

nation of the Government to accelerate the pace of our industrial progress.

This implies speedy completion of projects—like the two sugar mills at Akuse and Komenda, the glass factory and gold refinery at Tarkwa and Aboso.

In order to ensure the proper utilization of our timber resources, it is intended to establish a complex of wood industries to produce locally, veneer and plywood, matchsticks, chipboard, cardboard for packaging, and fibreboard.

There is great demand for these products in overseas markets and the opportunity will be exploited to increase our foreign exchange earnings by the export of these products and also to satisfy the ever-increasing demand in the domestic market.

The importance of paper for all purposes in a fast developing country cannot be over-estimated. Arrangements are in hand for the establishment of a Paper and Pulp Factory, and tenders are being examined as a first step to the implementation of the project. Every effort will be made to ensure that the new industries are so designed as to utilize local raw materials in production.

Mr. Speaker,

Our programme of industrialization is very closely linked with our plans to extend mining in Ghana.

A Ministry of Mines and Mineral Resources was

Continued on page 6

# Ghana Builds Wealthy Socialist Society

(Continued from page 5)

created on 1st February, 1965, with responsibility for the State Gold Mining and State Diamond Mining Corporations and the Geological Survey and Mines Departments.

It is the aim of that Ministry to ensure the economic exploitation of the known rich natural mineral resources of the country to fullest advantage and through its technical Departments to organize an intensive exploration of existing and new minerals for their profitable exploitation and marketing.

That Ministry will promote and encourage the development of secondary industries as by-products of the minerals. The Ministry will not only provide employment for Ghanaians but will open up avenues to the youth of the country for the acquisition of new technical and administrative skills.

To meet this challenge the scope of the Tarkwa School of Mines will be expanded and upgraded into a full-scale technical institution for mining engineering and metallurgy.

An intensive geological exploration to discover new ore bodies is being undertaken in the Mines operated by the State Gold Mining Corporation.

Already, large reserves of bauxite have been discovered in several areas of this country. Lithium minerals of great importance in industry have also been discovered in the areas around Winneba, Saltpond and Kumasi.

There are indications that these minerals are found in association with Beryl which is of great importance in nuclear research. Kaolin, quartz and feldspars which are the basis for ceramic industries are now known to exist in many parts of the country.

Our iron ore reserves at Shieni and Opon-Mansu are estimated to be five hundred million tons. Our limestone deposits for cement, lime and metallurgical processes stand at over fifty million tons.

Recent investigations on the Offin River have shown that there are large reserves of gold which extend along the river over a distance of twenty miles.

Traces of columbite, monazite and molybdenite have been found in several parts of the country, and intensive exploration of these minerals is in progress.

In the Anum area, large deposits of chromite associated with nickel have also been discovered and evaluation of this deposit will soon be started.

Side by side with gold, diamond production is being

stepped up. The State Diamond Corporation which has just been incorporated has already acquired the plant and machinery of the Takrowase Diamond Fields and is mining diamonds.

The Corporation proposes during the life time of this Parliament to install modern surface plants at Takrowase and Oda and to dredge the Birim River. As a first step the Corporation is embarking on an extensive exploration and research programme to determine the ore reserves in its concessions.

The contract for 19.2 million Cedis (£8 million sterling) which the Government has recently concluded with a West German Consortium to finance the country's Diamond Mining Project will be phased over the next five years.

*Mr. Speaker,*

We have so far established no less than fifty-two State Corporations. All these Corporations have been provided with legal instruments which will clearly define their objects and regulate their activities.

It is the policy of the Government not only to establish State enterprises entirely owned by Government, but where it is to our mutual benefit, to enter into partnership with foreign interests in order to set up joint enterprises.

At present there are ten such joint enterprises in the country. It is the responsibility of the State Enterprises Secretariat to ensure that Government's interest in these joint enterprises is efficiently represented and safeguarded.

*Mr. Speaker,*

Let me repeat that the Government and the people of Ghana expect those who have been charged with the responsibility of running these State enterprises, their Chairmen, the Managing Directors and members of the Board of Directors, to operate them efficiently, with honour and integrity, to ensure that they are managed on sound commercial principles and that the results we all so eagerly look forward to are achieved.

To this end, the Government has set up a panel of production experts to report to the Government on the production and efficiency of our existing corporations.

In addition, I am asking my Ministers to refer to the Cabinet any reports of malpractices in the operation of State Corporations which come to their notice. Before taking such action the Minister on his own personal responsibility must satisfy himself that such a report is not frivolous or vexatious.

will be rationalised and the Central Revenue and Customs and Excise Departments will be expanded and strengthened to ensure effective administration and collection of taxes.

The Public Debt will be kept within reasonable proportions of the national income so as to ease the burden of debt-servicing.

The present state of dependence of State enterprises on subventions from the national budget will be reduced to the minimum. All State enterprises must stand on their own feet, and contribute to the national budget.

If the management, by their inefficiency, incompetence, neglect or corruption fail to ensure this, the Government will take severe

## Society

measures against them including prompt dismissal.

Monetary Policy will be closely allied to fiscal policy, and efforts will be made to ensure the continued stability of the Ghana currency both internally and externally. Whilst reducing budget deficits, monetary expansion will be contained through reduction in the physical supply of money and a more efficient and purposeful utilization of Credit facilities.

In this connection the rate of interest will be manipulated to reflect the cost of credit; a banking bill to establish the basis for an effective control of the monetary system by the Bank of Ghana will soon be introduced.

Voluntary savings will be encouraged so as to tap available loanable funds to finance development.

In this regard efforts will be made towards the mobilisation of domestic capital and the ensuring of closer integration of all plans to increase the saving capacity of the public.

The present policy of building a strong network of financial institutions will be continued. The State Insurance Corporation will be encouraged to undertake as much as possible of the insurance business in this country. Facilities will be established for local re-insurance among the insurance companies operating in the country so as to reduce the outflow of foreign

exchange arising from payments of re-insurance premiums.

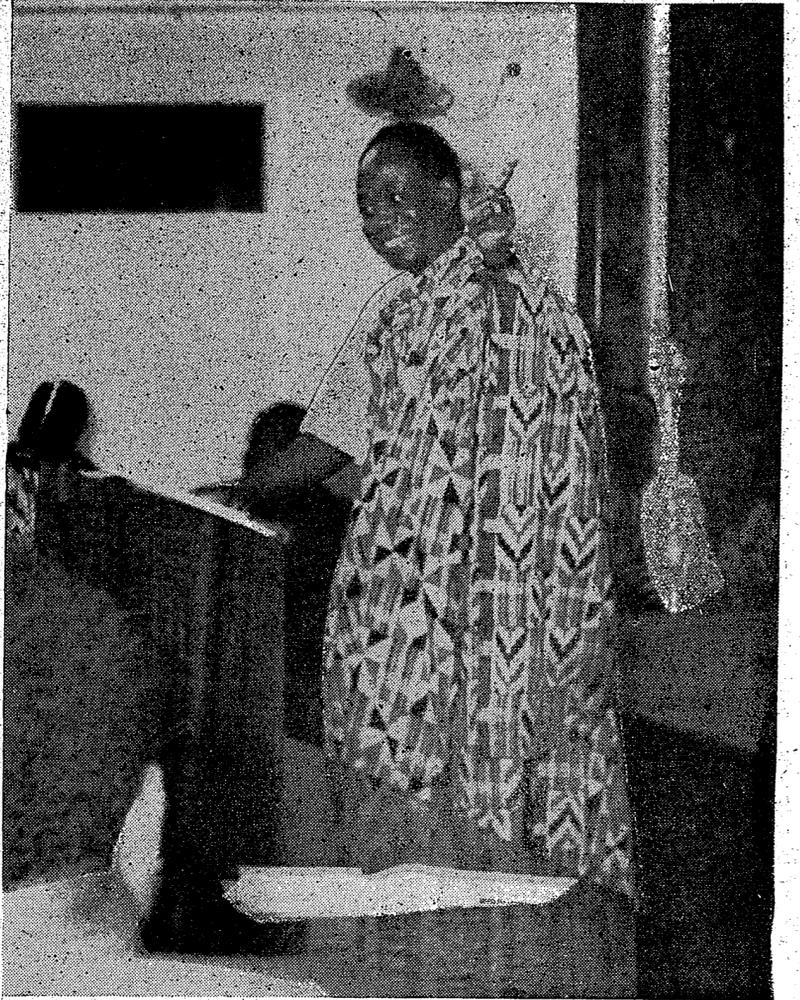
The Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank will be encouraged to finance a major part of viable agricultural and small-scale industrial projects as well as co-operative enterprises.

We are making every effort to bring equilibrium to the country's external balance of payments. We are also devising measures to expand our export earnings.

Cocoa, which is our main foreign exchange earner, will be sold strictly on hard cash basis and no longer on barter basis under bilateral commercial agreements with private financiers and intermediaries. This will ensure the availability of adequate liquid funds to finance our development programme and ease the strain on our reserves and payments position.

However, there is no question of abrogating our contractual obligations under the Trade and Payments Agreements which we have already signed. These will be continued to be honoured and cocoa will continue to be shipped to our trade partners on bilateral basis as already agreed.

The Foreign Exchange Budget will continue to be drawn annually as a feature in the planning of our economy and all sectors of the economy will be expected to maintain strict adherence to the targets set in it.



## Expand our Trade

**A FEW months ago, the Government decided to split the Ministry of Trade into two separate Ministries—Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Internal Trade.**

In the field of Foreign Trade, it will be the policy of the Government during the next five years to take measures:

- To maximise our foreign exchange earnings derived from exports;
- In line with Ghana's aspiration for a Union Government for Africa, to work for expansion of trade between Ghana and the other African States.

The collapse in the world cocoa price—the commodity which has hitherto supplied about 66 per cent of our total export earnings—and the general deterioration in our terms of trade should now spur us on to more aggressive export earning

campaigns.

A vigorous, export promotion drive, including the diversification of the export trade will be launched by the new Department of Export Promotion recently established in the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade will continue to explore the possibilities of expanding trade between Ghana and the other African States. The search for additional markets for commercial exchanges will continue and whenever possible negotiations will be instituted to conclude agreements with the non-African countries which will be meaningful both in safeguarding Ghana's commercial interest and in expanding trade generally.

During the life-time of the Second Parliament, the Ministry of Co-operatives will foster and encourage the growth of a strong, stable and efficient co-operative movement in Ghana to enable the co-operatives to make their contribution towards the achievement of the targets of the Seven-Year Development Plan.

## Security & Education

**I HAVE on several occasions stated that the Party is determined to provide social security for our workers both during their working life and their retirement. The implementation of the Social Security Act, 1965, is a positive step in this direction.**

This is proof of the fact that our socialist policies are geared to ensuring a decent working life for all, and under no circumstances need any one fall below a

certain minimum standard of living.

The success of such a gigantic scheme depends on the co-operation of the workers, employers and the Government. I am happy to say that the prospects of this co-operation continue to be excellent.

This scheme which has partial coverage is only the beginning. The Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance is actively engaged in formulating plans for a comprehensive pensions and national insurance or social security programme under

which every citizen of Ghana will benefit.

The State Housing Corporation will build during the next five years. Three large Estates in selected suburban areas in Accra. Others are being planned for Sunyani, Bolgatanga, Kumasi, Sekondi/Takoradi, Cape Coast, Saltpond, Koforidua, Ho and other areas.

*Mr. Speaker,* I announced here five years ago that Primary and Middle School education in Ghana was to be free in pursuance of our socialist aspirations and also for the reason that education is the pre-requisite of progress in all fields of our national economy.

Following that announcement progress in school enrolment has been phenomenal. By September this year, there should be more than one-and-a-half million children in Primary and Middle Schools, and by a steady progress this figure will reach the target of nearly two million set by the Seven-Year Development Plan. In other words, nearly a quarter of our total population will be in primary and middle schools.

This spectacular rise in enrolment has called for an increase in the number of teachers, and the present total student enrolment of 10,000 in training colleges will be progressively increased until the target of twenty-one thousand is reached by 1970.

This will involve enlarging all existing training colleges into three stream institutions and opening some thirty new colleges.

From the beginning of the new school year, that is, within the next few days, secondary education will be free throughout Ghana. In pursuance of this policy a number of private secondary schools will progressively be admitted into the public system of education in order to bring the benefits of this new policy to all who qualify for secondary education.

One aspect of secondary education which is receiving particular emphasis because of its eventual effect on a

developing nation like ours is science education. To aid the intensification of science especially in secondary school and training colleges, we shall continue to provide science equipment for all secondary schools, until plans that have been made to produce science equipment locally with the assistance of UNESCO materialize.

To relate secondary education more closely to our developing socialist economy, the school curriculum is being revised and re-orientated to embrace not only the normal academic subjects but also the study of technical and commercial subjects. Most of our future secondary schools will therefore be of the secondary technical type.

The rapid development of industries coupled with the mechanization and diversification of agriculture has greatly increased the demand for skilled manpower. There is also a growing need for technicians of the middle and higher levels.

To meet these needs, it is intended to increase the number of technical institutions by building one in each region, and to adapt the courses to the needs of the regions.

The polytechnics are being developed to train greater numbers of various types of technicians and Technical Training Centres are being built for re-training existing skilled manpower in order to improve their efficiency.

Our higher educational system continues to be geared towards the practical needs of Ghana. The existing facilities will be increased where necessary to enable the university institutions to continue to explore the frontiers of knowledge and add to the universal fund of scholarship.

The University of Ghana, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, the University College of Science Education have already become reputed university institutions commanding respect in

the academic world.

We have just added to these a Medical School whose importance in our development cannot be over-estimated. As the House knows, the Government has decided to build, on a site near the University of Ghana, a Medical Centre comprising a Teaching Hospital, a Nursing Training School, a Dental School and a Post-graduate Institution for Doctors and Scientists.

This Centre when completed will reinforce the existing facilities for Medical Training and Research. Consideration is also being given to the establishment of a Ghana School of Tropical Medicine for Teaching and Research in this special aspect of medicine and public health.

A University College of Agriculture will soon be established to cater for our needs for trained agricultural scientists and agronomists. To this end, we shall expand teaching facilities in the secondary schools to provide for agricultural training at the secondary school level.

The enrolment at the University of Ghana will reach 2,000 next October, and will continue to rise within the next quinquennium to a community of 5,000 students.

The University is implementing plans to enlarge the intake of science students, and to introduce a more desirable balance between the existing faculties. It accommodates an Institute of Statistics which will train research officers without which much of our planning will be based on guesswork. The University is also beginning undergraduate courses in Library Studies as well as Home Economics.

The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology will increase its enrolment of students from the present population of 1,100 to over 3,500 students by 1970, the target being 5,000 students.

The University will

(Continued on page 7)

## Stability plus Growth

**LET me now turn to the financial situation, and, and our future financial policy. Our policy, over the next five years, is to ensure financial stability without sacrificing growth and development. The weight of expenditure will be shifted from non-productive to productive investment, and a minimum of at least half of each year's expenditure estimates will be devoted to such investment in agriculture, industry, mining and fishing.**

Efforts will be made to refine the tax structure. The system of revenue collection

# Ghana Needs Trained Manpower

Continued from page 6

improve and expand its existing courses in the fields of engineering, technology and applied science and introduce new ones which will include marine engineering, aeronautic engineering, mining engineering, sanitary engineering, etc., in order to meet the manpower requirement in our development.

The former Faculty of Fine Art at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology has been reconstituted into an autonomous College of Art, which it is hoped to transfer to Accra in the near future.

Apart from teaching and training painters, sculptors and industrial designers, the College will conduct research into raw materials used in pottery and textiles. In the next five years, the College will set up production and design centres for the purposes of disseminating research results.

The University College of Science Education is charged with the responsibility for training professional graduate teachers for our Secondary Schools, Training Colleges, Polytechnics and Technical Schools. The enrolment at the College should reach three thousand by 1970.

In addition to the production of well-qualified graduate science teachers, the University College of Science Education will expand its in-service training course for laboratory technicians to help meet the requirements for qualified technicians.

A Biological Supply Agency will be established during the next five years at the University College of Science Education.

The Agency will supply the Secondary Schools, Training Colleges and Polytechnics with biological specimens needed especially for examinations, and which have hitherto been ordered from overseas.

In our programmes for the industrial and agricultural development of Ghana, the Academy of Sciences has a very important part to play. The Academy and its institutes must, therefore, identify themselves more closely and directly with the work going on in our factories, corporations, state farms, ministries and departments.

In other words, the Academy should work together with our State economic, industrial and agricultural institutions in the general framework of our development.

Mr. Speaker,

In spite of the striking advances in our educational programme, we still have a legacy of illiteracy left us from the colonial past. The Community Development and the Adult literacy programme have, during the past few years, contributed greatly in the struggle to wipe out illiteracy from our midst.

The Government has now decided that the campaign against illiteracy must be intensified. A nation-wide programme is being prepared by the Ministry of Social Welfare which will be launched soon. All the educational resources and facilities of the country will be mobilised in this national campaign to bring knowledge and enlightenment to the masses of our people.

The existing programmes for the training and rehabilitation of the Blind, Deaf and Dumb and other physically-handicapped members of our community will be expanded and intensified. We intend to establish a special organisation to co-ordinate and direct all the

efforts of the Government in this field.

A College for the training of teachers for the Deaf and Dumb is almost completed at Mampong-Akwapim and we hope very soon to establish another College for the Blind. Consideration is also being given to the establishment of a modern orthopaedic Centre in Accra for the rehabilitation of the physically-handicapped.

Mr. Speaker,

The success of our national programme will depend to a large extent on the availability of trained manpower. We shall need many qualified agriculturists as teachers, researchers, farm managers, extension officers and research assistants.

For the development, conservation and utilization of our vast forest resources and our game, we will need in increasing numbers trained silviculturists, game officers

## The People's Health

AS the House is aware, it has always been the aim of the Government to accord a high degree of priority to the health of the people, in order to achieve the highest possible standard of health service and health care.

With this in view, the health services and amenities will be further expanded and made available eventually to the entire population of Ghana. Consequently, our planning during the next five-year period will be geared to achieving this objective by means of a realistically phased programme of development.

The rapid expansion of our medical services coupled with the need to provide personnel on secondment to some of our less favoured sister countries, has placed a considerable strain on our available man-power resources. It is therefore intended to review, consolidate and intensify our existing training programmes, at the professional and technical levels, within the shortest possible time.

Malaria control and eradication continues to receive the utmost attention of the Government. With the assistance of the World Health Organisation, and with the co-operation of neighbouring countries, the pro-

## Improving Transport

IT is planned to achieve, over the next five years, an over-all improvement in the services and operational efficiency of the Ghana Railway. The recent division of the Rail and Harbours Administration into two separate Departments, namely, the Railway Department and the Ports and Harbours Department, will increase efficiency of these two Departments and accelerate their development.

The possibility of doubling the line from Manso to Huni Valley and also electrifying the Takoradi/Huni Valley section is being examined. Extensions of the railway from Awaso to Sunyani is being considered.

Postal services and telephone communications will be overhauled, improved and expanded throughout the country. More postal agencies will be opened and

and foresters of the various special branches.

Our various types of food-stuffs, seasonal in character, will have to be processed during their season of abundance, so that the surplus might be stored in the processed state for continued consumption in the seasons of scarcity.

Our growing livestock industry needs the strong support of animal husbandry-men and veterinary officers. We hope that the majority of these skilled men will be trained in the proposed University College of Agriculture.

In furtherance of African Unity, our institutions of higher education will continue to open their doors to eligible students from other African States. During the next five years, our University institutions will have to accelerate the pace of the Africanisation policy as laid down for them by the Government.

programme of training, investigation and residual spraying at present being carried out will be expanded to cover all parts of the country.

Efforts to control other communicable diseases such as smallpox and tuberculosis will also be intensified.

In the field of general public health, an intensive network of mobile and static health facilities will be made available to the rural population. It is intended that all medical workers trained, during the next five years, will have the kind of orientation which will prepare them to make an effective contribution to rural health work.

The number of rural health centres will be increased. Health Posts will be located at strategic places around the health centres to carry essential health services to the masses in our rural areas.

In this connection, I would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Government of the Soviet Union for the offer to build a 200-bed Hospital at Half Assini as a gift to the Government and people of Ghana. This Hospital, when completed, will enable comfort and relief to be brought to the people in the South-Western area of Ghana which has been relatively neglected in the past.

a number of the existing agencies will be upgraded to departmental status all over the country.

Work has already started on the new Accra Airport Terminal Building. Along with this project will be the installation of aeronautical telecommunication and navigational aids system in Accra, Kumasi and Tamale. An Instrument Landing System which will ensure safe landing by aircraft even in conditions of poor visibility is shortly to be installed at the Accra International Airport.

Work on the new Sunyani and Navrongo airstrips is in hand as part of the general programme for developing a network of airstrips throughout Ghana.

With the construction of an International Airport Terminal in Accra, the operations of Ghana Airways will link Ghana more closely with Africa and the rest of the world.

We also hope that discussions which are now in progress and the negotiations

going on for the establishment of a West and Equatorial African Airline will lead to the creation of a Pan African Airways.

New Transport depots and workshops in Accra, Tema, Kumasi and Sunyani have already been completed and work on similar projects at Tamale, Bolgatanga and Ho will be completed shortly.

The depots and workshops and the vehicles on order will enable the State Transport Corporation to improve its services and also extend its operations to the remote areas of the country. The Corporation will also increase its long distance

road haulage operations.

Work will shortly start on the construction of bridges over the Ankobra, Pra, Win and Butre rivers in the Western Region. Arrangements are being made for the construction of those Bridges to be undertaken by the West German firm new building the Lower Volta bridge at Tefle.

The Ghana Nautical College is stepping up its training of Ghanaians to man the Black Star Line ships. It will also continue to assist African countries who wish to make use of our facilities for training their nationals to man their Merchant Navies.

Challenges and realities in order to give expression to the democratic nature of our society.

This Parliament must help to consolidate our gains and assist in the building of socialism on the foundations which we have laid. We are thankful for the past, bound by the needs of the present, and inspired by the vision of the future.

In our service to the people, let us remember that nationalism is only the first step to nation-building and that true patriotism is essential for national progress and success.

And here, I would like to pay a warm tribute to our Civil Service and to the Public Service in general, many of whose officers have shown great skill and devotion in their work, and continue to make a valuable contribution to our national cause.

We have also with us many devoted and loyal officers who have come from other lands, to assist us in the development of our country. Many of them are engaged in important scientific and technical assignments in our universities, our schools, and colleges, and government departments. Others are working loyally and devotedly in our state, industrial, agricultural institutions and other organisations. We would like them all to know that their good work is known and appreciated.

Mr. Speaker,

We who have chosen the path of socialism must realize that socialism without patriotism is dead. I say this, because our society appears to be passing through a period in which excessive and morbid ambition for money and influ-

ence have gripped certain members of our community.

If this passion were blended and animated with an equal desire to serve the nation, there would be no need for me to sound any alarm.

Unfortunately, the desperate rush to "get rich quick" and to make the most for ourselves is not matched by a commensurate urge to serve Ghana to the best of our capabilities and powers.

We are inclined to forget that, as citizens, it is not what you take out of your country that counts, but what you put into it.

Progress in every nation depends on how much its citizens are prepared to put into the nation both for their age, and for posterity.

Indeed, as citizens, we cannot go on making personal gains at the expense of our country. Prudence alone demands that for stability in the present, and progress in the future, those of us who are called upon to work for the nation should be ready at all times to put more into our country than we are prepared to make out of it.

Mr. Speaker, Members and Comrades of the National Assembly,

You who have been elected to this Second Parliament of our Republic, and of this august Assembly, have solemn duties, obligations and responsibilities, as representatives of the people, to serve our beloved country in the search for a better life and happiness for all, in the building and construction of a new progressive and dynamic society in Ghana.

I now leave you to your deliberations, and pray that you be guided by the truest and highest interests of the Nation.

## Consolidate, Integrate

I MUST now turn to the theme of consolidation. We must consolidate and integrate all our achievements since independence within the framework of a socialist society. This calls for no departure from our stated policies regarding the role of private enterprises and foreign investment in our socialist economy.

It, however, calls for greater vigilance against clandestine encroachment on those vital economic territories which we consider must be owned by the people. It also calls for greater honesty, efficiency and energy in dealing with the sectors of the economy owned by the people.

Socialist planning, socialist vigilance, morality and dynamism can only spring from a sound socialist ideology. To make sure of this, the Party decided on the revolutionary step of insisting that all Ministers in the first Cabinet of the first

Socialist Parliament of Ghana should, attend a course of ideological study and self-examination at Winneba. This is obviously such a correct step for a Socialist State that I hope the practice will continue.

I would like to say of our new Cabinet what I have earlier said about our Parliament. Like our Parliament, our new Cabinet reflects the ideological vigour and dynamic drive of our Party. In this sense, it too must help to consolidate the gains of our revolution in our endeavours to build a prosperous and happy life for our people.

The Ideological Institute at Winneba carries a great responsibility for the diffusion of our Party's ideology. Our socialist ideology contains the great truths and realities of our age. We must know what we are doing, and why we are doing it, in every phase of our efforts and endeavours—intellectual, cultural, moral and physical.

The Party organisation must meet new trends, chal-

# CHINA AND 'REVOLUTION IN AFRICA'

WE last week spotlighted the forged publication "Revolution in Africa" purporting to originate in Albania and to be representative of the Chinese point of view in international affairs, but in fact the work of U.S. Central Intelligence Agency agents in Brussels.

We have received the following statement issued by the Hsinhua News Agency of the Chinese People's Republic:

"This so-called periodical edited and printed by the imperialists and widely distributed in Africa is a completely forged propaganda material. The sinister aim of the forgers is to divert the spearhead of the anti-imperialist struggle of the African people and to estrange and undermine the friendly relations between the African countries and China.

"The sudden appearance of this forged periodical at the present time when the anti-U.S. wave in Africa is at its height clearly shows that imperialism is resorting to des-

picable forgery and vicious lies to cover up its crimes of aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) and other African countries and to extricate itself from the embarrassed position of being encircled and attacked from all sides in Africa.

"But as soon as it appeared in Africa, this imperialist forged periodical met with fierce attack and timely exposure from fair-minded African public opinion which strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for scheming through the distribution of this forgery, to conduct neo-colonialist 'psychological warfare' against Africa, to poison the relations between China and the African countries, to 'confuse immature mind' and to misrepresent the image of socialist countries in Africa.

"But obviously this scheme cannot hoodwink the African people. A. M. Kheir whose name is being used by the pamphlet has pointed out that it is a cheap scheme hatched by imperialism and a shameless attempt to serve its interests.

"The Albanian paper *Zeri I Popullit* and the Union of Journalists of Albania have pointed out that all the African people know that the socialist Albania has consistently stood on their sacred struggle for freedom and against imperialism. They will never believe that this trash of a journal worthy of the foul pen of those who sell their honour and conscience for dollars and pounds was published in Albania.

"The Chinese Government and people heartily admire and appreciate the public opinion in Africa which can differentiate truth from falsehood, distinguish friends from foes, expose this imperialist trick of forgery in good time and uphold the friendly relations between China and the African countries.

"It is known to all that the People's Republic of China takes as its guiding principles in its relations with the African and other countries the five principles of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each

other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

"The Chinese Government and people not only observe these principle in words and in deed but also spared no efforts in supporting the African people's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and take this support as their bounden international duty.

"The friendly relations between China and the African countries developed on the basis of the five principle of peaceful co-existence and the struggle against the common enemy can never be sabotaged by the imperialists by using forged propaganda material or other tricks of slander and estrangement that cannot bear the light of the day.

"The friendly relations between China and the African countries are growing steadily. The vain attempt of the imperialist like a mantis trying to stop a cart with its arms will certainly meet with more tragic defeat."

# THE TRUTH ABOUT LOS ANGELES



A white police maltreating a Negro.

**AFTER** you have read it all, all about the riot in Los Angeles that is, you will have to weigh all the thousands of words of the newsman's "battle scene" stories against one solid statistic—the head count of the dead.

The incontestable fact is that of the 34 people who died in the four days of wrath, 28 were Negroes. In addition to the sum, and the division of the dead, other statistics have been dutifully compiled.

There were 676 persons hospitalised for injuries of whom 640 were Negroes.

### JAMMED IN

Negroes arrested in the Watts area of Los Angeles were jammed into every available space in the city jails—of the 2,157 people who were arrested in the area all were Negroes.

The papers reported in some detail how the National Guardsmen operated in "the field" while another 8,000 in reserve awaited their turn.

An A.P. man wrote that on Sunday morning about 4.30 a.m. a woman motorist approached a National Guard blockade at 59th Street and Vermont Avenue.

"A policeman who helped carry her to an ambulance said: 'Her legs were almost cut off.' She was identified as Mrs. Lerner Cooke, 47, a Negro."

A staff man for the *New York Herald Tribune* told of the team work between Lt. Richard Bogard's police from the Venice district and Col. Tom Haykin's 1st Battalion, 100th Infantry, 40th Armoured Division of the National Guard.

The combined force occupied the fire house on 103rd Street (Watts) as their command post.

"The Guardsmen hit two men they figured were snipers. Maybe they were just curious," the reporter wrote.

"They were dragged into the fire-house and propped against the wall. One resisted as a doctor probed in the hole in his shoulder for the bullet lodged there.

"Choke him till he blacks out" a policeman said and somebody choked one of the suspects till he blacked out.

"He revived in a minute, coughing blood, and the fight was out of him.

Again the reporter told how:

"The National Guardsmen shot into the blackness, and a Negro came out, hands up, blood streaming down his face, soaking his clothes red. He was wounded, but he was alive.

"Earlier, one National Guardsman had fired a perfect shot. He hit a man in the middle of the forehead, the shot had ripped off the back of the man's head.

"He was dead upstairs in the firehouse. It was a beautiful shot," a detective said. "We've killed two here so far, wounded a lot of others," someone said."

Who were the white victims of the riot? There was a sheriff's deputy—Ronald E. Ludlow, 27—and another white man died of a wound that could have

## An Outraged cry from White Supremacy's Prisoners

JAMES JACKSON,  
(Editor of the *New York Worker*)

come from a police riot gun, also a white fireman died when a wall of a burning building fell upon him.

Most of the 28 Negroes who were killed were gunned to death by police wielding riot guns.

The National Guardsmen, of course, also machine-gunned the woman driving in her car.

Then there was the four-year old Negro "looter and rioter", Bruce Brown, who was shot to death in his front yard.

His riotous three-year old brother was wounded by the spray of police bullets and Guardsmen's 30 calibre machine gun fire, but at last reports he was still alive.

Not so with 18-year old Charles Shortridge, who was all set to enter Los Angeles City College in September.

He lay there dead as his uncle stared unbelievably at the huge punched-out places the riot gun shells had left in his nephew's head, neck and cheek.

They say it was a "race war", "an insurrection", etc.

But how come it turns out that 28 Negroes were killed to one white deputy sheriff?

This was no "race riot." This was an elemental scream of outrage from a violated people entombed in a prison house of social deprivation and economic impoverishment.

No man has a right to expect that those whom the men of power and privilege, the capitalist ruling circle, have rendered relief-less in their wretchedness will for ever slumber silently in the lower depths where they have been consigned by this society of bourgeois and billionaire.

### TOWERING WALLS

Only those ignorant of history, only those blinded to the sight of injustice and the daily degradation of the Negro detainees of the slums of this country's great cities, ringed all about as they are by towering walls of white-supremacy, hatred and exclusion; only simpletons can assume that prisoners will not generate out of the fury of their circumstance the fire with which to ignite their cages.

And so they set fire to their prisons, those unattended, denied, abused and degraded ones. They burned their prisons as did the desperate ones who followed Spartacus.

Like the ragged ones who marched and sang with Villion. Like the slave-chain breakers who lived to hang with Nat Turner.

So they made other statistics—500 stores of absentee-owners were set afire.

Also the sleek cars—symbols of the "American way of life" which the T.V. commercials gloat about but the Establishment conspires to keep out of the reach of the people of Watts and of all the Watees of all the cities of America.

Some officials say the fire loss will come to 175 million dollars (£65 million).

One of those who lost a store to the angry uprising of the downtrodden of Watts of Los Angeles (the

City of the Angels it says in the Chamber of Commerce ads) was a certain Richard Gold.

Mr. Gold has many stores, a chain of furniture stores, so he will simply write that burned one off his income tax returns next year.

But the point is that Mr. Gold knows more about the time of day in the world we all live in than most of the men of his class and all of the Los Angeles city fathers.

Said Mr. Gold: "I cannot condemn these people. These people should not be shot down like dogs. White people who were as poor as they would burn and loot if they saw the chance.

"What's behind this is pent-up anger over poverty and miserable housing."

Mr. Gold, the Watts businessman, is white and right on this score.

Watts is indeed the most

poverty-ridden area of lush, plush, tinsel and glittering Los Angeles.

Into its 150 blocks are jammed 67,000 Negroes. They pay high rents for decrepit, 25-year-old houses.

There in Watts, income is lowest in all of Los Angeles, save the "skid row" district. Unemployment is three times higher in Watts than for the city as a whole.

Watts is the city centre of a Negro population which numbers some 523,000 in the whole of metropolitan Los Angeles.

The *New York Times* on Sunday told it as it was when it said that "the fact is that the new Civil Rights laws, and the related anti-poverty programme, have not yet greatly improved the lot of the Negroes in the teeming ghettos of the cities of the North."

The welkin sounds that came from Watts last week-

end were loud and angry enough to have shaken the complacent into a wide-eyed confrontation of the reality of the challenge by the slum-confined multi-millions who have come to the point where they were determined not to live longer in the same old way.

The challenge of the Watts explosion can be met only by a truly massive programme to extend genuine material equality of opportunity to the Negro masses in particular and to those who dwell in poverty and social deprivation.

It means a vast increase in the investments in the War Against Poverty Programme.

Such an increase can only come about through a proportionate decrease in the expenditures in the criminal diversion of national resources and men to the dirty work the Johnson Administration is carrying out in Vietnam.

There U.S. soldiers are busy killing people who

have risen on behalf of freedom for themselves as did our forefathers in the Revolutionary War.

In Watts itself, what is called for is not only a total economic opportunity programme for wiping out unemployment and for proper job-training, but a programme for the total reconstruction of the area.

All the blight of slum conditions must be eliminated in accord with a plan speedily implemented.

Housing, educational recreational facilities must be provided for in full measure.

In addition, Watts requires that Negroes, who are more than 90 per cent of the population, shall be predominant in the police department, fire fighting, and other city service jobs and functions for the area.

Also, merchants doing business in the area must employ Negroes in their establishments in a just ratio.

With such an approach

for Watts and for all the ghetto cities of the country, guarantees can be established against recurrences of such tragic outbursts of primitive protest and outrage at injustice.

As Representative Augustus F. Hawkins, Los Angeles Negro Congressman, said: "The trouble is that nothing has ever been done to solve the long-range underlying problems."

Watts means that the time for stalling and demagogic promises and goodwill platitudes has run out. It has come down to this: Either wipe out the conditions that produce the slums; or the slums will wipe out the cities.

## CIA in Greek Bomb Plot?

**SPEAKING** in the U.S. Senate earlier this month, Senator Stephen Young, a Democrat from Ohio, declared that it was a fact that "in all our Embassies overseas we have C.I.A. [Central Intelligence Agency—Ed.] operatives or spies."

The activities in which these C.I.A. "diplomats" engage is indicated by a document published by the Greek evening paper *Ethnos* and subsequently in a number of other newspapers.

Coming in the middle of the current Greek political crisis, the document—a letter sent by a U.S. Colonel in Greece to the Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence Department, U.S. Army, Washington has caused a sensation.

### EVIDENCE

Greek commentators regard it as evidence of direct U.S. intervention in Greek internal politics, involving support for the extreme right wing, and as an attempt to "frame" progressive politicians in order to pave the way for a right-wing coup.

The document implies that a mine, which killed thirteen Greek citizens and wounded fifty-six more on November 29, last year when it exploded underneath the Gorgopotamos bridge some 100 miles north of Athens, the Greek capital, was planted in an operation in which the C.I.A. was implicated.

On November 29, 1964 at mid-day some 20,000 former Greek resistance fighters and their families assembled under the Gorgopotamos bridge.

They were celebrating the 22nd anniversary of the first great exploit of the Greek Resistance movement during the wartime Nazi

## U.S. Colonel's letter discloses facts on 'Operation ARROW-1'

by a Spark Correspondent

occupation, when the bridge was blown up, thus severing the German army's rail link with the south.

It was through this vital link that the Nazis were supplying their armies in North Africa via the ports of Southern Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean.

It was in the middle of the celebrations that the mine exploded amidst the assembled thousands, killing thirteen and wounding fifty-six.

It was at once suspected that it was an outrage perpetrated by the extreme Right Wing, which had during the war collaborated with the Nazis. There was some panic and the police arrested a number of people, most of them ex-Resistance fighters.

Later they were tried in the town of Lamia and sentenced to imprisonment, allegedly for having resisted the authorities. The first paragraph in the American document refers to this trial.

The Greek military and judicial authorities ordered an investigation into the explosion. After this it was claimed that the explosion was due to an old mine left by oversight when the entire area was cleared some years ago.

The officer in charge of the clearing of the area stated that no mine had been left behind. However, the affair was officially considered closed.

Now, following the publication of the U.S. letter, the relatives of those killed have decided to sue the Americans named in the document in the Greek courts.

The letter bears the heading "Office of the United States Army Attache, American Embassy, Athens,

Greece" and is dated June 18 1965. It has the reference number "M-217-65" and is headed "SUBJECT: Operation ARROW-1". It is addressed to "Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence Department of the Army, Washington 25, D.C., 20315."

It reads:

"1. After joint analysis and consultation with... [name deleted—Ed.] and our C.I.A. colleagues, we have arrived at the conclusion that the trial of Communists in Lamia, which just ended, should not seriously affect our activity in Greece. At any rate, it should not affect adversely Operation ARROW-1 which you authorized, or prejudice the status of our friends in the Army and Navy. We have definite assurance of this by the Minister of Defence, Mr. Garoufalias, who is of the opinion that the Lamia trial was just a usual court proceeding, justified by law, against those who had resisted and obstructed the authorities in the execution of their duty.

"2. Regarding the last November affair in G. [Gorgopotamos—Ed.] I can assure you that no leakage of information could have taken place in Greece. Those involved were thoroughly briefed and operated under the strict control of C.I.A. officers. They had no contact with the local population or with their relatives, and were immediately transferred to a base in Germany. Besides the Ambassador, Messrs. Anshuetz, Brewster and

perhaps Parker know the details of the operation.

"3. I am quite confident that Mr. Papandreu [the former Greek Prime Minister—Ed.] does not know the real facts about the situation, and I am positive that the Greek authorities cannot produce substantial evidence against the United States. Without a doubt the operation would have been much more effective if our friends had exploited properly the situation that had been brought about in the country. However, this does not lessen the credit due to those who acted according to the plan and who deserve to be rewarded as they request.

"4. Our conclusions concerning the investigation and purge in the Greek Army will be forwarded as soon as we receive the

reports from JUSMAG." The letter bears the signature "O.K. Marshall, Colonel, G.S. U.S. Army Attache."

The reference to the "friends" of U.S. Intelligence in the Greek Army and Navy is noteworthy; so also is the implication that these "friends" enjoyed the protection of Defence Minister Garoufalias. It was the King's refusal to sanction the dismissal of this Minister that precipitated the present crisis.

The irritation at the failure of these "friends" "properly to exploit the situation that had been brought about in the country"—in other words, provoke a government crisis at the close of last year—is likewise significant.

As we go to press, efforts are still being made to split Mr. Papandreu's Centre Union Party, following the King's refusal to accept a government headed by the majority party leader or, failing that, to agree to general elections. All the signs are that "Operation ARROW-1" continues.

## FINEST AID

(Continued from page 1)

Our second piece of advice would be concerned with trade. Give us a fair price for our products. Let the British Government boldly ally itself with the farmers and producers of the developing countries against the monopolies that grip our economies and theirs.

We want to see the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers of Britain being told by the Labour Government that they must pay us a decent

price and charge us for their products in a fair way. The Labour Government will not make any new enemies by such a move, they will win our friendship—Britain's capitalist vote Tory anyway.

We say "Give us trade, give us peace, these are the best aid".

Mrs. Castle will see in Kwame Nkrumah's address to Parliament the real alternatives for a policy of dynamic development. We recommend it to her for study.