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THE SPARK



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MAGAZINE

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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 143 2p.

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

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1965

Agriculture — The Key to Development

EDITORIAL

SEAT PEOPLE'S CHINA

IN his speech to Parliament which we publish elsewhere in this issue Kwame Nkrumah makes a timely call for the recognition of the legitimate rights of Peoples' China in the United Nations Organisation.

The next session of the General Assembly of the world body opens later this month in New York. The question of Chinese representation will be one of the major issues before it.

As in previous years, the U.S. State Department will muster all its forces for a gigantic lobbying operation to ensure that its client-states and satellites cast their votes in favour of the exclusion of the genuine representatives of the world's most populous nation.

In the past they have succeeded; but times are changing and the United Nations with them. In the words of the "New York Herald Tribune" U.N. correspondent (31.8.65), "the prospects of keeping Communist China out of the United Nations look gloomier than ever for the United States."

The pretexts cited by the State Department opponents of the recognition of the rights of the New China have been as varied as they are specious. The real reason is that China has broken with imperialism and taken the socialist road.

For the same reason the United States for sixteen long years refused to recognise the Soviet Union. In the end Washington had to face facts; it will have to do so again.

Never was it more necessary that the true voice of China be heard in the councils of the world; there can be no talk of any settlement of outstanding world problems without the participation of People's China.

There can be no solution to the problem of nuclear disarmament without the participation of People's China, which has now taken its place among the world's nuclear Powers.

Likewise the world is confronted with two grave threats to world peace in Asia—the conflict in Kashmir and the cruel war in Vietnam, while just below the surface are many other potential conflicts.

It is, in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "the height of irresponsibility to exclude from United Nations deliberations as to how to solve these conflicts, a great power on the Asian continent."

The matter was well summed up by Kwame Nkrumah when he declared: "The plain issue before the United Nations is therefore a simple question of fact: Who in reality today rules China?"

"Is it a regime which rules over an island off the China coast with a population of some 14 million—or is it a Government which commands the loyalty of 650 million on the mainland; a government which has undisputed control over the vast areas of China and which in the sixteen years of its existence, has shown itself to be the most stable government that China has had for a century and a half?"

"The true conception of the United Nations is that it should be not only international, but universal. In other words, the United Nations must be truly representative of all the peoples of the world, otherwise it will fail to realise the objectives set out in its Charter. It is futile to think that the United Nations can continue to exist merely as an association of like-minded states."

Unless the People's Republic of China is allowed to take its rightful place in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, the United Nations will be frustrated in all its endeavours.

EVERY Government is judged by its ability to guarantee the people's food. Talk of social services, health and education, vitally important as they are secondary to this fundamental task.

The President paid tribute to the way the farmers of Ghana have responded to the frequent calls on their loyalty, their capacity for hard work and sacrifice. Comrade Jantuah, our new Minister of Agriculture, has in his very difficult office, a priceless asset, the loyalty and goodwill of the farmers, the majority of our working population.

THE PROBLEMS

The problems of agriculture in a country building socialism are exceedingly complex.

To develop industry, social services and a higher standard of living demands planned capital accumulation.

In nineteenth century Britain, to take one example, capital accumulation took place through the slave trade, through slave plantations, through unequal terms of trade with Asia and Africa, in which vast fortunes were accumulated.

The peasantry of Britain were ruthlessly smashed, their land taken from them leaving them with no alternative but to herd in their millions into the new factories and industrial towns, where they worked for a pittance.

The British rural worker starved, while the accumulation under capitalist conditions took place. Suffering, starvation, social uprooting was the price paid by the British people and systematic pillage suffered by the African and Asian people, for the development of a new industrialised society, owned and controlled by a small minority who waxed fat and powerful.

That way can never be the way ahead for a

THIS IS THE SECOND IN THE SERIES OF ARTICLES DEALING WITH MAJOR PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE PRESIDENT, KWAME NKUMAH IN HIS SPEECH TO THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

socialist state. Still the problem of accumulation remains. From where are we to save enough to invest in modern industry and in modern agriculture. From where are we to accumulate capital? The inescapable answer is from our agriculture.

We have to accumulate resources from our agriculture, which we can invest in industry, social services and in agriculture itself. At the same time a number of countervailing tendencies are at work. Changes are taking place in the character of the rural population.

THE CAUSES

Before the development of primary education most farmers used the labour of their children on their farms, now they have to manage without them. In some of the most productive areas, men have gone away to work on projects, leaving the women and the aged to do the cultivation.

While these changes are taking place in the country-side, with a smaller labour force, the demand for food rises. The population of Ghana is growing at the rate of 2.6 per cent per annum. The town population increases, still needing food even though they no longer take part in producing it, there is more actual money in circulation chasing the same or even smaller amounts of food, there is also increased demand because the standard of living of the people is rising.

So with a smaller labour force, we have an increased demand for

food, and increased pressure for capital accumulation. Successful agricultural development is the key to our total development and to the happiness and well-being of our people.

MISMANAGEMENT

In Parliament last week, Mr. Jantuah, declared that he has inherited a legacy of neglect and mismanagement.

The truth of this is evident in simple facts like the lack of seed, the waste of cutlasses, the waste of crops, which never reach the markets, the dismal sight of tractors and farm machinery rotting away because of lack of spares and no skilled labour to repair them.

These are some of the problems, but how can we solve them? We want to reiterate the general theme urged by the President, **Consolidation.**

At present the harvest is on us and some of the problems may be temporarily obscured, but the next testing time is imminent.

SUGGESTION

We suggest that the Ministry as absolute priority equips our private farmers, with cheap cutlasses, selected seeds, insecticides and if necessary, subsidies, for clearing new acreage to be devoted to crops. This is the first major operation.

Many farmers, in the past have made their preparations, on the settlement farms the young people have got ready for the sowing, only to

find that no seed arrives. Where is the seed? Who is responsible? This is now the period in which a serious attitude to the problems can help to set us on the path to a real solution.

INDIVIDUAL FARMER

We do not believe that spectacular, radical new methods can be applied with our farmers, at present. We see the private farmer as a vital section of our agriculture with limitations but with certain potentialities. We do not believe that at present, our farmers can be expected to change over to highly developed mechanisation; we cannot afford the disruption that this would create.

The individual farmer has neither the capital, nor the skill at present which would make this possible. Face him with impossible demands and impractical solutions and he will retreat from the task in hand.

Using the experiences we have had in encouraging him to develop the output of cocoa we can achieve similar successful expansion in food supplies.

COLLECTIVE FARMS

The State Farms, the co-operative farms, the re-settlement farms where thousands of young people are to be employed, have another quite distinctive and specifically socialist role to play. The State Farms are now rightly seen as the producers of industrial crops. The investment which has been made in them must now begin to pay dividends.

It is here that new crops, new methods, and the necessary training in the use of machinery and equipment can take place. These are the places where our young farmers, the farmers of the future, producing under the full forms of socialist relations can be

developed and their adaptability and skills be harnessed. Our Young Farmers' League is a growing significant force and will justify all our care and attention.

Just as the guarantee for the future is to provide the farmers now with tools, seeds and pesticides, so the basic test for the State Farms is now to launch a vast repair and maintenance campaign of equipment and machinery to ensure that the money we have invested in mechanisation is not abandoned and wasted and that it can now be used to the fullest extent.

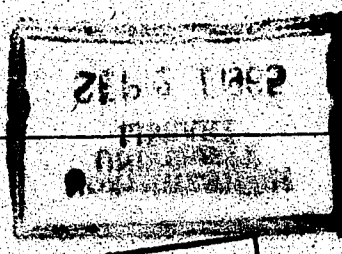
There are undoubtedly problems of distribution and transport which exacerbate the basic problem and it is encouraging to see that centres are being established... are the feeder roads being built, are the lorries available?

FACE FACTS

Let us now soberly use the resources we have; there are no magic substitutes for careful detailed organisation, careful estimates of our resources and the best effective means of using them. There are no unlimited supplies of outside help, we must now face the fact that useful and welcome as help may be, the solution lies within ourselves.

We too, like the President salute the farmers. We are confident that our new Minister of Agriculture will set out to harness and mobilise all the honest forces in the Party, Parliament and Ministry to solve these acute problems.

He and the farmer face the central problem which, if solved, will ensure the rapid growth of our national economy and our socialist system; we have the means to do it and we have the political courage, realism and skilled organisation combined with these can see us through.



notes OF THE week

WHATEVER the rights and wrongs of the current India-Pakistan conflict, and whatever its immediate causes, one thing is clear: the basic cause is the divide-and-rule policy of imperialism.

Official British spokesmen like to boast of what they usually term Britain's "voluntary abdication of power" in the Indian subcontinent; they like to cite the "granting" of independence to India and Pakistan as the outstanding demonstration of the demise of imperialism.

In fact, the "abdication" was by no means as "voluntary" as they would have us believe; Britain had no choice but to quit because she had not the power to go on holding down an entire sub-continent.

As the Manchester Guardian noted editorially on October 11, 1947,

"Public opinion has preened itself on British virtue in withdrawing voluntarily from India: but posterity may dwell rather on the hustle with which the withdrawal was carried out... It may be hard to disentangle whether the British action was based on high principle or on a less glorious desire to retreat to shelter before the storm broke."

Dr. Schweitzer's Tragedy

DR Albert Schweitzer is dead, and all will mourn the passing of a humanitarian who in his later years had lent his voice to the demand for nuclear disarmament.

Some will recall his contributions to the study of theology and philosophy, while yet others will recall his study of the composer John Sebastian Bach. In these fields his work merits, if not always agreement, then certainly respect.

But in the obituary notices that have appeared attention is in most cases not concentrated on these aspects. Attention is instead focused on his work as a medical missionary at Lambaré (Gabon) where in 1913 he established a hospital for the treatment of Africans in accordance with his own concepts of what Africans needed.

dom movement and imperialism's inability to check that growth by force, which made it impossible for imperialism to continue to maintain its direct rule in the old form.

British imperialism did its best (with varying degrees of success) to ensure that political power was transferred into "reliable" hands; it also did its best to ensure full "freedom for foreign investment".

But it was most successful in its application of the age-old imperialist technique of "divide and rule". Throughout its rule, and more especially during the final years, when confronted with the growing freedom movement, British imperialism had sought to inflame religious and other differences.

When this policy yielded the inevitable bitter fruit of communal violence, it raised its hands in mock horror and declared that this demonstrated the need for partition.

It thus created two rival states, each inevitably weaker than a united sub-continent would have been, and each continually at cross-purposes with the other, with imperialism hopefully waiting to play the role of "honest broker".

The issue of Kashmir was left as a festering sore which has bedevilled relations between the two countries throughout the post-independence years.

Now the issue threatens to become the cause of a major war involving the peoples of the entire sub-continent. Such is the harvest reaped from the seeds of dissension sown by imperialism.

For Dr. Schweitzer Africans were children—children, furthermore, whose strange ways were to be pandered to, even encouraged.

In recent years, there have been some discords heard in the hitherto almost unanimous chorus of praise for his work.

It was pointed out that his hospital violated elementary rules of hygiene and that Dr. Schweitzer himself resisted the introduction of up-to-date medical equipment and techniques.

Dr. Schweitzer's approach to Africa's problems may have marked a step forward in 1913; it is certainly true that he was seen by many as a symbol of the "benevolence" of colonialism, of the white man carrying his due burden.

But Dr. Schweitzer, great though his intellect was in many fields, failed to understand the new Africa that was emerging outside the Lambaré compound.

He failed to understand that the new Africa needs the very best and very latest achievements of science in every field, not merely that of medicine. The second-

best is not good enough, even when it is described as being "more in keeping with the African tradition."

The C.I.A. Again

WE have in recent issues cited examples of the "cloak and dagger" activities indulged in by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Now yet another case—described by Singapore's Prime Minister Mr. Lee Kuan Yew as "lurid and grotesque"—has come to light.

First mention of the affair was made by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew in a T.V. broadcast when he disclosed that four years ago a C.I.A. agent had been caught trying to buy information from a local intelligence officer.

The U.S. State Department immediately issued a denial that the C.I.A. had been involved in any operations in Singapore.

Mr. Lee replied by summoning a press conference. He produced a letter from the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, in which Mr. Rusk said he was distressed to learn that certain officials of his Government had been found to be engaged in improper activities in Singapore and he regretted that the "unfortunate incident" had occurred to mar friendly relations.

Mr. Lee also rejected a U.S. denial that it had offered him and his party ten million Malaysian dollars (about £1,250,000) to keep quiet about the incident.

"They are very foolish people", Mr. Lee said. "If they continue with their denials, I will have to disclose further details which

In this fundamental failure of comprehension lies the tragedy of Albert Schweitzer.

may sound like James Bond—lurid and grotesque. "It will do them no good and our future relations no good", he declared. Disclosure of the intermediary through whom the financial offer was made would involve high circles and cause embarrassment, he added.

"The Americans stupidly deny the undeniable. I have never lied in my life publicly. Whatever I say about the C.I.A. incident I can prove."

Within hours of Mr. Lee's press conference, the State Department in Washington hastened to admit that Secretary of State Rusk had indeed written to Mr. Lee apologising for the incident.

The U.S. is strident in its allegations of what it variously describes as "Communist subversion", "Red subversion", "Chinese infiltration" and so on.

Meanwhile the U.S. itself goes ahead interfering in the crudest and most barefaced manner even in countries with which it claims to desire friendly relations.

And when its activities are brought to light, it takes refuge in lies.

Indeed, the lie has become a part of the stock-in-trade of U.S. diplomacy: the whole of U.S. policy is based on the Big Lie that it is "protecting" the "Free World" against "aggression", while the little, day-to-day lies are in regular use as and when needed.

Does Bonn Aid Developing Countries?

THE West German Republic is constantly boasting of the large sums of money which it is giving in the form of "aid" to help the developing countries.

But, as the West German journal *Stimme der Gemeinde* commented, "the fine word 'aid' is very often a fig-leaf or a cover under which... areas of exploitation and spheres of political influence are to be established."

According to official estimates, Bonn has spent some 27,000 million marks on "aid" since 1950. Of this, about 13,000 million marks was in the form of credits and loans from West German government bodies.

To describe this as "aid" is a misnomer. Firstly, it has to be repaid to the last farthing—and with interest; secondly, it is used to buy goods from West Germany, on which the West German suppliers, in addition to their "normal" profit de-

rive an extra profit as a result of high prices. Bonn also describes some 10,000 million marks of commercial credits and private investment as "aid", although these are in fact on normal commercial terms and in accordance with normal commercial practice.

The developing countries currently owe West Germany about 17,000 million marks, out of which some 6,000 million are owed to government bodies.

Like other imperialist countries, West Germany is profiting from unequal terms of trade: the prices of the goods the developing countries export (tropical fruits, coffee, cocoa, ground nuts, minerals etc.) are being forced down, while the price of the industrial goods they have to buy from the industrial countries are continually rising.

Between 1950 and 1960, for example, the prices of industrial goods rose by

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GHANA: The four-man Ghanaian led by Mr. Kwaku Bonsu who represent Ghana at the second anniversary celebrations of Congo (Brazzaville) Revolution which overthrew imperialist puppet Fulbert Youlou returned home today.

SOUTH AFRICA: The fascist South African court today sentenced to three years imprisonment former prison warden Gysbert Van Schalkwyk, who revealed the deplorable prison conditions to a newspaper.

GHANA: The deputy director of Institute of Public Education, Mr. Kwao Hagan has returned home from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia after attending the 14th assembly of the World Confederation of Organisation of the Teaching Profession.

AUGUST 19:

GHANA: The Soviet airliner "TV-114" is expected in Accra today to inaugurate regular air service between Ghana and the Soviet Union.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

The Kenya Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Joseph Murumbi speaking in a television weekly programme entitled "Hot sea" in Lagos Nigeria that the time had come for the O.A.U. to speak in terms of war on the Rhodesian situation since he could not see a solution in terms of resolution.

SWAZILAND: Mr. A. C. E. Long, chief secretary of Swaziland announced today in Mbabane, Swaziland that Britain had agreed to review Swaziland's constitution.

ALGERIA: Mr. Ahadji Benadekader Azzout, acting head of the Algerian United Nations delegation today assured U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant that the Afro-Asian summit would take place as planned in Algiers on November 5.

KENYA: President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote, met in Nairobi, Kenya today as members of the East African common service authority to discuss economic co-operation among their countries.

CONGO (Brazzaville): President Messembe-Debat of the Congo (Brazzaville) speaking at a reception given in his honour at the Congolese Embassy in Moscow that the courageous people of the Congo had charged their leaders to pursue a policy of progress through a system which demonstrates its viability throughout the world—scientific socialism.

GUINEA SAO: The Portuguese colonial regime has despatched 7,800 more troops to Guinea Sao, according to today's reports from Lisbon.

NIGERIA: Nigerian Labour leader Michael Imoudu has backed his appeal for a United Labour Organisation by putting forward proposal for a new trade union structure representative of all workers in Nigeria.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Bar Association has called on the Nigerian Federal Government to bar foreign lawyers from practising in Nigeria. A resolution at the end of the association's two-day annual conference in Kaduna; Northern Nigeria, said only lawyers from the Organisation of African Unity countries should be allowed to establish a practice in Nigeria.

NIGERIA: The Japanese Foreign Ministry has confirmed reports that the Nigerian Government had ordered local banks to suspend temporarily the opening of letters of credit for the import of Japanese goods.

ZAMBIA: The Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, has said in Lusaka that the Zambian Government would no longer allow money ploughed into Zambia by copper mining companies to be sent back to Britain for the benefit of shareholders there.

CONGO (Brazzaville): The Congo Brazzaville Embassy in Washington has informed the United States Department that it would be withdrawing all its personnel from the American Capital. The move came a few hours after the United States had announced that it was withdrawing its diplomats and officials from Brazzaville because of allegedly serious cases of maltreatment meted to some of the American nationals resident in the Congo at the week-end.

SOUTH AFRICA: The fascist South African police thugs have acted against informants on the appalling conditions in apartheid South African prisons, but have ignored the prison officials who are to have committed the crimes against the prisoners, the *Rand Daily Mail* has said.

CONGO (Brazzaville): President Kwame Nkrumah has sent a message of good wishes and congratulations to President Alphonse Messembe-Debat of Congo Brazzaville on the occasion of the second anniversary celebration of the Revolution which overthrew the Fulbert Youlou Government. President Nkrumah declared that the torch of African Unity would be kept aloft until a dynamic Union of African States was created, and that the relations between Ghana and Congo (Brazzaville) would remain ever happy and cordial.

*** The All-African Trade Union Federation** in a similar message of congratulations to the workers and people of the Congo (Brazzaville) expressed the hope that the great and heroic workers of Congo (Brazzaville) would resist all the evil machinations of neo-colonialism and continue to fight with the other progressive forces in Africa in the great struggle against imperialism.

AUGUST 31st: **ALGERIA:** The Algerian Minister of Health, Mr. Tedjini Haddam, today had two-hour talks with President Philibert Tsiranana of Madagascar Republic. They are reported to have discussed the forthcoming Afro-Asian summit meeting due on November 5.

BECHUANALAND: In a memorandum sent by the Bechuanaland People's Party, (B.P.C.) from Lusaka to the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism in New York today, the British Government has been accused of trying to create a South African Bantustan in Bechuanaland.

SIERRA LEONE: Sir Albert Margai of Sierra Leone has told Parliament in Freetown today that his government would oppose any form of unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority Rhodesian regime. He reiterated his government's view—a view shared by all African leaders—that majority rule, on the principle of one man one vote should be a condition for granting independence to Southern Rhodesia. He finally said that his country, relied on the faith of the British Government to work out a satisfactory solution to Rhodesian constitutional problem.

KENYA: Kenya police today are continuing their investigation of a fight in a union office in which three persons were killed and nearly 100 injured.

GHANA: In a message of

thanks to President Kwame Nkrumah for his message congratulating the people of Korea on the occasion of their 20th National Day, Premier Kim IL Sung, leader of the Democratic Republic of Korea declared that the friendly relations between Ghana and Korea are strengthening and developing steadily.

*** The U.N. Secretary General U Thant** has asked Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Foreign Minister and President of the U.N. General Assembly to convey his gratitude to President Nkrumah for Ghana's decision to make an unconditional voluntary contribution of 20,000 dollars (17,136) to help the U.N. overcome its financial difficulties.

*** Ghana** has invited the executive council of the World Power Conference now in session in Haifa, Israel to hold its 1967 meeting in Accra.

SEPTEMBER 1st:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Rhodesian minority white settler spokesman, Ian Smith speaking at the Rhodesian white-dominated Parliament has said that, he believed, independence for Rhodesia based on the 1961 constitution is imminent and nothing will stop it.

GHANA: Dr. E. J. Asomangan, acting director of the Cocoa Research Institute, Tafo has said today that Ghana's annual cocoa production is to be increased from 500,000 to 600,000 tons.

*** In a press conference** held in Accra today, the Commercial Counsellor of the G.D.R. Trade and Economic Representative in Ghana has declared that, the G.D.R. will increase her purchase of Ghana's cocoa from 9,500 to about 13,000 tons next year.

He further stressed that under a C17.28 million trade agreement with the Ghana Government the G.D.R. would establish a paper mill and wood factories in Ghana in 1968.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): The Congolese Nationalist leader, Mr. Gaston Soumialot who has been visiting Afro-Asian countries to explain the nationalist position in the Congo liberation war has arrived in Havana, capital of Socialist Cuba today, at the invitation of the Cuban Revolutionary Government.

*** The Congolese (Leopoldville) Government** has declared 20 foreigners as undesirable immigrants for allegedly interfering with Congolese political affairs.

UGANDA: Uganda's Attorney-General Mr. G. L. Banaisa, addressing the Commonwealth Law Conference in Sydney, Australia bitterly criticised colonial designs in certain African countries under which African lawyers were discriminated against in their own countries, he said such discrimination existed in his own country as well as in Rhodesia, Zambia, South Africa and Tanzania.

SEPTEMBER 2nd:

GHANA: A two-man Guinean delegation led by Mr. Mousa Diakite, Minister of Trade and Banks, delivered a special message from President Sekou Toure of Guinea to President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana at the castle, Accra today.

MALAWI: Director of Political Affairs to the Republic of Guinea's Foreign Affairs Ministry, Mr. Aboulawi Diallo, today had talks with Malawi Premier Dr. Kamuzu Banda.

NIGERIA: The Federal Premier of Nigeria, Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa today had a meeting between the four regional Nigeria's Prime Ministers in Lagos and decided to set up a committee to review the present Nigerian constitution. The five Premiers unanimously agreed to set up the committee under the Chairmanship of the Federal Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Dr. T. O. Elias, according to a communique.

POSITIVE ACTION FOR WORLD PEACE

TEN days ago, I opened the Second Parliament of our Republic, and I addressed this House on the policies which will guide our programme of work during the next five years.

On that occasion, I dwelt mainly on our domestic problems and touched briefly on some general aspects of our international relations. I have come to speak to you today on certain major issues in our international relations on which Ghana must make a clear stand.

Mr. Speaker,

You will recall that one of the first acts of our Government on the attainment of Independence was to seek membership of the United Nations. We did this because of our firm conviction that in spite of its limitations and imperfections, the United Nations is mankind's best hope for peace.

We have never wavered in this belief. But our faith in the United Nations makes it necessary for us to examine the difficulties and obstacles which prevent it from becoming an effective instrument for resolving international problems.

OUR FAULT

It is appropriate that we should do this on the eve of the Twentieth Anniversary Session of the United Nations Organisation, which takes place this month.

As you all know, in the twenty years of its existence, the United Nations has had to meet serious challenges. We in Africa have experienced to our cost the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in the Congo; in regard to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, and in our struggle for the eradication of imperialism with its concomitants, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

This failure of the United Nations to deal with these problems is largely our own fault. If Africa had a solid political front and was able to speak with a united voice, there is no doubt in my mind that our problems would have been solved in the best interest of our people, and with the interests of our continent primarily in mind.

This is why I have over and over again called for a united Africa which would enable the independent African States to stand together and to mobilise all our resources for the development of the continent so that we can make a greater impact on the United Nations than we do now.

It is an illusion to suppose that because Africa as a whole can cast thirty-six votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations this makes us powerful. Even when we have voted as a united group on such issues as South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, what has it availed us? In practice—nothing.

REAL POWER

Members of this House will appreciate that pious resolutions are no substitutes for Positive Action. If Africa were united, we could claim our rightful place as a permanent member of the Security Council where the real power of the United Nations must lie. Power in the United Nations must correspond with the realities of the world in which we live.

The first of these realities is that an area which is

united must have far greater power than the sum of the component units of which it was originally comprised.

If the United States of America had remained divided into separate states, would these states collectively have had the authority in the councils of the world, of the United States government of today? If the component republics of revolutionary Russia had not come together to make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, would Russia be the force in the world that it is today? A united Africa could be as great a force in world affairs as either the United States of America, or the Soviet Union.

Only a united Africa can redeem its past glory and renew and reinforce its strength for the realisation of its destiny. We are today the richest and yet the poorest of continents, but in unity our continent could smile in a new era of prosperity and power. What is the promise of this plenty we dream about today? The facts are sufficient evidence of a future greatness that should propel us forward to unity.

Africa produces the major proportion of the world's cocoa, sisal, barley, cotton and maize. Our continent also has 98 per cent of the gem diamonds, 69 per cent cobalt, 63 per cent gold and many other minerals.

Africa has the greatest but the least-developed hydro-electrical potential of any continent in the world. It has immense reserves of iron ore, coal, mineral oil and natural gas.

If we stop the political interference of foreign powers who seek to prevent our unity, and bring an end to their economic exploitation of our resources we shall regain our dignity and, we shall see a great power emerge from our continent which will become a bulwark of world peace.

It is in this light that the nations outside Africa should regard our relentless struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. A united Africa will also be ready to join with the people of Asia in the fight to restore the lost glory and dignity of the Afro-Asian world. Asia and Africa, the oldest of the continents, must continue to stand together for progress and world peace.

SPEEDY VICTORY

Our common experience of colonial rule and our mutual struggle to improve the living standards of our people will be crowned with speedy victory, if we maintain our solidarity in the spirit of Bandung. We look forward today to the renewal of our faith and resolutions at the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers.

Let the ramparts and parapets of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America, resound with the echoes of our united assault upon them.

Mr. Speaker,

In all of this the United Nations must play its part. After passing through many difficulties, culminating in its near paralysis last year over the dispute about contributions to the cost of peace-keeping operations, the United Nations has now a chance to function normally.

Our position in regard to this recent dispute was quite clear: Ghana regarded contributions to peace-keeping operations as an appropriate charge on members of the

An address by President Kwame Nkrumah to the National Assembly on September 3, 1965

United Nations. But we also held the view that the issue of contributions for peace-keeping operations should not be permitted to bring about the disintegration of the United Nations.

The crisis over the contributions to peace-keeping operations was an extremely critical experience for the United Nations. Now that this crisis has been averted, the United Nations must address itself vigorously and seriously to the other pressing issues which lessen its effectiveness, if it is not again to run into some similar crisis.

The United Nations must learn to understand the realities of our time. The emergence of new and anti imperialist forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America determined to preserve their national freedom and independence, must command the fullest recognition at the United Nations.

Otherwise, the United Nations will be unable to make effective use of its noble principles for the preservation of world peace. World issues can only be permanently resolved by all the responsible members of the international community.

Mr. Speaker, In this connection, one of the most important issues which will face the United Nations during this coming Session will be the seating of the People's Republic of China at the Security Council and at the General Assembly.

The question is not whether China should be admitted to the United Nations or not. At the moment, as I am speaking the Taiwan regime pretends to represent China at the United Nations.

PLAIN ISSUE

The question for decision is whether the People's Republic of China or the Taiwan Regime should be recognised by the United Nations as the Government of China. There is no question of two Chinas being represented in the United Nations. There is only one China.

The plain issue before the United Nations is therefore a simple question of fact. Who in reality today rules China? Is it a regime which rules over an island off the China coast with a population of some 14 million or is it a Government which commands the loyalty of 650 million people on the mainland; a government which has undisputed control over the vast areas of China and which, in the sixteen years of its existence, has shown itself to be the most stable Government that China has had for a century and a half?

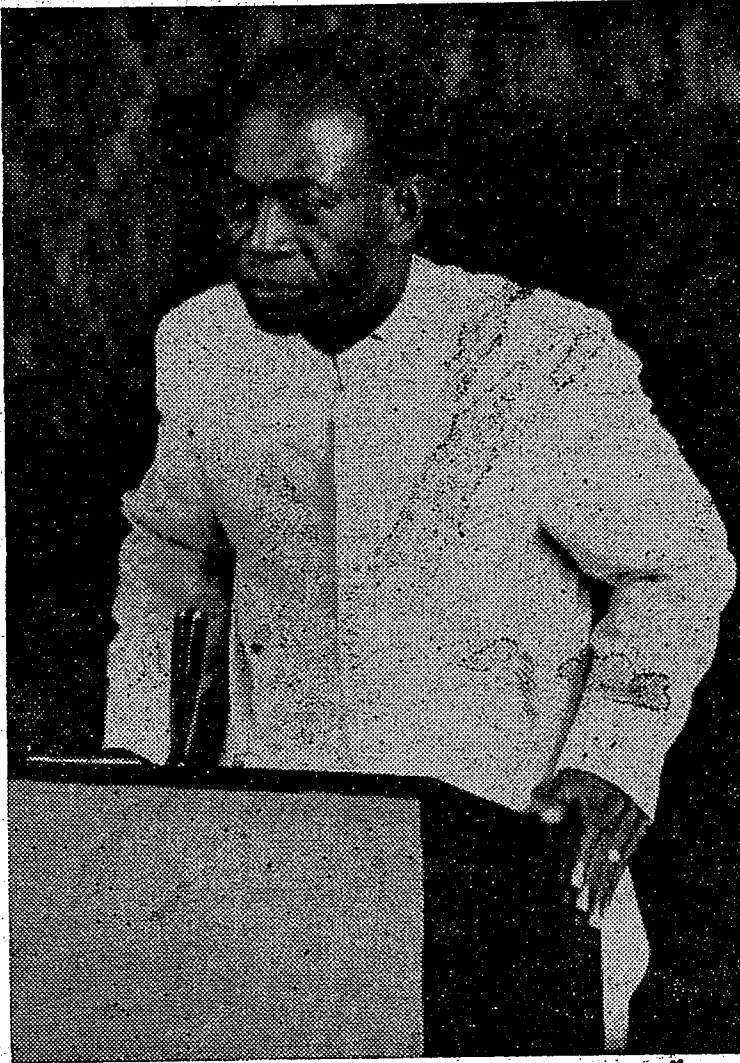
The true conception of the United Nations is that it should be not only international, but universal. In other words, the United Nations must be truly representative of all the peoples of the world, otherwise it will fail to realise the objectives set out in its Charter. It is futile to think that the United Nations can continue to exist merely as an association of like-minded States.

Mr. Speaker, It is because of our conviction of the rightness of

the claims of the People's Republic of China to its rightful seat in the Security Council and in the General Assembly that we have repeatedly supported the resolutions calling for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. And we shall be doing so again at the forthcoming twentieth session.

leave the United Nations, while China supported Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations.

But, Mr. Speaker, the issue before the members of the United Nations is not whether or not they agree with or support the policy of the People's Republic of China. It is the simple issue whether the Government of



"There is no question of two Chinas being represented in the United Nations. There is only one China."

Mr. Speaker, It is important that I should explain to the House why the Government of Ghana has taken this stand. One of the major principles of Ghana's foreign policy is positive neutralism and non-alignment. This policy is essential for us if we are to promote the paramount need of our Continent—African Unity, that is one Africa.

African unity cannot be achieved if we in Africa allow ourselves to become aligned with States and Powers outside the African Continent. In order to develop a political climate in which African unity can be achieved and maintained, it is necessary to isolate our Continent from the conflicts of the major powers and to make sure that we do not allow any part of Africa to be used as an arena where one foreign power can confront another.

Because of our policy of non-alignment, we have a duty to judge international issues purely on their merits rather than on any predetermined attitude toward one country or another. We may have differences with the People's Republic of China in exactly the same way as we have had differences with the other four permanent members of the Security Council, namely, Britain, France, the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America.

Whereas China dismissed the partial nuclear test ban treaty as unrealistic and of no consequence, Ghana became a party to the treaty because we considered it to be a beginning towards the establishment of a total ban of nuclear weapons. Ghana appealed to Indonesia to reconsider its decision to

Secondly, it should be obvious that there can be no progress towards nuclear or conventional disarmament as long as one of the world's nuclear powers is excluded from the body whose Charter provides that it shall secure universal disarmament and world peace.

Thirdly, one of the most serious problems confronting the world today is the bitterness arising out of the widening gap between the increasing prosperity of the developed countries and the increasing poverty of the developing countries.

Upon the solution of this problem, "the prosperity-poverty gap", may depend the future peace of the world. And yet the greatest developing nation of the world is deliberately prevented from contributing its experience, knowledge and resources to the solution of a problem which should be the common concern of all nations.

For this reason those of us who represent developing countries should be the first to support the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Fourthly, we are confronted in Asia with two grave threats to world peace, the conflict in Kashmir and the cruel war in Vietnam. Just below the surface are many other potential conflicts, as, for example, the persistent disagreement between Malaysia and Indonesia.

RIGHTFUL PLACE

It is the height of irresponsibility to exclude from the United Nations deliberations as to how to solve these conflicts, a great power on the Asian Continent.

There can be no doubt that the seating of the People's Republic of China in its rightful place in the United Nations could clear the international atmosphere considerably, and make more manageable, areas of world tension and conflict. And, alas, there are many such areas in the world today.

Finally, all African and Asian countries are pledged to Afro-Asian solidarity. How can we keep this pledge and at the same time exclude from the United Nations a great State in Asia?

Mr. Speaker, One of the absurdities of the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations is that the voice of a great power in South-East Asia is not heard when the problems of that area are considered. In such a situation, it is not surprising that the problems of South-East Asia have continued to prove intractable in spite of all efforts at their solution.

Ghana believes that the solution of the problems of South-East Asia, including the Vietnam question, can meaningfully be sought only within the framework of a strict policy of positive neutralism and non-alignment. Such a policy must embrace the removal of all foreign bases from the area, irrespective of any power bloc to which they may belong. This solution could be achieved by a strengthened United Nations Organisation, but only if China is represented by the Government of China.

We believe in this for the following reasons:—
Firstly, the Government of the People's Republic of China rules a State more populous than any other state in the world. It is in its own right a great power. It is a colossal reality. On this ground alone it is absurd to exclude it from the United Nations.

lance of power which rested upon the constant fear of the outbreak of a major war. The certainty of mutual mass destruction prevents either of the great power blocs from threatening the other with the possibility of a world-wide war and military conflict.

It is for this reason that the world is beginning to see a strange manifestation—a series of outbreaks of limited conflict in various parts of the world. Within the short period of the last twelve months, we have had such outbreaks in Latin America, South-East Asia and even in our own continent of Africa.

Of course, if Africa were united, no major power would attempt to attack it by limited war, because from the very nature of limited war, what can be achieved by it, is in itself, limited. But so long as large areas of the world are balkanised or under neo-colonial rule, such limited wars are bound to occur. In any case, it is no guarantee for world peace that there should be limited or "specific" wars. However small any military conflict might be, it is still a threat to world peace.

WORLD PEACE

To achieve world peace permanently, we must recognise the emergence of new forces which are strong enough to counter-balance the frictions between the existing power blocs. It is in this context that we must accept the need for an effective African Unity and the persistent call for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council and in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, I spoke earlier of the powerlessness in practice of small states to influence the affairs of the United Nations. The replacing of the Taiwan regime by the legal Government of China, which has been for too long deprived of its rightful seat, is one of the few issues in which we small states can play a vital part. This question is one for the General Assembly. The Security Council cannot overturn the General Assembly decision nor can it be blocked by the veto.

This is supremely the occasion when any state which pursues a policy of positive neutralism and non-alignment, however small it may be, can make a decisive contribution towards world peace.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

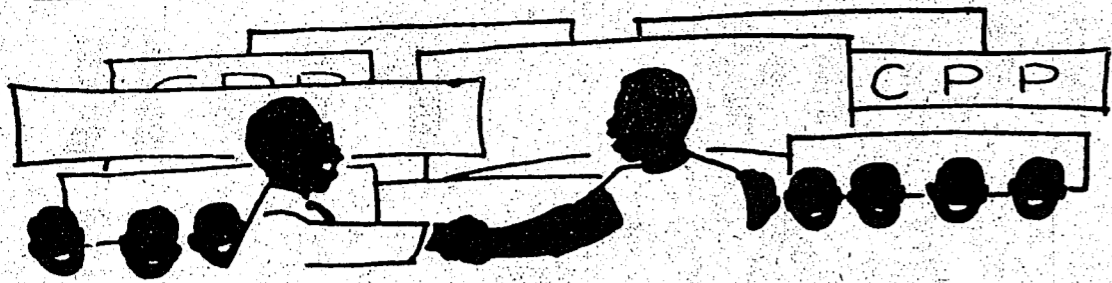
Let me repeat that the United Nations Organisation, in spite of all its imperfections, its fumbling and its mistakes, is the only hope of mankind in its search for peace, prosperity and dignity. The strengthening of the United Nations Organisation is therefore a paramount responsibility of all nations.

It is for this reason that we think it is vital to emphasise, once again, our belief that the United Nations will be frustrated in all its endeavours, unless the People's Republic of China takes its rightful place on the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

This is a crucial issue. I therefore welcome this opportunity of explaining to the House the serious questions involved, and the consistent stand of your Government in this regard.

I leave you now to resume your debate and deliberations.



PARTY LIFE *by the Editor*

At first sight, the answer to the question "How to be a good Nkrumaist?" might seem to be simple. To be a good Nkrumaist it is necessary to be absolutely loyal to the person and office of Kwame Nkrumah and support to the full his policies.

That is of course very true—but a moment's thought will soon demonstrate that before we can do that we have to understand those policies, so that we are not merely repeating slogans learnt by heart but acting in accordance with a deeply felt and soundly based conviction.

When he opened Parliament last week, Osagyefo declared that we are passing through a difficult but most promising and exciting period of our national life. This current session of Parliament, he said, marks as it were the watershed in our striving to consolidate the gains we have made since independence.

From now on, he told the M.P.s, 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, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah declared, 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.

OUR AIMS

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in fact summed up our aims at the present stage of our revolutions; he summed up the aims for which the good Nkrumaist must fight.

But, as he has noted many times, the socialist society which is our aim can be built only by socialists, and socialist ideas, in our society at least, do not come of themselves. Socialism has to be studied, and the study of socialism—the scientific socialism as applied to African conditions which is Nkrumaism—is perhaps the most important requirement of the good Nkrumaist.

We must study carefully, for example, what we mean when we say we want a socialist Ghana.

We have to be clear about what we mean by socialism, for both in Africa and elsewhere there are many definitions.

We, as Nkrumaists and therefore scientific socialists, believe that socialism means the social ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange—in other words, that the factories, the mines, the transport system, the big stores and the banks should be the property of the people as a whole through the socialist state which they establish.

This contrasts with capitalist society—for example, America, where the factories, the mines, the transport system, the big stores and the banks are all owned by a few capitalists.

Why do we say that the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned not by a few capitalists but by the people as a whole?

We say so because only

in this way can the exploitation of man by man be ended, and the wealth of our nation and the labour of our people be put not for the profit of a small group of capitalists, but for the good of the people as a whole.

We also say that socialism—the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange—is necessary because only through such ownership is it possible to ensure the full, all-round economic development of our country.

UNDESIRABLE

Firstly, it is neither possible nor desirable for developing countries like our own to follow the path of capitalist development followed during the early part of the last century by the industrialised countries of Western Europe. They had plentiful supplies of privately-owned capital available to finance development—much of it obtained, it should be noted, from the exploitation of Africa and other areas.

There are no such abundant sources of private capital available today in the most of the developing countries; most of the capitalists who exist have only relatively small amounts of capital at their disposal, and are quite unable to finance the great development projects that are needed. Only the state can mobilise the resources needed.

Secondly, the capitalist road of development cannot lead to the full, all round development of the economy because capitalism cannot be planned. Capitalists invest their money where they will get the biggest and fastest profit, and are not influenced by the needs of the nation as a whole—though they often claim to be.

Thirdly, the capitalist path of development would mean that large sums which could be re-invested for further development would be left in the hands of a few individuals in the form of profits and dividends. The few would be enriched, while the interests of the nation as a whole would be harmed.

BELIEF

In other words, our belief in the necessity of socialism is based not only on the conviction that the exploitation of the labour of others which is implicit in capitalism is morally wrong; it is also based on the conviction that it is scientifically necessary.

We have won the battle for political independence, but without socialism political independence alone will make little difference to the living standards of the ordinary people. Certainly political independence plus capitalism—be the capitalist white or black—will not bring the full, rich and prosperous life for all which is our aim.

If any one doubts this, let him consider the case of the Latin American countries, which have enjoyed political independence for over a century, but which are nevertheless economic dependencies of the United States, victims of neo-colonialism, with standards of living different little if at all from those of colonies.

Nearer home, we may consider the case of Liberia, which has enjoyed political

independence since 1847 but which is nevertheless to all intents and purposes an American colony. For the ordinary Liberian, political independence has not meant a richer fuller life because it has been national independence plus capitalism.

It is only when the first stage of the revolution—the national revolution—is followed by the second stage—the building of socialism—that the way to prosperity for the mass of the people is opened.

We can with profit study the experience of the socialist countries of Europe and Asia—countries like the Soviet Union, which less than fifty years ago was a backward country exploited by foreign capitalists and with little industry of its own, but which has now, thanks to the planned development that socialism has made possible become the trail-blazer in the exploitation of space.

At a time when foreign so-called "experts" are declaring that Ghana's plans are too ambitious, that she is trying to advance too quickly, that she is on the verge of economic ruin, it is worth recalling that the "experts" once said the same things about the Soviet Union—and were proved wrong.

NEW YARDSTICK

They were proved wrong because they measured everything by the yardstick of capitalism—the only yardstick they knew. But the Soviet Union—the first country in the world to break away from capitalism and start the building of a socialist society—was using a new yardstick, and it proved more effective than that of capitalism.

But, as I have said, the ideas of socialism do not grow of themselves; Ghana is not yet a socialist country, and there are still strong elements of capitalism, both Ghanaian and foreign, in our country—elements which are constantly giving rise to capitalist ideas, which are constantly seeking for new footholds. Furthermore, the neo-colonialists are constantly striving to strengthen and extend their influence over the minds of men.

It is the duty of a good Nkrumaist to equip himself to fight this battle of ideas, and to help ensure that the ideas of scientific socialism triumph.

But socialism is not just a matter of study, or even just of convincing others; it is also a matter of work—work not in order to make more profit for the private employer, but for the good of society as a whole.

In a socialist society, where the means of production, distribution and exchange are the property of the people as a whole, and where political power is in the hands of the people, higher production means greater wealth for all. Higher production brings nearer our ultimate goal of a rich and prosperous socialist society in Ghana.

Therefore every good Nkrumaist should set an example of hard work and high output. He should set an example by his creative approach to work, seeking for new and more efficient methods of work. It is in this way that the foundations of our future prosperity will be laid, and those who help lay them will be

the real heroes of our new society.

It is the best workers who in a socialist society will enjoy the fame and public attention that in a capitalist society is enjoyed by film stars and the offsprings of the rich.

Likewise the good Nkrumaist should take a lead in safeguarding the wealth of the people. Raw materials, machines, tools, seeds, fertilizer—these are all part of our national wealth from which new wealth will be created. They must not be wasted by our carelessness or neglect.

VIGILANCE

The good Nkrumaist must also be constantly vigilant to check bureaucracy, speculation and corruption.

Let me remind you of the words used by Kwame Nkrumah when addressing Parliament last week:

"Our society appears to be passing through a period in which excessive and morbid ambition for money and influence 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."

The good Nkrumaist should be constantly vigilant to ensure that no-one, high or low, misuses his position or abuses the trust which the people have placed in him. There can be no place in a socialist society for those who give or take bribes, or who take advantage of temporary—and often deliberately created—shortages to line their own pockets at the expense of the ordinary people, the people upon whose labour our progress depends.

To study socialism, to work for its achievement and to be on watch against those who obstruct our advance—these are then in brief the main duties of the good Nkrumaist that I have so far considered.

But there is another very important aspect of the duties of a good Nkrumaist which we must consider—his role in society, in political

How to be a Good Nkrumaist

life, in the administration of the day-to-day affairs of our country—for that is what socialist democracy means—that every person shall play his or her part in the day-to-day administration of the state.

According to the Western capitalist model, democracy means the right to vote once every four or five years, with a choice between parties which in fact very often differ little on fundamentals—it would be difficult, for instance, to detect any very substantial difference between the two major American political parties; both are equally the representatives of different sections of American Big Business, and there is not a single ordinary American working man or agricultural worker among the members of the U.S. Congress.

And even the democratic rights which the labour and progressive movements had been able to win in the imperialist countries did not extend to the colonies.

The democracy of Ancient Greece to which Western propagandists proudly trace their ancestry was a democracy for slave-owners only; there was no democracy for the slaves. Likewise, Western democracy was a democracy for the imperialist countries alone; it never extended to their colonies.

And as I have noted, even in the imperialist countries themselves, it was and still is a limited sort of democracy, with large areas of the life of society excluded from any sort of democratic control.

PROFIT MOTIVE

For example, because these societies are capitalist societies, a very great many questions of economic development which can affect the life of thousands, or indeed millions, of ordinary people are decided not by parliament, not by the elected representatives of the people, but by a small number of businessmen and industrialists guided not by the national interest but solely by the profit motive.

In very many cases, for example, the question of the building of a new factory and where it shall be situated is decided not in terms of whether the country needs such a factory and whether or not it is in the public interest that it should be situated in such and such a place, but solely according to whether it will be profitable to a small group of shareholders.

In this way it is possible for whole areas to be denuded of industry and for thousands to be deprived of their livelihoods simply because a small group of Big Businessmen decide it shall be so.

But in a socialist democracy such matters will be thrashed out not only in Parliament but also by the ordinary people meeting at their factories and farms, in their offices and other places of work. This is what is meant by people taking part in the day-to-day administration of the state.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah,

"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."

CONTROL

In the same speech, Kwame Nkrumah went on to demand that every State Factory should have a production committee on which both management and workers are represented.

These same principles of democratic control must also be applied in the state farms and co-operatives, and it is the duty of the good Nkrumaist to make his positive, constructive contribution.

Every good Nkrumaist has the duty to play his part in political life, be it at national level or in his village, in his trade union branch or in his farming co-operative.

It is his duty to criticise in an honest and responsible fashion without fear or favour, those who are holding up our advance, and to help those who make mistakes through inexperience or some other understandable reason, to correct them and do better.

At the same time the good Nkrumaist is always on the lookout for mistakes in his own work, taking a self-critical attitude and always looking for ways of doing things better.

Good Nkrumaists know that Nkrumaism not only teaches that life could be happy, but it shows how to make it so; Nkrumaism organises and mobilises the people against everything that denies them happiness.

Nkrumaism does not offer happiness in the afterlife, but struggles for it in this life with confidence of success. Nkrumaism is a political theory which embraces humanism, morality, happiness.

Is it strange, then, that

this ideology appeals to those who suffer and yearn for a better, happier life? Is it surprising that its call is heard everywhere in our country?

Nkrumaists know that Nkrumaism provides purpose—creative fruitful purpose. It releases energy, it requires reason, it depends on science, it cherishes life, it needs peace.

They understand that Nkrumaism stands for the creation of suitable conditions for the happiness of all. Whether under such conditions each and every individual will enjoy complete happiness depends on the individual. It is not possible to everyone—to serve it to them on a plate, so to speak; but it is possible to create suitable conditions for the happiness of all.

Nkrumaists know that the objectives of our revolution are to free the people from want, to enhance their stature materially, mentally, and spiritually, so that they, as the ancient dream has it, will freely live as men. But we can only do this by first of all ourselves fully understanding our ideology.

Nkrumaists know that what effects social change is the reaction of human consciousness to ripening conditions—the understanding, the decision, and the resulting action. When this is done, the structures brought into existence, the new system of laws, new ethical standards, all together, set in motion the business of gradually, but steadily remaking the mind of man.

Good Nkrumaists see African unity as the most effective weapon for attaining three principal objectives:

1 total liberation of Africa from colonial rule;

2 fighting neo-colonialism in the independent African states;

3 creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind.

From all that I have said you will see that to be a good Nkrumaist is no easy task. But it is a proud task for it is those who are marching with Kwame Nkrumah along that road to socialism who are blazing the trail that will one day be followed by the whole of our great continent.

They are laying the foundation not only of a socialist Ghana in which they and their children will lead a rich, full life, but of a socialist Africa which will take its rightful place among the great leaders of progress and civilisation.

Bonn's "Aid" to Developing Nations

Continued from page 2

eight points while thanks to monopoly manipulation the prices of raw materials dropped by 25 points.

Thanks to this price "scissors", the West German monopolies were able to make a profit of between 2,000 million and 3,000 million marks within 10 years. Last year alone these extra profits totalled 1-1,500 million marks, all at the expense of the developing countries.

In his *West German Neo-colonialism and Africa* published recently, Mr. Kofi Batsa, General Secretary of the Pan-African Union of Journalists, shows how West Germany has in fact become the second largest neo-colonialist power after the United States, annually extracting thousands of mil-

lions of marks of profit from African, Asian and Latin American countries.

During the last 15 years Bonn has also invested some 500 million marks in the form of technical aid, schools and model undertakings in former colonies.

At first sight, this might seem disinterested aid—but Dr. Billerbeck of the Bonn Ministry of Economic Co-operation (which could be termed Bonn's "Colonial Ministry") has pointed out that this form of "aid" made it possible to sell goods which were not saleable under normal commercial conditions.

Bonn's "aid" also has its political strings. It is withdrawn from developing countries which do not fall into line with Bonn's political demands and recognise West Germany as the "only" representative of Germany.

It is also used to impell the developing countries on to the road of capitalist rather than socialist development. West German industrialists have indicated that the leaders of the developing countries must realise that private enterprise and not State enterprise will best serve the interests of their countries.

In its prospectus, the Deutsche Bank of Frankfurt-on-Main boasts of the footholds it has gained by establishing branches and contacts with Banks in African and Asian countries. Taken in conjunction with the investments of Bonn Big Business, this network might be termed Bonn's "invisible empire". Its most important footholds include Verwoerd's South African Republic and Portugal's African colonies, Angola and Mozambique. In Angola, for example,

the West monopoly of Krupp is playing a leading part in the exploitation of the country's iron ore deposits.

In South Africa, the West German-owned Otavi Mines and Railways Co. Ltd., which controls 10 subsidiaries, is doing well: last year it yielded 45 per cent on capital invested.

West German firms in fact have very substantial interests in South Africa. They are collaborating with the Verwoerd regime in the development of rockets and atomic research.

Finally, it should also be noted that West German Big Business has been investing in Tshombe's Congo, and has succeeded in penetrating the former French colonies by way of their association with the Common Market, in which West Germany is the dominant partner.

Helping Lesotho Along the Road to Independence

FIVE months is perhaps insufficient time to enable us to assess the work of the internal self-government of Lesotho. Unfortunately history hasn't got much time either, and cannot wait much longer.

The problem raised by the refusal of transit to 10 students over the Republic of South Africa must not be seen in isolation. The young government is doing admirable work by seeking permission for these people to travel home irrespective of what knowledge they have acquired. It is important to make sure that citizens of Lesotho will not in future have to face this unnecessary embarrassment resulting from interference by her bullying racist neighbour.

The pro-apartheid government of Leabua Jonathan has the real fundamental issues of Lesotho to grapple with. These in general terms are:

The problems raised by the simple fact of geography—the country is totally surrounded by the Republic of South Africa; the country is small (11,716 square miles) for its present population (800,000). The problem of its inability to maintain its population from the

point of view of livelihood results also from its physical features. The country is mountainous and badly suited agriculturally.

It is with these problems before it that the Lesotho electorate went to the polls in April last, and chose the Basutoland National Party to rule the country. It is these problems which the B.N.P. must solve and not gloss over.

However, the above problems cannot be solved by fraternising with apartheid. They are directly connected with the liberation of the African people immediately outside the borders of Lesotho.

In other words, Lesotho can only solve her problems by the part she will play in the fight for African liberation in South Africa and her participation, not in the dirty work of apartheid, but in the affairs of the Organisation of African Unity.

Here are some economic factors which will help the reader to see the immense nature of the problems of Lesotho.

Financial Problems

THE principal agricultural products of the territory are maize, sorghum and wheat, peas, beans, barley and oats. In animal husbandry, cattle, sheep and goats form the chief items.

In trade the country is not doing too well, as will more clearly be seen from the following figures:

For the year 1957, Imports totalled 3,012,954, and Exports totalled 2,713,331. The deficiency was 299,623

For the year 1958 Imports totalled 2,947,274 and Exports totalled 1,343,157. The deficiency was 1,604,117

Revenue and expenditure figures for the years 1959 and 1960 were as follows:

For the year 1959 Expenditure total 1,999,616 Revenue total 1,812,006 Excess 187,610

For the year 1960 Expenditure total 2,340,628 Revenue total 2,075,268 Excess 265,360

The significance of the import and export figures is that they show that the territory has an adverse balance of trade.

However, the possibilities of mining and industry are being investigated. Diamond prospecting has continued for the last five years and the results are promising.

Similarly, the figures on expenditure and revenue show in each case an excess of the former over the latter. This position is not a healthy state of public finance and taxation.

The facilities of commerce and communication are not very bright either. There is only one mile of railway for the whole country.

This comes from South Africa and ends in Maseru, the Capital of Lesotho.

The road system covers a distance of approximately 560 miles. The rugged fastnesses of the obstinate Ma-

luti ranges to this day withstand the roadbuilder.

"Think of your stomachs. Your country has no industries. What will you live on if you adopt a hostile attitude to South Africa?"

This blunt statement of porridge-and-meat politics dropped from the lips of none other than the later trounced and castigated Chief Leabua Jonathan, leader of the victorious

Basutoland National Party which came in power without its leader.

Chief Jonathan made this statement at a meeting of 9,000 of his supporters in Maseru last year. At the general elections he was rejected by the voters in his constituency entering Parliament as a result of a subsequent by-election.

The B.N.P. is a Party with pro-South Africa policy. It advocates close and cordial relations with the racist regime.

So the electorate has heeded the admonitions of chief Jonathan and thought of (if not with) their stomachs.

The exponents of Apartheid who delight in the BNP victory must be reminded as often as is necessary that the African people loath and abhor the policies of segregation and colour discrimination impos-

From a Spark Correspondent

ed on their brothers anywhere on our continent, above all in South Africa. In these elections, the Basutoland nation was con-

fronted with practical realities. Their decisions, wrong or right, must be considered and understood in the light of these circumstances.

Progressive Elements

THE second issue is the position held by the progressive elements in Lesotho. These groups are spoken of here as progressive because of their consideration of the world beyond the boundaries of "baby" Lesotho.

It is these groups which participates in continental conferences and maintain political intercourse with the socialist countries. It is in the ranks of the Basutoland Congress Party and the Marematlou Freedom party that this type of politician is to be found.

The defeat of these two parties was not unlike that of their counterparts in the other two British protectorates of Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

However, the parallel is not on all fours in that the margin between the ruling party and the B.C.P. in Lesotho is fairly tenous compared with the position of progressive parties in the other territories. Progressive political thought has gained a better footing in Lesotho.

One of the most important political engagements of the progressive groups in the three protectorates is to prevent a gentle slide of these countries into the hands of the racial maniacs of South Africa.

'Common Market?'

THERE is currently a dangerous economic conspiracy in the offing. This takes the form of a "Common Market" for the countries of Southern Africa.

Imminent independence for the three territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland on the one hand, and the prospect of a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia that would cut it off from the economic support of its main trading partner on the other, have encouraged the South African Government to revive its project for a "Southern Africa Common Market".

This is a plan to integrate the economic systems of the Southern African countries (which would include of course the Portuguese territories as well) in order to make them progressively less dependent on economic relations abroad, and so better able to defy the world with their political policies.

Ostensibly there is nothing wrong with a common market; it is a perfectly legitimate commercial undertaking for the joint advantage of all the partners in the venture.

However one of the fundamental dictates of partnership is that the parties to the union must have a common purpose. Bearing in mind of criminal record of South Africa in its dealings with its own African people, can the protectorates really

declare that they have the same purpose as Dr. Verwoerd?

The protectorates might enter the union with good intentions—but the same could never be said of South Africa. For South Africa to do anything calculated to advance the cause of the High Commission territories would not only be a departure from its policy of Apartheid and European supremacy; it would also be considered by the European population as the strengthening of the "black menace" on South African borders.

Thus there is no common purpose. South Africa's purpose is to swallow everything and then oppress and exploit the people of the protectorates.

Verwoerd is in fact trying to get by economic means what he and his predecessors, including General SMUTS, could not get from Britain by political means.

South African, Portuguese and Spanish colonialists are coming together under the guise of a Southern Africa Common Market.

The young Governments of the Protectorates are to be economically embraced in the arms of a masked monster holding a dagger behind its back.

One of the primary aims of colonialists is to distract the Protectorate governments from joining their brothers in the north.

The deceitful scheme is

designed to weaken the Organisation of African Unity, create more victims of Apartheid and expand the reservoir of cheap labour.

The independent states should warn the protectorates that Verwoerd will pull in his hook if they take the bait. But it is not enough for Africa to warn; Africa must at once give material economic assistance and establish active diplomatic relations with these young

governments.

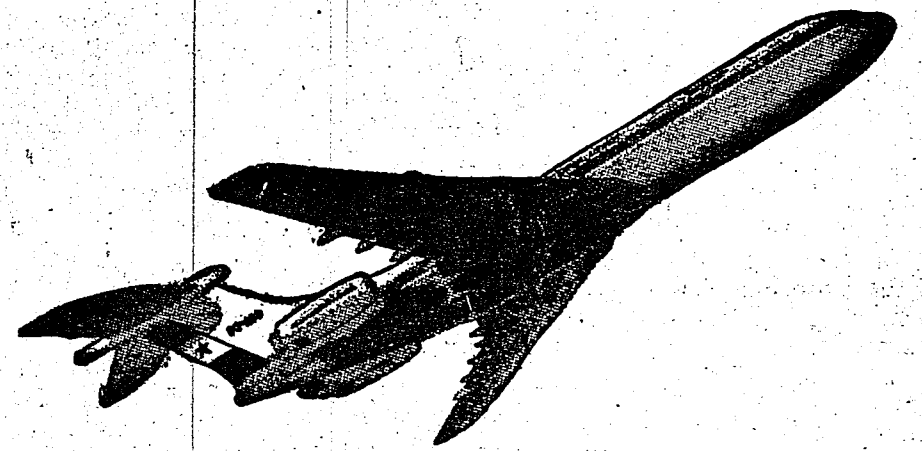
They must be invited to every sort of activity that goes on in Greater Africa. They must be left with no doubt as to who are their true friends.

Greater Africa must prove to the protectorates that Africa is uniting; Africa is nationalist in outlook; Africa has power; it is a formidable force in the ordering of international affairs; that the protectorates can indeed entrust their future to Greater Africa.

It will be a great step forward, when, exercising

a right in the name of mother Africa, contributing towards the building of New Africa, the African Independent States set themselves the noble task of helping the protectorates in their economic plight and assisting them on to self-reliance.

The future of these countries lies in their realisation that the present-day Africa is the Africa with Power. This they must see in contrast to the decaying little tyranny and outrageous madhouse across their frontiers. It is in this comradely spirit of equal partnership that Lesotho, Bechuanaland and Swaziland ought to be embraced in the greater Community of African Unity.



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0945	Arr	BEY	Dep	0900
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Settlers' new scheme to keep Africans out of politics

SOME of the Rhodesian settlers and businessmen believe that they have found a new way to beat back African nationalist politics: they lend money to African subsistence farmers to help them to increase productivity, and as the Africans have to work harder to justify it they have less time for politics.

This brilliant scheme is being applied through a private company named African Farming Development registered in Rhodesia early this year, non-profit making, and having the expressed aim of creating a "truly national market in Rhodesia", enabling Rhodesian industry to sell its goods to "a mass market instead of merely to a small, relatively wealthy middle class as at present".

The quotations are from a brochure distributed in London by the chairman of the company, C. G. Tracey, who visited Britain recently. He is himself a wealthy farmer, vice-president of the European Farmers' Union, president of the Cotton Growers' Association, president of the Commercial Union, and chairman of the Rhodesian Promotion Council.

The company's idea is that as African farmers become more prosperous they will be able to buy more goods and materials and so encourage local industrial development as well as improving their holdings.

Tracey denied that the scheme had any political motive but he did say: "I believe these people will become capitalists as their incomes increase. And that will be in contrast to other countries where these African subsistence farmers are ripe for communism. In Tanganyika, for instance, they are desperately poor".

Asked whether the scheme had been opposed by the nationalists, he said there had been "some obstruction" but that the scheme had "evaporated political trouble in the area where it started".

This is the Chiweshe tribal trust area north of Salisbury, the capital. Tracey added:

"This is something we are extremely pleased about. People are so busy working that they have not much time for politics".

Yet in the view of men like this, the activities of the company are "not political". The company took over the scheme initiated at Chiweshe in which a group of European farmers with the settler government providing about one quarter of the cash, put up £10,500 to finance thirty African farmers for one year.

With the loans, the Africans were able to buy machinery, fertilisers and insecticides which they had not been able to afford before. The company has extended the scheme to 150 farmers in the area, calling it a self-help project. It hopes to spread the scheme throughout Rhodesia, and to raise money for further loans from big business, and perhaps from state aid.

Tracey was in Washington where he saw Walt Rostow of the Policy Planning Council, as well as the World Bank.

Figures given by the company merely emphasise the dreadful general neglect of the African farmers by the wealthy settler-

business community. The company claims that the farmers receiving loans have been able to raise their incomes to between £300 and £500 a year in the first year, and up to £800 in the second year.

Through the scheme, 100 farmers are said to be able to achieve a cash return of about £30,000 in one season—which is a larger sum than the total value of crops sold annually by the 5,500 African farmers in the whole of the Chiweshe tribal trust area.

There are half-million African farmers in Rhodesia. But while the output of European farms is worth £65 million annually, that of the Africans is worth only £3 million. Of £6 million worth of fertilisers and insecticides sold every year only about £150,000 is accounted for by African farmers.

When asked why such a loan scheme as his company's had not been started thirty years ago or more, Tracey replied that the money probably was not available. He admitted that there was widespread neglect of human, land and material resources.

Loans for mechanised deep ploughing, correct seed, fertiliser, and insecticides, as well as advice from an agronomist, had led to yields of between 20 and 25 bags of maize to the acre in place of a previous yield of four bags per acre.

In another inadvertent example of the settlers' neglect, he said that if one-quarter of the Africans farming in the tribal trust lands could be got into schemes like the Chiweshe one, they could more than

Journalist ARTHUR JAMES discusses a Rhodesia Settlers' project to divert Africans from the freedom struggle.

double the present total output of virginia tobacco. The Africans repay the loans after selling their crops.

Tracey was asked if farmers with rising incomes—thanks to the scheme—might not register for a vote under the minimum income qualification and so speed the day of African rule.

But he declared that the company "has no political aspect", and anyway, he thought the farmers would not be much interested in

answerable. The suspicion that Mr. Tracey's motives are more political than he admits is reinforced by the fact that he is on the board of the Rhodesia Promotion Council, the organisation founded just a year ago to bring people from all parts of the world to Rhodesia and show them what a fine place it is".

A *Daily Telegraph* reporter who visited Chiweshe wrote (16.4.65):

"The boundaries between the rich and poor in Rhodesia are not drawn on the map. But they are more apparent to the traveller than most frontiers. Quite suddenly, at the edge of the last European farm, the rich maize and tobacco crops end and ahead among the bush and the rocks is an

unassembled mosaic of little fields, full of sickly crops".

The *Financial Times* (11.5.65) reported that the average income of an African farmer was £14 a year over and above subsistence requirements, and

"due to the fact that he cannot offer any security, he is unable to find loans. He is therefore destined to remain a peasant farmer at subsistence level for the rest of his days unless there is some other means by which his output and general welfare can be raised".

After eighty years of neglect the settlers have at last realised that they ought to do something. They are doing it in a very small way, and even that with a political motive, the impossible one of trying to stem the African demand for basic human and political rights.

Vatican And The 20th Century (2)

ARBITRARILY to include any one of the groups at the Council in one or another of the three trends would be wrong. It would likewise be inaccurate to form an opinion of them according to the stand they took in the course of the three sessions, when a certain differentiation took place within the various groups and, consequently, a re-alignment of forces.

Moreover, there were cases when groups which had united in support of an "innovation" on a particular issue, took the opposite stand on another issue. For example, the delegates from the Arab countries who were very close to Patriarch Maximos IV, who was most outspoken at the Council, united with the conservatives against the declaration in favour of the Jewish people.

VIEWPOINT

The American groups which supported the anti-racist declarations and the declaration on freedom of religion, when it came to condemning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological warfare in effect supported the position of the State Department or the Pentagon.

The group of Italians, with certain notable exceptions, constituted one of the bastions of the conservative viewpoint under the leadership of Cardinal Ottaviani, Cardinal Siri, Cardinal Ruffini and the Vatican Curia which zealously guards its omnipotence, shielded in the halo of papal infallibility and absolutism.

In effect John XXIII convoked the Ecumenical Council in defiance of the Curia; in point of fact the progressives are urging the re-organisation of this top group which dictates conditions even to the Pope.

The Curia also determines the relations with the secular authorities. It has big financial interests and all in all is a reactionary force which cannot be ignored under any circumstances.

The conservative sector is supported generally by a large part of the episcopacies of Spain, Portugal, the Philippines, Latin America, by the "white" missionaries in the Far East,

by the supporters of Cardinal Spellman of the United States, and by some of the Yugoslav and Irish bishops. The moderates include Cardinal Montini, the Polish bishops close to Cardinal Wyszynsky, the Belgian bishops of Cardinal Suenens, some South American and African bishops, and the Indian bishops. Cardinals Bea, Maximos IV, Alfrink, Koenig, Lienart, Lercaro, Cardijn, Frings and others have identified themselves with the line of John XXIII.

At the first session of the Council (October 12-December 7, 1962) with Pope John in the chair, two arguments were fought out. As a result of direct interference by the Pope, both ended in a resounding defeat for the conservatives and the Curia.

Thus, as a result of the first conflict, initiated by Cardinal Lienart, all council commissions were to be recognised according to the choice made by the Assembly (instead of by the Curia). As a result of the second debate, the draft on the sources of Revelation, prepared by Cardinal Ottaviani, was rejected and it was decided that the text should be revised by a commission on which Cardinal Bea functioned.

In June 1963 John XXIII died and Cardinal Montini ascended the Papal throne under name of Paul VI.

At the second session, held in the autumn of 1963, two unimportant decisions of a general character were taken. Clashes took place at this session, too, but it was clear that the various groups were waiting to see what line the new Pope would take.

A debate was continued at the third session (September 14- November 21, 1964) which ended in the so-called "black" week. Since then none of the basic problems of the Ecumenical Council have been settled, and the fate of the assembly will be decided at the fourth, concluding session, scheduled to open on September 14, 1965.

But already now there are grounds for posing the question: has not "black" week predetermined the fate of the Ecumenical Council by imposing the will of the Pope, and partly of the Curia, on the assembly?

By decision of Paul VI an explanatory document was circulated at the time

concerning the structure of the church, and 19 amendments were proposed for the decree on Ecumenism which the Bulletin issued by the Council of Evangelical Churches in Italy described as a "basic violation of the text".

Highly disturbing was the Pope's decision, conveyed to the Ecumenical Council by Cardinal Tisserant, to postpone until the next session, the general and preliminary voting on the Declaration on Freedom of Religion, submitted by a delegation of 16 cardinals, headed by Frings, and supported by 1,200 participants in the council in a special petition.

TENSION

The tension that prevailed towards the end of the third session, the obvious change for the worse in the atmosphere (especially when compared with the first session held under John XXIII)—all confront the other non-Catholic Christian communities with the question (which the Archbishop Frings of Cologne, incidentally considers logical) of the ability of the Catholic religion to create its own dialectics which could turn the Ecumenical Council into a "consultative body", i.e. into a centre of joint search for "truth".

The tension at the third session calls to mind the stormy closing session of the First Vatican Council, and particularly July 18, 1870, the day when the dogma of papal infallibility was proclaimed and when in protest one-third of the delegates absented themselves, including the Bishops of Paris, Vienna, Monaco, Milan, Turin, the Primate of the Galician provinces and the primate of Hungary, the "social" Archbishop Keteler of Mainz and the archbishops of Prague and Marseilles.

But the fact remains that the entire discussion is characterised by the clash between those eager to find the pulse and measure the "temperature of the earth" (to quote De Chardin) and to discover the so-called "evil" at least a tremor of growth, and those who, on the contrary, are determined to keep people, things and events within the bounds of conservatism and tradition, leaving only a narrow margin for so-called renovation.

As we see it the clashes which took place during the 130 plenary meetings and

in the commissions are due not so much to the methodological differences arising from different interpretation of the "immutability" or "historicity" of the Catholic Church, as to the different attitudes, at times poles apart, of the various delegates who are actuated by particular motives and interests, especially with respect to the "secular" problems of the day.

That is why the Ecumenical Council is no longer the purely internal affair of the Church and should be seen as an event reflecting the real forces that are operating, as event affecting the basic problems and values connected with the trends and movements of different origin and pursuing different aims.

It was not accidental, therefore, that towards the end of the Council the struggle centred on the declaration on freedom of religion and conscience, on "Schema No. 13" concerning relations with the contemporary world and on the Schema concerning the missionaries.

The stormiest moment at the third session came during the debate on the traditional doctrine on freedom of religion and conscience. The assembly literally split in two on this issue.

FREEDOM

Gregory XVI in his encyclical "Mirari vos" (1832) had expressed the view that from the poison of religious indifference "springs the erroneous and absurd rule, or rather mania, that everyone should be granted freedom of conscience and guaranteed this freedom", that this was "a dangerous fallacy, paving the way to absolute and unbridled freedom of opinion..." To this is added, he said, freedom of the press, the most pernicious of freedoms in the face of which all other horrors pale.

Gregory's successor Pius IX, in his "Quanta cura" and "Syllabo", likewise condemned this "mania" for religious freedom and considered freedom for each to embrace the religion he thought to be the true one to be one, of the biggest mistakes of his time.

The narrow-minded approach ensuing from this doctrine (which is no longer accepted in our day) because particularly evident in our changing world in which

the old core of nations with a Catholic majority no longer enjoys its former influence.

The use of force and secular power in support of the Roman Church and against other religions and freedom of conscience is our archaic illusion possible only under dictatorships of the Franco and Salazar type.

Cardinal Bea who drafted the declaration on freedom of conscience was obliged to state:

"Another delusion due to a misconception of what was meant by love of truth were the religious wars which caused so much suffering, when attempts were made forcibly to impose, in the name of truth, certain convictions upon other people forgetting the while about an essential element—love of truth, i.e. freedom of man."

Despite personal interference by the Pope, the Ecumenical Council rejected by an overwhelming majority the schema on the reorganisation of the missions, drawn up by Cardinal Agagianian of the Curia.

The schema was opposed mainly by the bishops of former colonial countries who were tired of taking orders from the Propaganda of Faith whose criteria are similar to those of the British Colonial Office.

The main reason, however, is the crisis in the old missionary system which dates from the times of colonial empires. The situation has completely changed today. As one of the Bishops from the West Africa noted:

"Islam is advancing, heathenism is offering resistance, and thanks to the desire for autonomy and the return to traditional customs communism is rapidly gaining grounds, especially in the relatively developed countries of Africa."

Some years ago the Jesuit Mason, professor of the Gregorian University in Rome and Secretary of "Missionary Week" in Lovanio spoke in Milan about the changes taking place among the African masses.

TO BE CONTINUED



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