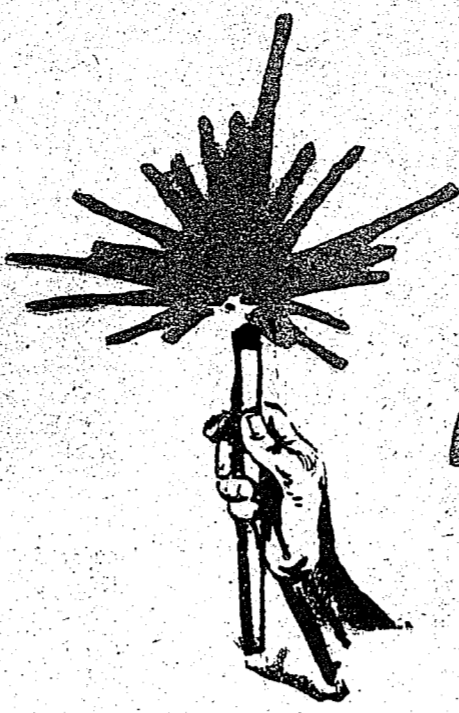


WHAT THE  
VOLTA DAM  
MEANS TO US  
(See page 3)

# THE SPARK



Notes of the  
Week 2  
The Crisis in  
Sterling 4  
Focus on  
Ghana  
T.U.C. 5

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 170 5 PSEWAS

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1966

## NEO-COLONIALISM'S PUPPETS SUFFER DEFEAT

EDITORIAL

### A Dream Comes True

THE official inauguration this weekend of the Akosombo Power Station is the realisation of what Kwame Nkrumah has described as "one of my greatest dreams".

The people of Ghana have indeed good cause for satisfaction: Akosombo will transform the map of Ghana.

It will provide cheap and abundant power for our industrialisation programme. It will open up new means of transport and new sources of food for our people.

The Volta Project of which the Akosombo dam and hydro-electric installation form a key part and the other schemes now in hand will revolutionise the economy of our country. They will bring nearer the achievement of the objectives we have set ourselves—the total abolition of unemployment, malnutrition and illiteracy, and the creation of conditions where all our people can enjoy good health, proper housing, where our children can have the best educational facilities and where every citizen has the fullest opportunities to develop and use his skills and talents," in the words of Kwame Nkrumah.

We have cause for pride, too, in the knowledge that what has been achieved has been achieved above all by our own labour.

Some will seek to belittle our achievement by pointing to what they will call "aid".

But we have not been given one penny towards the cost of Akosombo. We ourselves have met half the cost of the dam and power installation; the remainder was lent, not given—and lent mostly at rates above normal commercial rates of interest.

The Volta Project, far from being the product of charity, is the fruit of mutually beneficial economic co-operation between Ghana, the United States and Britain—a form of co-operation which we welcome.

But as we celebrate, let us recall the words used by Kwame Nkrumah when, almost exactly three years ago, he prepared to sign the agreements relating to the project.

"My joy is unhappily marred", he told the National Assembly, "by the thought that this scheme and others like it, which could have been the joint effort of many African countries, has had to be undertaken by Ghana alone. If you ask me why this is so, my answer is simple: the failure of African States to unite by surmounting the barriers arbitrarily imposed by the colonial powers.

"It has taken us more than ten years of planning and consultation to bring this project to reality", he then said. "If other African states wish to follow our example, they will have to follow the same slow and exacting path.

"If we were united with such African states, this would be unnecessary, because we would have worked as a team, and the Volta River Project would have been a joint achievement. Indeed, had we all been united, the path would not have been so slow or so exacting. This is only a single illustration of the vital importance of African Unity."

Africa is rich—but hitherto her wealth has been exploited mainly for the benefit of others. She herself will be able to reap the full benefits of her wealth only when she is wholly united, and when her economy is planned on a continental scale.

At Akosombo we tap only a tiny fraction of Africa's resources of hydro-electric power—"white gold", as it is eloquently termed. Africa in fact, has the greatest water power potential in the world. The Congo alone has 21.6 per cent of the world's total. The actual installed capacity is only 1 per cent of the world's total.

In addition to our own Volta River Project, there are many schemes in progress on many of the mighty

(Continued on page 2)

THE dramatic events in Nigeria, where Army Chief of Staff Major-General Ironsi this week announced the setting up of a Military Provisional Government, constitute a vivid demonstration of the fact that the people cannot for ever be duped by the puppets of neo-colonialism.

During recent years the imperialists, in particular the British imperialists who created it, have sought to present the Federation of Nigeria as a shining example of democracy and stability.

They pointed to Nigeria as a living demonstration of the "benefits" which can be won by an African state which takes the capitalist path of development.

But the much-vaunted Westminster-model "democracy" was a sham. The multi-party system was a cloak to conceal the fact that real political power belonged to the feudal emirs of the north, allied to the reactionary chiefs and wealthy capitalists of the South.

Elections were a fraud, with opposition candidates kidnapped, arrested or killed, and ballot boxes removed from areas which it was feared might vote against the regime's nominees.

#### CONSTITUTION

Other African countries such as Ghana and Kenya had quickly rid themselves of the constitutions bequeathed by Whitehall—constitutions designed to exacerbate tribal and other divisive factors and thus prevent the emergence of a strong and unified state.

But in Nigeria—Africa's most populous country—the legacy of the divide-and-rule policy of the colonialists remained to sap the country's strength, and bedevil its political and economic life.

"The constitution imposed on Nigeria at independence", writes Kwame Nkrumah in his "Neo-Colonialism; The Last Stage of Imperialism", "divided the country into three regions (which have since grown to four) loosely joined on a Federal basis but with sufficient powers left to the regions to cripple overall economic planning. If the other states of West Africa are examples

of political balkanisation, Nigeria is an example of economic balkanisation."

Nigeria in fact became a classic example of neo-colonialism in action—a state in theory independent and with all the outward trappings of international sovereignty, but whose economic system and thus its political policy was directed from outside.

#### MONOPOLIES

Its rulers flung wide the door to foreign monopolies, with the result that since independence foreign Big Business has become more firmly entrenched than ever before.

Nigeria's "traditional" exploiters, the British colo-

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

niai monopolies, have been joined by American, West German, Japanese and other firms, all flocking to enrich themselves at the expense of the Nigerian people.

Neo-colonialism's apologists like to point to Nigeria's newly-discovered oil deposits as "the sort of dream that all developing countries in Africa have—a source of massive internal and foreign exchange revenue."

Nigeria is indeed already one of the largest oil producers in Africa, together with Libya and Algeria, and it is estimated that within a decade she will be among the ten largest oil-producing countries in the world.

But this has brought no improvement in the lot of the Nigerian people—any more than the oil wealth of the Middle East countries has resulted in an improvement in the living standards of the ordinary people of the area.

In Nigeria, as in the Middle East, the benefits have gone not to the people but to the foreign oil companies like the British Shell-B.P., the American Gulf Oil and the French SAERAP consortium, all of which give a share of their spoils to their local stooges.

#### NEO-COLONIALISM

This is a technique followed by all foreign monopolies. In doing so they are not prompted by generosity or the desire to aid Nigeria's economic development.

Their aim is to win over the rapidly growing Nigerian capitalist class, to give Nigerian capitalists a stake in neo-colonialism. In this way they hope to keep Nigeria safe for neo-colonialism.

As a result, the foreign investment that has in recent years poured into Nigeria, far from resulting in improvements in the standard of living of the mass of the people, has served to widen the gap between rich and poor.

Loyal to its masters, the Balewa regime was ruthless in its efforts to check the mounting tide of popular discontent which found expression in a wave of strikes and demonstrations.

#### REPLACEMENT

Abroad, too, the Balewa regime acted as the loyal servant of its neo-colonialist masters. Though compelled on some issues to give way to popular pressure, its foreign policy consisted in the main of trailing behind Whitehall.

It was thus that Sir Abubakar earned for himself the accolade of the British neo-colonialist press, which dubbed him "statesman-like"—the title the British press confers on those who loyally serve the interests of British imperialism.

There was indeed a symbolic justice in the fact that the deposition of his

regime and its replacement by Gen. Ironsi's Military Provisional Government should follow so close upon the heels of the Lagos Commonwealth Conference—a conference convened on the initiative of Sir Abubakar in an attempt to sabotage the break-with-Britain decision of the Organisation of African Unity, and to get British Prime Minister Harold Wilson off the hook.

The Nigerian people have with growing indignation watched the sell-off of their country to foreign Big Business. They have watched the wealth of their country flow in an ever-growing stream into the pockets of foreign investors and freebooting local capitalists, while their own lot has remained wretched.

They have cherished the hope that their country would once again return to the tradition of anti-imperialist struggle which had won them their political independence.

They wanted to see their country take its rightful place among the genuinely independent nations of Africa, pursuing a foreign policy in the interests of the people of Africa, not of Africa's neo-colonialist exploiters.

#### Dictatorship

But the tyranny and repression of the Balewa regime blocked the road to change: elections were a grim farce, political opponents murdered or jailed.

It is important to note too that the Nigerian Trade Union movement has during recent months been playing an increasing role. The struggle for an improvement in the economic conditions of the workers has merged with the political struggle to end the system of terror and dictatorship.

The replacement of the Balewa regime by the Military Provisional Government can open the way to the building of a progressive and genuinely democratic Nigeria which will take its rightful place in the anti-imperialist struggle.

"We have confidence that the Nigerian people will be able to solve their own difficulties without foreign intervention in any form", said Kwame Nkrumah.

Continued on page 6

### GHANA RECOGNISES NEW GOVERNMENT

The full text of a statement by Kwame Nkrumah on the Nigerian situation.

I HAVE asked you to meet me today in order to inform you of my view on the events that have taken place in our sister Republic of Nigeria.

I want to do this, so that our sister African States of the Organisation of African Unity may be made aware of Ghana's point of view on a matter which must be of concern to all Africa. I also wish to present any misunderstanding as to our attitude.

At the outset, may I say that what has happened in Nigeria does not in any way impair or change the relationship which has so far cordially existed between Ghana and Nigeria. In my view, what has taken place in Nigeria must be regarded primarily a matter for the people of Nigeria.

Our brothers in that country are entitled to decide their own destiny. The future of Nigeria is a matter for the existing Regions and the Nigeria people. This principle must be observed.

We have confidence that the Nigerian people will be able to solve their own difficulties without foreign intervention in any form, and the best contribution that can be made to the situation in Nigeria is that foreign interests and foreign powers should not take advantage of the present situation in Nigeria to meddle with or intervene in the internal affairs of Nigeria.

All member States of the

Organisation of African Unity must see to it that this principle is observed.

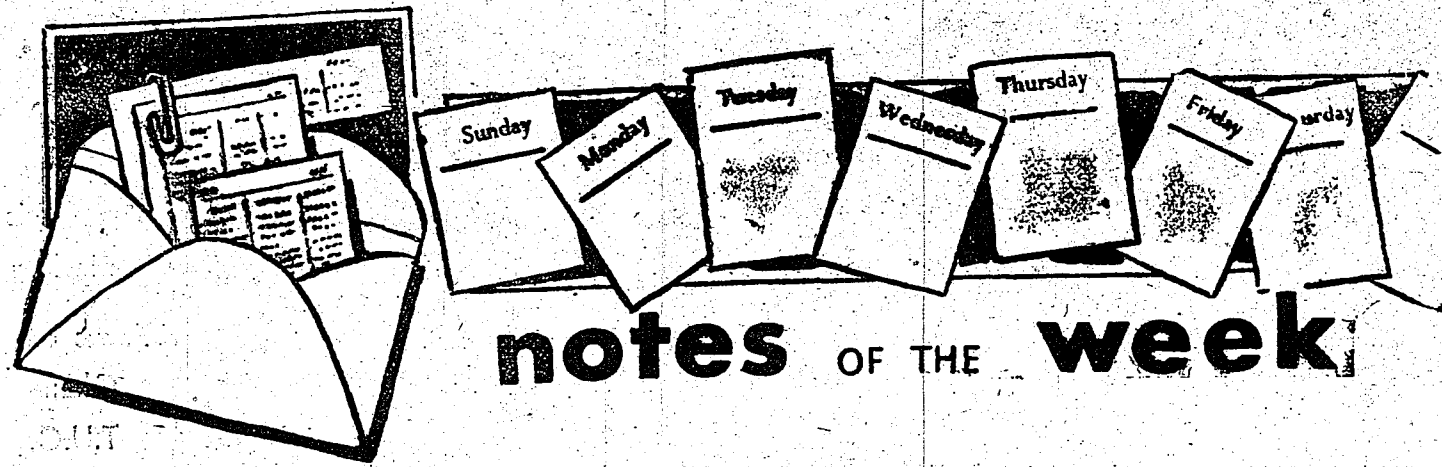
But I must say that in settling their affairs, if the people of Nigeria should require any assistance this should come from the Organisation of African Unity.

I would emphasise however that the initiative in this matter must come from Nigeria.

I welcome the steps which the Military Provisional Government has taken to resolve the situation; in particular, the decision to set up a temporary Military Provisional Government until a Constitution has been worked out which meets the needs, desires and aspirations of the existing Regions and their people.

In these circumstances, having taken note of the declared surrender of power by the former Federal Government to the Military Provisional Government, and considering the statements made by the former Acting President and the Head of the Military Provisional Government, and in view of the declared intention of that Military Provisional Government to hand over authority to a Civilian Government as soon as a Constitution has been worked out in accordance with the wishes of the people, the Government of Ghana has therefore decided to accord to the Military Provisional Government full recognition.





## notes OF THE week

**WHILE** it claims to be seeking peace in Vietnam, the United States is stepping up its preparations to extend the war. Even while the American so-called "peace" envoys were making their much-publicized journeys, additional detachments of U.S. troops and marines were landing in Vietnam.

There is no doubt, of course, that President Johnson wants peace in Vietnam—but peace on his own terms. But such a peace is not possible.

The real aims of the U.S. "peace offensive" were spelt out by U.S. commentator Joseph Alsop, writing in the *New York Herald Tribune* (13.1.66):

*"Despite the passionate protestations of the administration, the peace offensive has no relation whatever to anything that can rationally be called diplomacy. It is and always has been a huge public relations job, an adman's stunt on an enormous scale.*

"Furthermore, it is and always has been an adman's stunt that could be equally persuasively interpreted in two quite contradictory ways. One theoretical aim was to portray the President, in the most ostentatious and noisy manner possible, as desperately seeking peace and being rejected by the men of war in North Vietnam.

"If this has been the aim (and it may still be the aim), then the purpose of the peace offensive has been to smooth the way for the intensified American effort and the greatly increased defence budget that are now necessary because of the Vietnamese war." (Italics ours —Ed.)

Another prominent U.S. commentator, Walter Lippman, writing in the same paper on January 5th., wrote that President Johnson's "sincerity" is not crux of the matter.

"The question is whether he recognised the strategic realities of the military situation and is prepared to negotiate a truce which conforms with them. If not, it cannot be a glorious truce. If the President is not prepared to make his terms of peace consistent with the reality in South-East Asia, he is likely to find that our friends and adversaries alike regard the whole spectacular business not as the action of a statesman but as the device of a showman." (Italics ours—Ed.)

In discussing the possibility of a further intensification of the war, Mr. Lippman goes on to warn that President Johnson,

"is on the range of making the kind of ruinous historical mistake which the Athenians made when they attacked Syracuse, which Napoleon and Hitler made when they attacked Russia. He is on the verge of engaging this country in a war which can grow into a great war lasting for many years and promising no rational solution."

But the sober appraisal of two of America's most respected foreign affairs commentators found no reflection in President Johnson's State of the Union message, in which he re-affirmed America's intention to stay in Vietnam.

This declaration makes nonsense of his statement in the same speech that the United States stands by the Geneva Agreements of 1964 and 1962; the Geneva Agreements make it clear that all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Vietnam.

While its diplomats continue to protest their desire for peace and pose as the "friends" of the peoples of Africa and Asia, U.S. forces continue to use Vietnam as a testing ground for the most bestial weapons.

America, which became the first and so far the only country ever to have used atomic weapons when it used them against the Japanese people at a time when Japan, as is now acknowledged, had already indicated her readiness to negotiate, is now using chemical weapons against the people of South Vietnam.

These weapons include substance to destroy the rice crops on which the Vietnamese peasants depend for their subsistence, and also gases which the American apologists for this gross violation of the generally-accepted rules of warfare describe as "non-toxic".

In the *New York Times* of January 13th. we read a Reuters report which contained the following curious passage: "Non toxic gas and smoke being used against guerrillas in underground tunnels have killed one Australian soldier and sent six others to hospital."

No American spokesman has so far explained how a gas can be "non-toxic" and yet cause the death of a presumably strong and healthy soldier.

To their credit, two American doctors from Harvard, Dr. Victor Sidel and Dr. Robert Goldwyn, writing in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, have called upon their fellow physicians to find out the facts about the gases used by the U.S. Army and "to stand firm in questioning the moral and even practical justification of their use". They write:

"Even if a 'humane weapon' is developed, its 'humanity' will require the delivery, as in a laboratory, of a precisely measured dose to a standard victim. Both these requisites have thus far been impossible to attain in the field.

"Chemical and biological weapons are notoriously uneven in their dispersal and therefore in the amount absorbed by each recipient; to insure that each person receives an incapacitating dose, some will receive an overdose."

U.S. talk of the "non-toxic" nature of the gases it is using in South Vietnam is in fact a hypocritical lie to conceal the use of weapons which contravene international law.

writes in the current issue of the *Labour Monthly*, a British socialist journal, that Colonel Untung, the leader of the presidential guard, learned of the planned coup by the generals.

"He approached leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party, among others, revealing what they had known for some time, and urged joint action to thwart the coup."

"The Communist Party leaders reportedly refused on the ground that such action would be 'premature' and that as long as Sukarno remained at the helm everything possible should be done to maintain unity, while all patriotic elements within the armed forces should remain vigilant to deal with any coup from above."

"The rest", Burchett continues, "is history. Untung struck on September 30th, hoping to eliminate all the members of the 'generals' council", from Nasution (the Defence Minister—Ed.) down. Apparently he believed that although the Indonesian Communist Party was opposed to such action it would be bound to support him once the deed was done. But neither the Communist Party nor the Young Communist League or any affiliated bodies took part in any phase of Untung's action. And in acting as he did, he provided a sort of 'Reichstag Fire' pretext for a hunting down of all progressives and a ban on their organisations."

"According to my informant", Burchett goes on, "Central Intelligence Agency agents played an active part all the way through, circulating forged documents, printing forged bulletins and even newspapers, spending considerable money, providing everything from slogans for the Moslem lynch mobs to addresses of these to be arrested and killed."

"It was certainly with this in mind that Sukarno, in his opening address at the Djakarta Conference against foreign military bases on October 17th, warned against the activities of the C.I.A. and other U.S. agencies: 'They are putting their stooges... tools, men and women who are defending imperialism... even in my country. And they are bringing great calamity to Indonesia.'"

Some reports suggest that the figure of 87,000 victims of counter-revolutionary terror is grossly under-estimated. Some put the figure at 150,000.

"This bloodbath, which has gone largely unnoticed by the outside world, is one of the grimmest examples of wholesale slaughter in the world in recent years", said a report in the *New York Times* of January 14th 1966.

But despite the counter-revolutionary terror, the Indonesian anti-imperialist movement is by no means defeated: "the noise and bluster of the generals and their strong arm mobs in Djakarta provide only a curtain-raiser for what may well prove to be the greatest drama in Indonesian history", comments Burchett.

President Sukarno has called for an end to bloodshed and hate, calling upon the people to strive for national unity, "a nation divided cannot stand", he said.

Southern Rhodesia is under arrest for their part in the kidnapping. One of them Louis Souchon, has claimed that he was authorised to "arrest" Ben Barka by a telephone call from the Ministry of the Interior.

He has also claimed that Antoine Lopez, an official of Air France, also under arrest, had told him that senior French officials, including the head of the French Counter-Intelligence Services, knew about the operation.

Souchon and Roger Voitot, another French policeman, have admitted seizing Ben Barka in the street and taking him to a suburban villa belonging to Georges Soucheseiche, a prominent figure in the French underworld.

Souchon has also stated that he told all he knew to a senior French police official on November 3rd. last year, but was not charged until eleven days later.

According to some reports, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was also implicated in the events leading up to the disappearance of the Moroccan opposition leader.

Bonn meanwhile continues its "soft" policy toward ex-Nazis who share responsibility for the deaths of thousands in Hitler's concentration camps.

It is announced in the West German city of Frankfurt that Robert Mulka, who only last August was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment for aiding and abetting in the murder of at least 2,800 inmates of the notorious Auschwitz concentration camp has been released and allowed to return home.

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## The Ben Barka Affair

**WITH** the "suicide" this week of Georges Figon, wanted for his part in the kidnapping and presumed murder of Ben Barka and the replacement of the head of the French Counter-Intelligence Service the affair of the Moroccan socialist opposition leader who disappeared last October has entered a new and still more dramatic stage.

Ben Barka, the 45-year-old leader of the Moroccan National Union of Popular Forces, had been living in exile in France before he was kidnapped in broad daylight on a Cury Paris street.

Efforts have been made (without success) to question the Moroccan Minister of the Interior, General Mohammed Oufkir, and the chief of the Moroccan secret police M. Ahmed Diimi, in connection with the affair.

There have also been allegations that the French police and secret service were in some way implicated in the affair, which has assumed the proportions of a major scandal, with M. Robert Lecanuet a former French Presidential candidate, challenging President de Gaulle and his Minister of the Interior, M. Roger

Frey. Two Paris detectives are under arrest for their part in the kidnapping. One of them Louis Souchon, has claimed that he was authorised to "arrest" Ben Barka by a telephone call from the Ministry of the Interior.

He has also claimed that Antoine Lopez, an official of Air France, also under arrest, had told him that senior French officials, including the head of the French Counter-Intelligence Services, knew about the operation.

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**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The illegal Southern Rhodesian racist regime has announced further drastic cut in the supply of petrol for home consumption.

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**ALGERIA:** The United States will during the next six-months supply Algeria with about 18,000 tons of surplus wheat under an agreement to be concluded in the next few days, an Algerian Foreign Ministry spokesman announced in Algiers today.

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**LIBYA:** A new step to enforce Libya's law to raise government oil revenues has been unanimously approved by the House of Representatives and now goes before the Senate.

**CENTRAFRICA:** The Centrafrican Republic's new government has met for the first time in Bangui under Colonel Bokassa, since the overthrow of the regime of David Dacko this month, and decided to dissolve the National Assembly, abolish the constitution and appoint a financial commission.

\* The Revolutionary Youth Movement of Centrafrica said in its message to Colonel Bokassa that it had long waited for justice to return to the country and pledged to fight with the new President to safeguard national unity.

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This, in the words of the London *Economist*—a paper which is by no means sympathetic to socialist Czechoslovakia—"not only shows an appalling insensitivity to what the Nazis did to the Czechs after 1938. It is also plumb stupid."

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**BASUTOLAND:** A Ministerial delegation from Basutoland, now in London for Financial talks with the British Government has conferred with Lord Longford, Britains new Colonial Secretary.

**GHANA:** Mr. Kwesi Armah, Minister of Trade, speaking at a massive rally of solidarity with the Party at the Ministries today in preparation for Positive Action Day anniversary celebration on Saturday said Positive Action enshrined in Nkrumahism, seeks peace and friendship among all nations of the world.

**January 7:**  
**GHANA:** Mr. John K. Tettegah, Secretary-General of the All-African Trade Union Federation, who is the current Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Organisation vice-chairman for Africa, speaking at the resumed plenary session of the conference, condemned Britain for its handling of Rhodesian rebellion and denounced British trickery at the United Nations in support of Verwoerd racist regime.

\* A generator rotor-unit for the Akosombo Power House was installed today by the Canadian General Electric Company in collaboration with Sadelmi and Company, sub-contractors of the Volta Dam.

**ZIMBABWE:** A Lecturer of Salisbury University today called upon African States to help the Africans in Zimbabwe to get their Freedom as their leaders have been thrown into jail.

**ALGERIA:** Algeria and the Soviet Union have signed an agreement for the construction of twenty-five small and three large dams in Algiers.

**TOGO:** Togolese President Nicolas Grunitzky today reshuffled his cabinet, ejecting four Ministers from their posts and bringing in two.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** A British newspaper, the "Daily Worker" in a new series on "good and bad people" has voted racist Ian Smith the man who illegally seized independence in Southern Rhodesia on November 11, last year as the "racist of the year."

**NIGERIA:** A Ghanaian lorry driver, Jacob Komi Aguedze from Keta, died at the Lagos General Hospital today from gun shot wounds he sustained at Agege, about 20 miles from Lagos on Thursday night, according to an agency report.

**CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE):** President Joseph Mobutu of the Congo (Leopoldville) has appealed to the Governors of the Congo's 21 provinces to work actively for the reconstruction of the country.

\* The United States will spend four million dollars (about 3,360,000 cedis) to aid United Nations projects in the Congo (Leopoldville) this year.

**LIBERIA:** American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Mennen Williams, today left Abidjan for Monrovia, Liberia after having talks with Ivory Coast President, Felix Houphouet-Boigny on the current U.S. peace offensive on Vietnam.

**MALAGASY:** The Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM) Summit Conference, due to be held in Malagasy from January 15-19 has been postponed indefinitely, it is officially announced in Tananarive today.

**DAHOMEY:** The Dahomean Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Emile Derlin Zinsou, left Cotonou today for Paris at the head of a three-man mission to France. Dr. Zinsou said the purpose of the mission, is to make contact with the French Government.

**ZAMBIA:** President Kenneth Kaunda today flew to Kadabwe, 50 miles from Lusaka, to inspect work on Zambia's first coal mine.

**KENYA:** Top top-level Kenya delegation, led by Mr. Tom Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning, begin talks in Moscow today with Soviet Official on economic aid for Kenya.

## Reign of Terror

**PRESIDENT** Sukarno has said that 87,000 people alleged to be Communists or Communist supporters have been murdered in Indonesia in recent months.

This wave of terror followed what was claimed to be a "Communist uprising" against the Sukarno Government in October last year.

But Indonesian Communist Party has been the most consistent supporter of

President Sukarno's anti-imperialist policy, and evidence now points to the fact that the "uprising" has been used as a pretext for Indonesian reactionaries, particularly among the ranks of senior Army officers, who were themselves planning a coup, to launch a reign of terror against progressive elements.

Australian journalist, Wilfred Burchett, an expert on South-East Asian affairs,

## Back to Munich?

**WHILE** protesting their desire for peace and energetically denying any desire for "revenge", West Germany still refuses to recognise Germany's frontiers as laid down at the end of the Second World War.

West German spokesman have many times reiterated their claim that territories now forming part of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union should be returned, and that the frontier which existed in Hitler's day be restored.

West Germany is the only

state which demands a revision of Europe's Postwar frontiers. Such a demand constitutes a constant source of tension and a serious threat to the peace and stability of Europe.

Now four West German lawyers have asserted that the Munich Agreement of 1938, under the terms of which Britain and France delivered up the western regions of Czechoslovakia to Hitler and opened the way for his eventual seizure of the whole of Czechoslovakia, is still valid.

They are in effect claiming

## EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

rivers of Africa, to provide power for industry and modern farming, and water to bring fertility to thirsty lands.

Each will yield great benefits to the countries in which they are situated—but how much more benefit could yield if they had been planned not within the narrow constricting framework of the needs and resources of each individual state, but within the broad framework of an integrated economic plan for the whole of Africa?

It is only through overall economic planning on a united continental basis that Africa will fully realise its economic potential—the potential so vividly illustrated by the Volta River Project.



# What the Volta Dam means to us

By David Buahin

FOR many years, engineering skills have been applied to the utilization of rivers all over the world, changing and enriching the economies of many countries. The Volta offers a large potential of cheap hydro-electric power. In a developing Socialist Ghana today, there is a great pioneering spirit to improve the standards of living and Ghana is determined to lay a sound foundation for our economic development.

Ghana is building new industries, laying new roads and building bridges and bringing new water supplies—some of the essentials needed by a developing country.

The successful utilization of the water of the Volta is a vital element in this pattern of national development.

Kwame Nkrumah and his Government have never wavered in their faith in the Volta River Project.

Several years before political independence was achieved—in fact as long ago as 1952—the Government authorised the construction of a great new port at Tema.

This port is an essential part of the Volta River scheme. Not only will the raw materials needed at the giant valco aluminium smelter be in the early years fed through this port, but the finished products of the smelter—aluminium ingots—will leave Ghana for the world markets from this port.

The port is already in full operation. It is the largest artificial harbour in Africa. Already ten berths have been constructed and two more are being built.

First-class handling equipment, railways, dual-passage road connections and warehouses (including four huge sheds for our national crop, cocoa), have all been provided.

The Valco Aluminium Smelter will be the main user of Akosombo's electricity providing us with much needed foreign currency. But other users are not neglected.

Thus, at Tema itself, the oil refinery, which went on stream in 1963, the steel works, opened in 1965, and all the various light industries which have been established since Tema began to take shape in the 1950's will be joined by new enterprises all thirsty for the cheap and plentiful electricity provided by Akosombo.

The demand elsewhere will grow too. There are the mines, for instance, hitherto dependent on power generated by diesel generating plants which require imported oil.

There are—and will be—many other undertakings scattered throughout the country which will use the power from Akosombo.

Finally, there are the domestic users. Many will be able to draw power direct from the Volta grid. Others will benefit in that diesel generating sets will be freed as more towns are connected to the grid and these sets will be used to supply off-the-grid areas.

The grid is a 500-mile transmission net-work covering Southern Ghana. It, too, represents yet another feat of construction.

Its erection involved clearing 10,000 acres of land. Many trees had to be felled

to eliminate the risk of their falling on the line at some time in the future. Trees were in fact constant challenge to the 1,100 people working on this part of the project.

In some areas, they had to clear as many as 4,000 trees to the mile-trees with diameters of up to 60 feet in butters and 20 feet in trunk.

They also had to build 25 miles of access road, place 7,000 cubic yards of concrete, erect 2,101 steel towers and string 1,850 miles of cable—and most of their work was done in remote and inaccessible country, surrounded by bush and requiring special prefabricated housing.

An important section of the network leads, of course, to the Volta sub-stations (4 lines now, 6 ultimately) at Tema which supplies the Valco Smelter and Tema.

The other section spans the south from Tema to Achimota to Takoradi to Kumasi and back to Akosombo.

Thus, there will be power a plenty for South and ultimately for the rest of Ghana as the country's development plans progress.

But there will be other benefits to come as well.

With careful irrigation, an area of 100,000 acres on the perimeter of the lake will be developed during the next ten

years to feed grains, vegetables, sugar-cane, rice irrigated paddy and many other crops.

The effects would be tremendous for at present Ghana imports C48 million (£20 million) of grain and foodstuffs including C4.8 million (£2 million) of cane sugar.

Again, in navigation there are exciting prospects. At present, 100,000 head of cattle a year trek on the hoof over 400 miles from Tema in the north to Accra-Tema and the resulting losses are very heavy.

But a system of lake transportation using cattle barge or refrigerated carcass transport would eliminate these losses.

In fishing the gains will also be very great. At present, Ghana for all its rivers and coastline, imports about 11,000 tons of tinned and smoked fish.

Expert opinion believes that even at a modest estimate the yield from Lake Volta—the world's largest man-made sea—could be 18,000 tons a year. Other estimates put the total at nearer 40,000 tons.

And finally there are various basic and ancillary industries which can develop on the basis of the project, apart from the Valco Smelter.

These include a 250,000-ton ferro-manganese and iron ore industry, a steel industry using local deposits and scrap, a fertiliser plant, and a caustic soda and chlorine industry.

Ancillary industries include charcoal production, boat-building, salt production and cattle slaughtering.

The lake will also make it possible to improve the water supply to the Accra-Tema area.

Another possibility is the development of the lake as a tourist attraction, with facilities for yachting, camping and other sports.

Clearly, the prospects are great indeed.

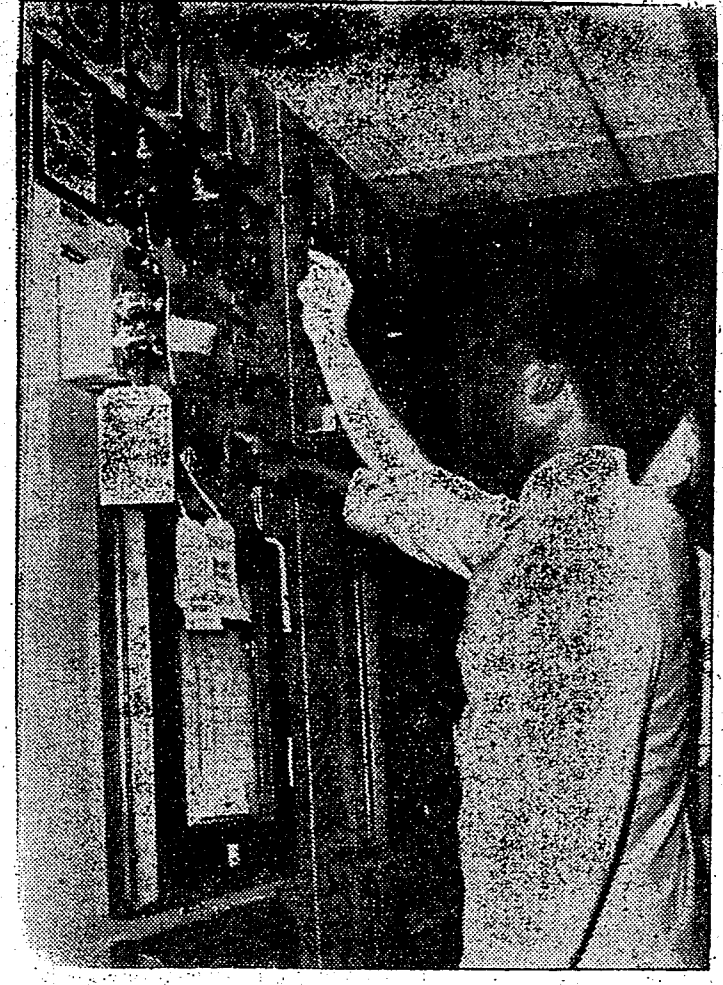
Already, with the production of the first power from Akosombo in September last year Ghana has entered a new era of development and progress.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, the Volta River Project is a "scheme which transcends any political consideration and which is, in the truest sense, an expression of our national unity and of our national purpose and aspiration".

It is already helping Ghana along the road to a richer, more prosperous future.

## Key Dates In The Volta River Project

- 1914: Bauxite first discovered in then Gold Coast now Ghana.
- 1915: Akosombo dam site first noted in geological survey.
- 1925: Publication of official bulletin drawing attention to hydro-electric and aluminium production—potential of Volta River.
- 1939-49: Duncan Rose conducted hydro-electric investigations in association with West African Aluminium Limited.
- 1951: (February) Dr. Kwame Nkrumah invited to form Convention Peoples Party Government. The Election Manifesto promised realisation of Volta River Project.
- 1951: (August) Report published on Volta Basin development potential by Sir William Halcrow and Partners, commissioned (1949) by British and Gold Coast Government.
- 1953: (May) Volta River Project Preparatory Commission established.
- 1956: (January) Report of Preparatory Commission established.
- 1957: (March) Ghana achieved independence.
- 1958: (July) Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and President Eisenhower issued joint statement on Volta River Project.
- 1959: (February) Kaiser re-appraisal report published.
- 1959: (December) Principles of Agreement signed between Volta Aluminium Company Limited and Ghana Government.
- 1960: (July) Ghana became a republic.
- 1961: (April) Volta River Authority established.
- 1961: (December) United States Government announced financial participation in Volta River Project.
- 1962: (January) Master Agreement between Ghana Government and Kaiser signed in Accra.
- 1962: (January) Formal start of work on the Project inaugurated by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.
- 1962: (February) Financial agreements signed in Washington.
- 1962: (June) Diversion tunnel opened.
- 1963: (February) Cofferdams completed.
- 1963: (July) Resettlement of 80,000 people started.
- 1963: (September) Peak floods recorded.
- 1964: (May) Diversion tunnel closed and lake formation started.
- 1964: (December) Ground-breaking ceremony at Valco Smelter, Tema.
- 1965: (February) Ceremony to mark formal completion of dam.
- 1965: (September) Formal switch-on by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to mark first Akosombo electric power generated on commercial basis.



Kwame Nkrumah switching a knob to start the first Generator at Akosombo Power Station 17-9-65

## AFRICA'S OTHER PROJECTS

HYDRO-electric power accounts for just under 8 per cent of the world primary supply of energy for commercial sources.

But Africa, with 28 per cent of the world's resources of water power, has 1 per cent of the total installed hydro-electric power in the world; roughly 88 per cent of the electricity produced in Africa is still produced thermally.

Owing to the difficulties and cost of long distance transmission, electricity must still be consumed in the general area where it is produced.

Africa is fortunate to have rich water power resources.

The following are the major hydro-electric stations and development schemes proposed and under construction:

The building of dams in Africa has been connected with superstitious beliefs which some claim have proved well-founded.

During the building of Kariba it was said by some that the river gods of the Zambezi would muster all their forces to thwart the plans.

Their prophecy proved correct. In March, 1957 the river rose to the highest level ever recorded and over-topped the first coffer dam within which work was in progress on the dam's foundations.

Fortunately no serious damage was done when the water subsided and little time was lost.

During the initial stages of the building of the Volta Dam

Dam	Country
Bin-el Ouidane	Morocco
Nebeur	Tunisia
Konkoure	Guinea
Volta	Ghana
Niger	Nigeria
Edea	Rep. of Cameroun
Kouilou	Rep. of Congo (Fr.)
Leopoldville	Congo
Inga	Angola
Kariba	Rhodesia-Zambia
Koko	Ethiopia
Aswan High Dam	U.A.R.
Owen Falls	Uganda
Le Marinel	Congo
The Roseires	Sudan

Built on the Zambezi River on the border between Rhodesia and Zambia, for whose Copperbelt it is the main source of power, the Kariba Dam is today a focal point in the struggle against the racist Ian Smith.

Taking advantage of the fact that the underground power station is on the Rhodesian side of the river, Ian Smith is using the threat to cut off power to the Copperbelt as a bargaining counter in his attempts to resist sanctions.

The decision to build a power station at the Kariba Gorge was made in 1955 by the then Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with the main contract being awarded to an Italian consortium.

After the dissolution of the Federation, responsibility for the operation of the power station was vested in the Central African Power Corporation, responsible to the governments of Zambia and Rhodesia.

and the Aswan High Dam similar incidents occurred, also with no serious consequences. Scientifically, they may be due to the fact that during construction of dams on rivers in humid regions, unprecedented runoffs occur.

Or the blasting which is necessary in the construction of great dams may produce nuclei in the atmosphere which facilitate the formation of raindrops and hence precipitation.

As this monumental projects one after another reach completion the people of Africa can look forward to the future with hope, whilst reflecting on the achievements of the past with justifiable pride.

They see too that the building of these projects would be facilitated and their benefits better distributed if Africa were united, and the developments of its resources planned on a continental basis.

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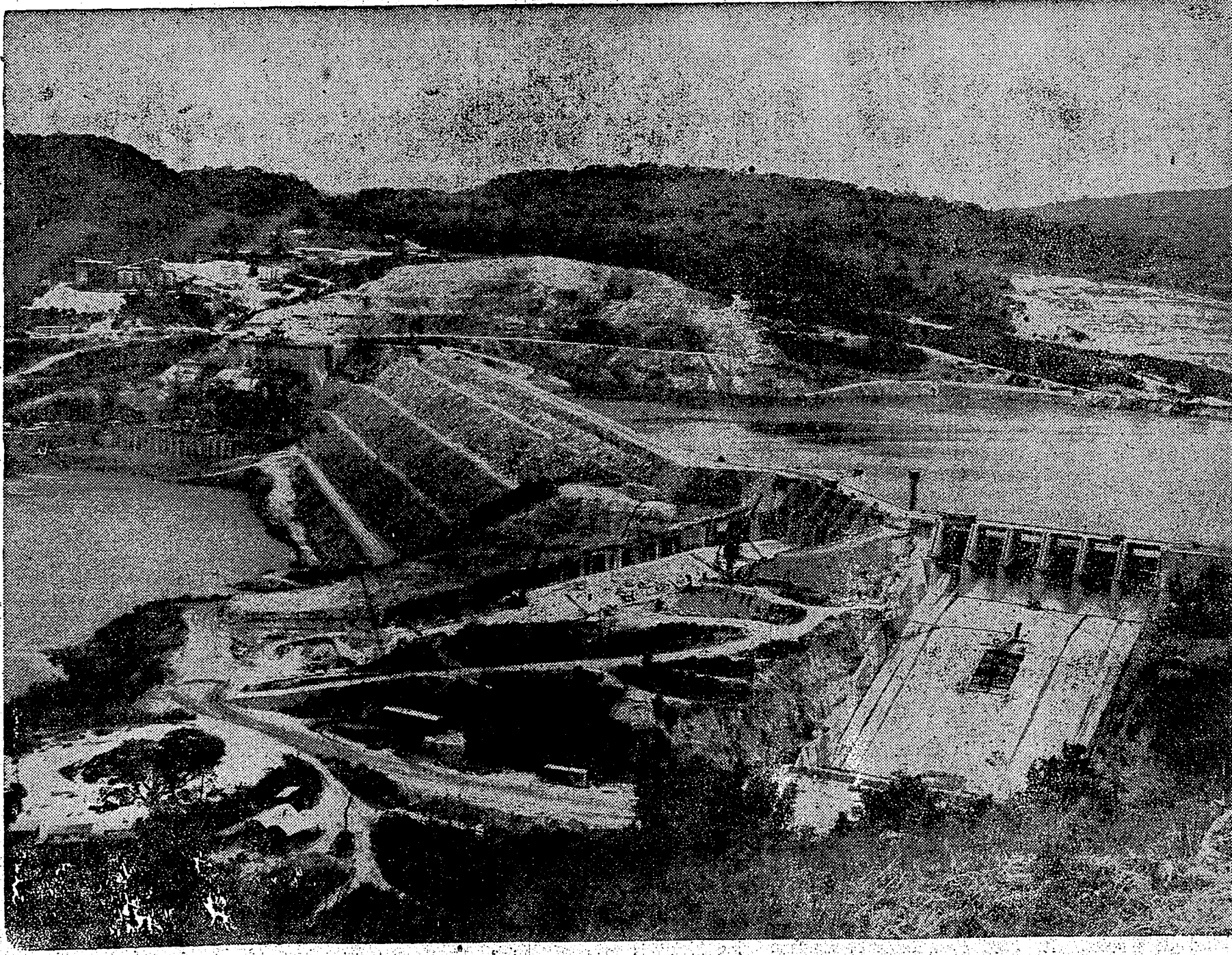
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The completed main dam with the Power House in the foreground and the mighty Volta in the background.

imperfect in original



# THE CRISIS IN STERLING

In this exclusive article, a Spark Special Correspondent examines the crisis confronting Britain as the centre of the Sterling Area, and points the way forward.

BRITAIN has long been losing ground in the struggle between the great capitalist powers. The Conservative government which presided over the last stages of the decline proved quite incapable of arresting it. A series of cycles set in, each of which left the economy weaker than the last.

In 1964 the growth rate fell to 2 per cent and a huge deficit began to build up both on capital and on current account. There was a disastrous influx of imports—not merely stocks, but semi-manufactured and even finished goods—and exports signally failed to improve.

It was thought by many observers that the Labour regime elected in October would seek to re-invigorate the economy in alliance with the "growth sectors" of industrial capitalism, in contrast with the discredited Conservative policy of alliance with the City, the stronghold of finance capital.

The Labour left was warned to be on its guard against capitulation to the interests of growth industry; it was feared that the Labour government would only put through measures designed to rationalize and modernize the capitalist economy and then stop short.

In fact, the capitulation has been much more drastic than that. The Labour government, it now seems, is not even going to pursue its target of four per cent growth. It has capitulated to the City and to the international bankers. The stability of the world monetary system and the place of sterling in it are to have priority over any other objectives.

The Sterling Area is, of course, nothing else than the modern and morbid form of the old British Empire. It is the profane substructure for the sacred and holy superstructure of the Commonwealth.

It is to save the Sterling Area that British troops are fighting in South Arabia and Borneo and Buccaneer planes are sent to South Africa. Every time a Radfan tribesman is shot or a Singapore student imprisoned, sterling is a little safer.

The defence of the Sterling Area means that Britain must keep its grasp over its three richest assets: Malayan tin, Middle Eastern oil and South African gold.

Yet, despite all these riches, the Sterling Area is also a great handicap to Britain. It must be constantly defended, both on the battlefield and in the money-market.

And its nucleus and treasure-house, the City, embodies in itself attitudes, habits and priorities which weaken the domestic economic growth of Britain itself. Resources which might be devoted to domestic investment in productive and profitable industries have to be diverted in order to meet Britain's world-wide obligations, to pay for imperialist wars and so on.

Britain's status as a banking nation means that, according to the present system of international finance, a run on the pound can quickly mean the collapse of everything.

At the same time, industrial capital has to contend with the backwash of the more or less unpredictable flows of money from country to country and currency to currency and with any number of ad hoc measures and regulators designed to cope with the disequilibria of these movements.

It is no surprise that British capitalism is in a state of crisis and riven by contradictions. As soon as the Labour Government came into office, it was faced with the need to make immediate, grave decisions. Reserves were low and the trade balance was very unfavourable.

Moreover, the very fact of a Labour Government aggravated the situation. Many people, afraid that the new government might bring in various anti-capitalist measures, thought it wiser to move their money elsewhere. Others speculated that the

pound would be devalued. And others felt that a catastrophe, if it could be threatened, might destroy the Labour Government and lead to the return of the Conservative to power.

Consequently, it was imperative that the Labour regime should act decisively to correct the situation and to prevent sabotage. Before considering what they actually did, it is worth recapitulating some of the various courses open to them.

**1. DEVALUATION:** This is the solution preferred by certain groups in growth industry and by a few left-wing economists. It has the effect of discouraging imports and promoting exports; it also means a rise in the cost of living and a depression of real wages. It implies definite short-term discrimination against the working class.

At the same time, however, devaluation is opened by the City, whose income derives directly from sterling. In this instance, it was also strongly opposed by the United States, who feared repercussions on the dollar. On the whole, international bankers dislike devaluation because they prefer stable, rigid rates.

Devaluation is politically damaging in Britain because it is felt by many that the integrity of sterling is symbolic of Britain's greatness; this kind of chauvinism is deep-rooted in all classes. Finally, devaluation discriminates against other countries which hold sterling—both richer countries, such as Australia, and poorer ones, say, in Africa—and hence threatens the existence of the Sterling Area by making other countries less willing to hold sterling, for fear that their assets will be depreciated quite out of their control.

**2. DISGUISED DEVALUATION:** In its most obvious form, this means import surcharges plus export subsidies. However, this method is frowned on by all the various international trade organizations (export subsidies are considered particularly reprehensible; they often amount to dumping) and would sooner or later invite reprisals. They are therefore short-term measures.

On the other hand, there are a number of possible schemes for doing much the same thing in a more sophisticated way, so that you cannot be accused point-blank. These include, for instance, waiving a turnover tax on exports, auctioning import licences etc.

These more sophisticated schemes are evidently administratively complex; they could not be applied overnight and their effect would not be very rapid or very calculable. They are favoured, however, by groups in growth industry who are aware of the political and international arguments against devaluation.

**3. DEFLATION:** Deflation is the policy carried out by previous Conservative governments on the recommendation of City and Treasury opinion. The measures traditionally applied are to raise the bank-rate, restrict credit, step up taxes on petrol or tobacco which are used as fiscal regulators, raise the level of unemployment.

It has been effectively demonstrated that these methods do not work in Britain; they have brought nothing but stagnancy. Moreover, they have meant constant assaults on the working class standard of living.

The Labour Party campaigned hard against these stop-go cycles during the election. However, deflation remains the favourite remedy of conservative economists, especially bankers, everywhere.

**4. BORROWING:** This again is evidently a short-

term measure; it does nothing to put right fundamental weakness. There are two main sources from which Britain can borrow. First, from the International Monetary Fund, which was originally dominated by the U.S.A. but is now, since the appearance of the American payments deficit and the formation of the "Paris Club", the arena for a deepening struggle over control between the U.S.A. and the Common Market countries, led by France, second, from the Central Banks of other countries.

The machinery for loans between Britain and the U.S.A. is comparatively advanced because of the mutual interest each has in sharing up the other's currency. Evidently, the more that is borrowed, whether in supplementary tranches from the I.M.F. or in direct Central Bank loans, the greater will be the insistence of creditors on control and surveillance of the debtor's economy.

**5. CONTROLS:** Physical controls over capital movements would need to be total and stringent. There would inevitably be a frantic search for loopholes, through Hongkong, through spreading insurance risks, etc. Controls would undoubtedly be the most radical measure envisaged and would involve major social and economic transformations. They would create outright hostility between the government and very many capitalist interests; a freeze-up in private investment, for example, would have to be met by increased public investment. Controls would also undermine the Sterling Area even more seriously than devaluation; they could well lead to its disintegration. Those countries who could no longer withdraw their assets from London would not be inclined to send any more there.

One unfortunate side-effect would be the damage done to the development plans of many of the countries banking in London. They would have to be compensated by, for instance, vastly increased aid.

Of course, very mild controls are advocated by some capitalist interests. Even the U.S.A. has retreated a little from convertibility with its Interest Equalization Tax and it also uses techniques such as computer stock control.

But fiscal measures and indicative planning of this kind are only very marginal; only physical controls could be expected to have a major effect. Evidently, these are stern measures; import and exchange controls have to be enforced without fear or favour. It must be said that it is quite possible that various groups in the Labour Party would not be able to stomach them and might even bring down their own government.

It is clear that the decisions facing the Labour Government were not easy; a lot of evidence suggest that Harold Wilson himself, an able economist with a strong sense of political realism, failed to appreciate how difficult they were. The crisis, developed at an accelerating rate. It was met in six principal ways, (not in precise chronological order).

**1. Credit from the I.M.F.** This was a routine drawing on immediately available credit. It did not indicate what the main lines of the new government's policy would be. It did, however, reveal the strong position of the "Paris Club" vis-à-vis the IMF.

**2. 15 per cent import surcharge and slight export rebate.** This was as far as the government dared go towards a disguised devaluation. It

had two unfortunate effects. First, the emphasis given on the import surcharge gave it a deflationary effect, drawing off money to the treasury and raising the cost of living. Second, it discriminated against those countries who could not find alternative markets or were particularly dependent on Britain.

Had Britain devalued, they would have devalued too, and thus neutralized the effect. But there was no point in their following suit with import surcharges.

**3. Emergency budget.** The November budget had four main planks, but three of them were not to become effective and until April, the next year.

(a) An immediate sixpence a gallon on petrol tax. This was a classic deflationary use of a fiscal regulator.

(b) A deferred sixpence rise of the standard rate of income tax. The effect of this was to make the tax system more progressive and reverse the anti-egalitarian trend set in motion by the Conservatives.

(c) Unspecified pensions next April, to be paid for by increased National Insurance contributions and the tax rise. The delay of the pensions increase was clearly designed as a sop to deflationary pressures.

(d) Unspecified corporations tax and capital gains, tax proposals, deferred till next April. These, along with the redistributive tax and pensions proposals, were interpreted by hostile capitalist opinion as an irresponsible attack on profits, dividends, etc.

All in all, the budget was both deflationary and redistributive. The Chancellor seems to have hoped he would thus satisfy everybody; in fact, he angered everybody. The left complained about the deflationary postponement of pensions rises; the right objected to the enlargement of the Welfare State in times of crisis.

It is always the habit of capitalists to interpret a crisis as showing, not their inadequacy, but the need to wipe back their confidence by guaranteeing them better profits.

**4. Hints and rumours.** Throughout the crisis, the government aware of the psychological aspects of economic behaviour, tried to create a favourable atmosphere, in which everyone would think well of them.

They did this by making imprecise statements, in the hope that they would be taken optimistically by all concerned. False hopes. The government was forced to pay the price for mystifying instead of clarifying consciousness. The City had to be reassured that there was nothing to fear from the new profits tax, West Germany that the Army of the Rhine was not going to be cut, E.F.T.A. that the import surcharges would soon be removed.

But these open disclaimers disturbed opinion even more than the original subterranean rumours. Worst of all, the Labour Government made no attempt to explain its decisions to its own supporters; it could not—it already half-knew that it would capitulate. Yet, by this clouding of issues, it in fact made capitulation certain.

**5. Two per cent rise in bank-rate.** Late in the day, the bank-rate went up. This was the government's first acknowledgement that there was a crisis in the capital account. Government spokesmen were at pains to point out that a bank-rate rise was not necessarily deflationary; there was talk about a two-tier interest system.

In reality, in such a situation, a 2 per cent rise is deflationary; this was later underlined by a Bank of England

letter about credit selectivity. However, here again, the Labour Government became the victim of its own mystification.

It was in fact, albeit grudgingly, putting through a deflationary policy under pressure. But because it put it through in fits and starts, denying all the time what it was doing (and many spokesmen probably sincerely believed their own denials), it failed to satisfy those who were putting on the pressure; at the same time, it demobilized those whose support might have made it possible to resist by refusing to put the alternatives clearly.

**6. Massive borrowings.** Even after the bank-rate rise the situation deteriorated. Attempts to stem the flow out of sterling by buying sterling with gold merely depleted the gold reserves. Finally, the government was forced to borrow £1,000 million. Nearly all this came from Central Banks, in eleven countries.

A leading part in arranging the loans was played by the U.S.A. which also made the largest contribution. The Labour Government refused to allow formal surveillance of the economy as a *quid pro quo* for the loans; however, it is quite clear that informal pressure was and is very strong. The loans are only short-term; the very fact that the problem of their renewal is thus posed, will obviously carry weight.

However, the issue is blurred by the rivalry between the U.S.A. and the Common Market. The physicians who saved the Sick Man of Europe did so because they were afraid the convulsions of his death might bring them all down. Meanwhile, they will continue to fight over his inheritance.

All this will not make Britain healthy, but it will give a little breathing-space until either the U.S.A. or Europe feels strong enough to make an outright challenge.

The policy of the Labour Government is one of close alliance and a special relationship with Washington; this may enable them to resist direct economic pressures from Europe. On the other hand, it will certainly mean political concessions to the U.S.A.; Ascension Island was just a foretaste.

Thus the Labour Government, ably assisted by the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve Board, checked the run on the pound. It was a famous victory. *The Economist* described it as "a prime minister's prostration" and spoke of the Labour Government as "obliged last week virtually to hand over the management to Lord Cromer" at the Bank of England. Harold Wilson was dubbed "Lord Cromer's poodle".

Meanwhile readers of *Tribune*, the traditional organ of the Labour left, were assured that "the whole massive operation was conducted with quite extraordinary speed, skill and toughness by the Prime Minister and his colleagues", speculators had been "given a beating" and foreign bankers had shown "a much more sensible approach" than in the past.

Indeed, the foreign bankers were all but paving the path to socialism. The British left never seems to learn. Only half way through the Labour Government's glorious first hundred days, it had instituted a deflationary policy, it had abandoned its cherished 4 per cent growth rate, it had postponed welfare expenditure, it had asserted its devotion to imperialism "east of Suez" and it had truckled to the City, the White House, NATO etc., etc.

What lessons can be drawn?

**1. The Sterling Area must be dismantled.** To persist in a policy of keeping sterling "riding high" is to persist in a

policy of imperialism. The struggle for financial supremacy merely reflects the imperialist struggle for world domination.

The pathetic pride of the Labour Government in having saved sterling is nothing less than pride at having been granted a further lease of life to ravage and exploit the world.

The Labour left seems hopelessly confused about this. Thus Michael Foot writes in *Tribune* that "the various governments, headed by the United States"—that is, the governments of the principal imperialist powers—who saved "the purchasing power of sterling", acted with a "sense of international responsibility".

The plain fact is that the only socialist way to prevent collapse was to impose controls, imperative planning and public investment. The Labour Government made no steps in these directions at all.

It merely profited from the imperialists' "sense of international responsibility" in order to continue as an imperialist power in its own right and to play its modest part, by saving sterling, in saving capitalism.

**2. There is no easy way out through international monetary reform.** The various plans to create a new world monetary system merely reflect the crisis in the present system and the need felt by the imperialist powers to carry on their struggle at a new level.

Yet readers of *Tribune* are told by Peter Shore, that "the past week has seen a major development towards sanity in international currency arrangements. The swift mobilization of a thousand million pounds to crush speculation against the £ is an experience which can and will be repeated to protect other currencies against similar speculative raids in the future. Indeed, it has opened up for the first time in many years the real possibility of making major reforms in our unstable international payments system."

It is difficult to imagine a more euphoric celebration of the power of international capitalism, culminating—as a socialist to socialist—with its final grovelling "our".

What Shore is doing is to accept without question the view of an increasing number of bourgeois economists that world capitalism is suffering from a liquidity shortage problem, which explains its disequilibria.

For these economists increased world liquidity has become the magic charm which entry into the Common Market used to be: the supernatural agency which will save sterling for good and remove the danger of another unpleasant crisis.

The same views are also gaining ground in the U.S.A., which is also suffering from a payments deficit, though not nearly so gravely as Britain. What Shore hopes, evidently, is that the narrow escape, not only of the pound, but also of the dollar, will lead the U.S. government to throw its whole weight behind the demand for world monetary reform.

But what kind of reform? Ideas differ. At the O.E.C.D. conference, shortly after the crisis, France pointed out that it was quite willing to relieve Britain of some of "the burden of sterling"; its own projected Composite Reserve Unit currency would do just that, absorbing the old key-currencies into a new unit embodying a high degree of European control and backing.

The Americans, on the other hand, envisage a kind of super-IM.F. issuing a kind of super-dollar.

Broadly speaking, as *The Economist* points out, the proposals are similar: "the real issue is that of control".

At any rate, the crisis can be expected to deepen, since the present efforts of the U.S.A. to end its deficit and draw dollars back home will in fact mean less liquidity.

Thus the U.S.A., by trying to solve the crisis on its own terms can only succeed in

making it worse. The dog-fights will get more vicious.

It is clear that any socialist government must insist on discussing these liquidity problems, not in a purely technical sense, but in the context of the distribution of world trade, as broached at the Geneva conference, either in 1964.

The issue at stake is not merely that of putting through a reform in the teeth of conservative bankers, opposition but of what the reform ought precisely to be. And, of course who will have the power over any possible international credit institution, how its reserves will be provided, to whom it will issue credit, etc.

What threatens is the emergence of an institution with financial power on an unprecedented scale; this cannot be welcomed indiscriminately.

It is quite possible that contradictions among the great capitalist powers will in fact prevent such an institution being created; in that case we must be prepared for much sharper struggles between these powers, using monetary instruments as major weapons.

It is doubtful whether sterling could survive such struggles independently; the signs seem to show that it would be absorbed by the dollar or else would completely collapse. There is scant indication that the British left is as yet beginning to face these problems.

**3. Withdrawal of sterling from the key-currency system and demobilization of the Sterling Area would mean radical transformation at home.** British capitalism is by now so intimately linked with the international capitalist system, that an assault on one necessarily means an assault on the other. The way forward for socialists can be deciphered. But it will involve a long step-by-step process of building consciousness.

By now the British working class and even Labour Party left militants are so thoroughly confused and mystified that there can be little hope of any immediate advance.

But it must be made quite plain that the Labour Government has capitulated, that it is deflating, and that this is the direct result of its determination to save the Sterling Area and remain a world imperialist power.

The working class must not be sidetracked into wasting its energies on peripheral disputes, set in a context which it does not fully understand. In particular, close scrutiny must be made of four of the Labour Government's stated next objectives.

**1. Incomes policy.** This must not be, in any form or on any pretext, a disguised and classically deflationary wage-freeze, pay-pause and so forth.

**2. Cutting foreign expenditure.** This should include ending the wars in Malaysia and South Arabia and demobilizing Britain's world-wide system of bases. It should also include disengagement in Central Europe.

**3. Re-deploying manpower.** "Is it deflation if we reduce demand to help us re-deploy our manpower and use it as efficiently as other nations use theirs? (How do we move people from job to job in a blown-up economy, given a free society?)" Thus the *Financial Times*: a warning in itself.

**4. Encouraging exports.** Socialists must insist that this is done through imperative planning and public investment rather than by private investment, subsidized by the government through incentive schemes and financed out of private profit.

Above all, socialists in Britain must prepare a long-term strategy; they must not entertain futile hopes of quick success. And they must remember that though it is easier to blackmail the left than the right the fear of a Conservative government, the left must not perpetually allow itself to be blackmailed. Above all it must not let itself be demobilized at the same time.



# Focus on Ghana T.U.C.

by KWAH AMPAH

(Secretary-General of Ghana T.U.C.)

**THE Ghana Labour Movement**, like its counterparts in countries with a colonial past, had a Trade Union pattern which was initially based on that of the metropolitan country—Britain. This old colonial structure bred divisions and conflicts among the workers instead of forging that unity which is the best weapon that can be used to obtain the economic and social demands of the working people and which is also the surest guarantee of all working class victories.

For example, the old labour code allowed any five people in a factory, a workshop or an office to form a trade union and further permitted more than one trade union to exist in one office or workshop.

This policy led to the growth of numerous trade unions whose lack of a systematic and co-ordinated character in policy and methods, enabled the capitalists to subject the workers to considerable exploitation.

Thus, in effect, the old pattern tended to be a detriment to, rather than a promoter of, the welfare of the workers which is the supreme concern or task of any well-meaning trade union movement.

The important and invaluable role which the workers of Ghana played in the hectic struggle for national independence and their increasing indispensability in the socialist reconstruction of the country made it incumbent, after the attainment of independence, to evolve a new trade union structure which not only suited local labour, employment and working conditions but also paid close and careful attention to the interests and welfare of the working people of Ghana.

The Party gave this new structure a legal personality by the enactment of the Industrial Relations Act of 1958. This Act equipped the Trade Union Movement for the heroic struggle before it—the struggle for national reconstruction.

The Act safeguarded the Ghana Labour Movement from the capitalist employers who were prepared to use any tactics at their disposal to disrupt the constructive efforts of the workers.

While it helped to infuse greater administrative and organisational efficiency it also helped to strengthen the National Unions financially and to enable them to cater reasonably well for the interests of their members.

The Act cut down the number of "house" unions from over 80 to twenty-four national unions in 1959, further reduced to sixteen in 1960 and finally pruned down to the present number of ten in June, 1965.

The new structure obviously engenders dynamism in the Trade Union Movement and allows the efficient mobilisation of the numerous workers into a unified body that can cope with the economic, social and political problems of the country and also be able to resist the temptations and intrigues of capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The supreme authority of the organisation is the Congress of Delegates convened from time to time in accordance with the Constitution, Rules and Bye-laws of the Trades Union Congress. It governs the interpretation of the constitution and the determination of the programme and policy of this organisation unless otherwise stated in the constitution.

During the period between the convening of the Congress of Delegates the Executive Board, made of a Chairman, the Secretary-General, Heads of Departments, the ten General-Secretaries of the national unions and nine Regional Secretaries, takes over the government and functions of the Trades Union Congress subject certain provisions in the constitution.

The Executive Board, which meets at least once in a quarter, transacts all business between Congresses, considers reports of the Secretariat Bureau, and of such committees

and bodies that may be appointed by the Congress of Delegates or the Executive Board.

The Board also, in accordance with certain Articles of the Constitution, reviews from time to time, developments in the relations between National Unions and employers, between the T.U.C. and Employers' Organisations, and gives assistance in collective bargaining etc., to National Unions.

The Secretariat Bureau is composed of the Secretary-General, Heads of Departments and the General-Secretaries of the ten National Unions.

It exercises such powers as are vested in the Executive Board as the Board may delegate to it and is, subject to the authority and directions of the Executive Board, responsible for the day to day administration of Congress.

There are, at the moment, six specialised departments which are established under the Secretariat Bureau. They are:—

- (a) Administration
- (b) International Department
- (c) Industrial Relations Department
- (d) Finance and Accounts Department
- (e) Education and Publicity Department
- (f) Research and Economic Department.

It is expected, as time goes on that other specialised departments (e.g. a Legal Department) will be added.

The Ghana Trades Union Congress is composed of ten National Industrial Unions which cater for the varied interests and problems of the workers employed in all sectors of the country's economy. At the moment the National Unions have an overall membership strength of 386,754.

Below are the National Unions and their memberships:—

i) Agricultural Workers Union	44,085
ii) Construction and Woodworkers Union	80,000
iii) Health Workers Union	10,197
iv) Industrial, Commercial and Workers Union	80,000
v) Mine Workers Union	25,319
vi) Municipal and Local Government Workers Union	30,091
vii) Post Transport and Maritime and Workers Union	74,000
viii) Railway and Harbour Workers Union	14,476
ix) Public Services Union	37,886
x) Teachers and Educational Workers Union	10,700

Each National Union has an elected General Secretary who, with the assistance of other officials, runs the affairs of the National Unions subject to the policies laid down by the Executive Board. At the base of the structure of the T.U.C. are the Regional and District Councils of Labour. These Regional and District Councils of Labour are expected to promote the co-ordination of the activities of any of the branches of the ten National Unions in the regions and districts, to help promote suitable educational, social and sports facilities for workers and to print or publish newspapers, journals and pamphlets in furtherance of Trade Unionism.

It is a cardinal truth that industrial peace is a pre-con-

dition for favourable economic growth. And it is also accepted that there cannot be industrial peace without collective agreements which set out the code of behaviour of both employers and the employees in industry.

Our trade unions, immediately after the enactment of the Industrial Relations Act, started negotiations with the various employers for Collective Agreements which up to that time were non-existent.

Many of our Unions, especially those in the private sector concluded these agreements. These Collective Agreements provided for fringe benefits like maternity leave, annual leave, compassionate leave, and of service benefits, revised salary scales with annual increments, recognition for our shop stewards as direct representatives of the Unions in the workshops and factories, bonuses, etc.

Although some of these negotiations were protracted and ended in arbitration, on the whole they were all successful despite the provocative attitude of some employers who hoped to incite our members to mount strikes and demonstrations. These successes were only the beginning.

The launching of the Seven-

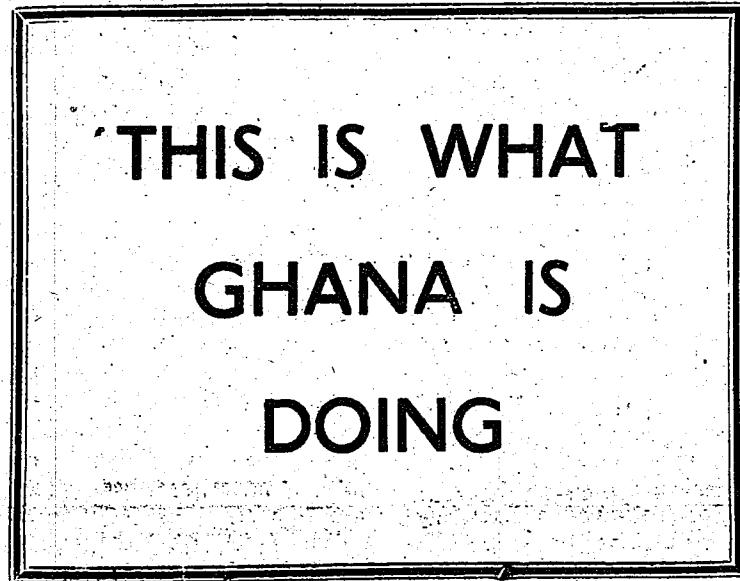
ment and increase in productivity, we are called upon to develop the productive forces in our society and raise productivity of labour.

This will eventually lead to the improvement in the living conditions of our working people.

For our workers to work harder, to increase their skill and to produce more, we need to educate them, both ideologically and technically.

In co-operation with the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and other agencies of the Party responsible for ideological education, the Ghana T.U.C. is embarking on an extensive ideological education of the rank and file in order to arouse their political consciousness towards the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the targets of the Plan.

Our Training Co-ordinators appointed recently are charged with the responsibility of organising seminars and week-end schools where the targets of the Plan and the responsibilities of the working people towards national reconstruction are explained.



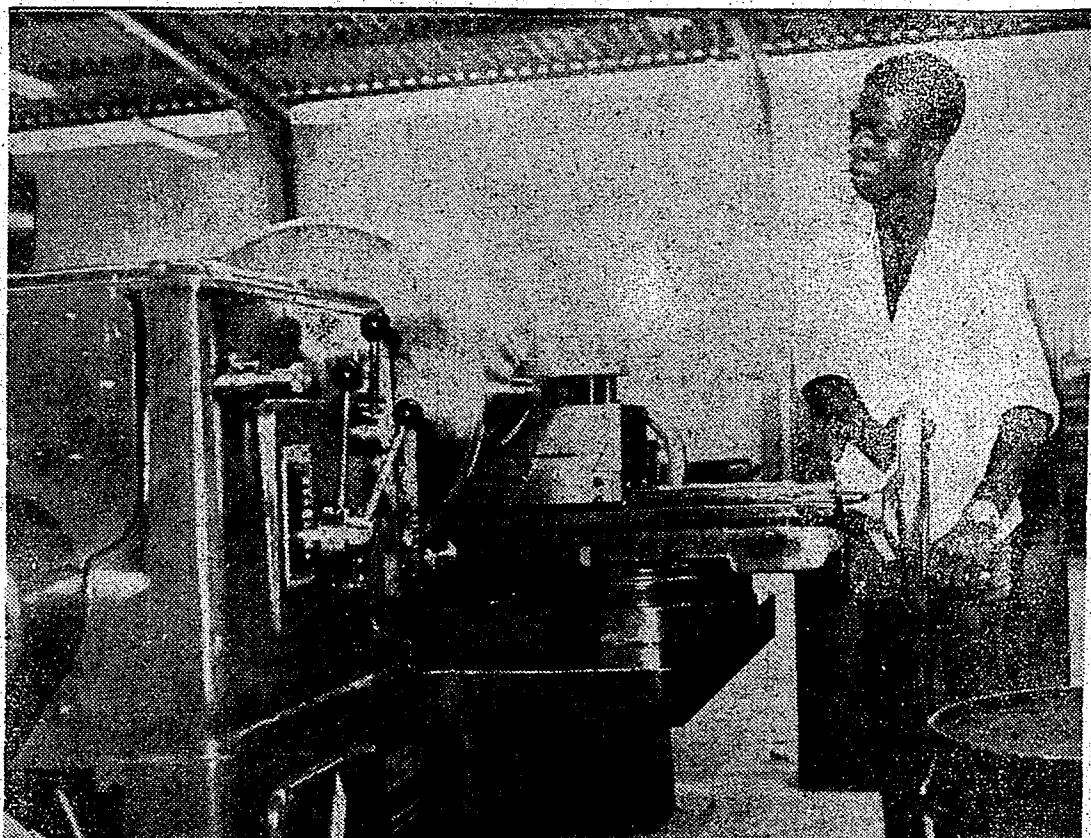
Also they teach the general principles of scientific socialism and other related subjects.

These local representatives organise local mid-day break meetings in their factories, workshops, etc., under the supervision of their National Unions and explain policy to the rank and file membership.

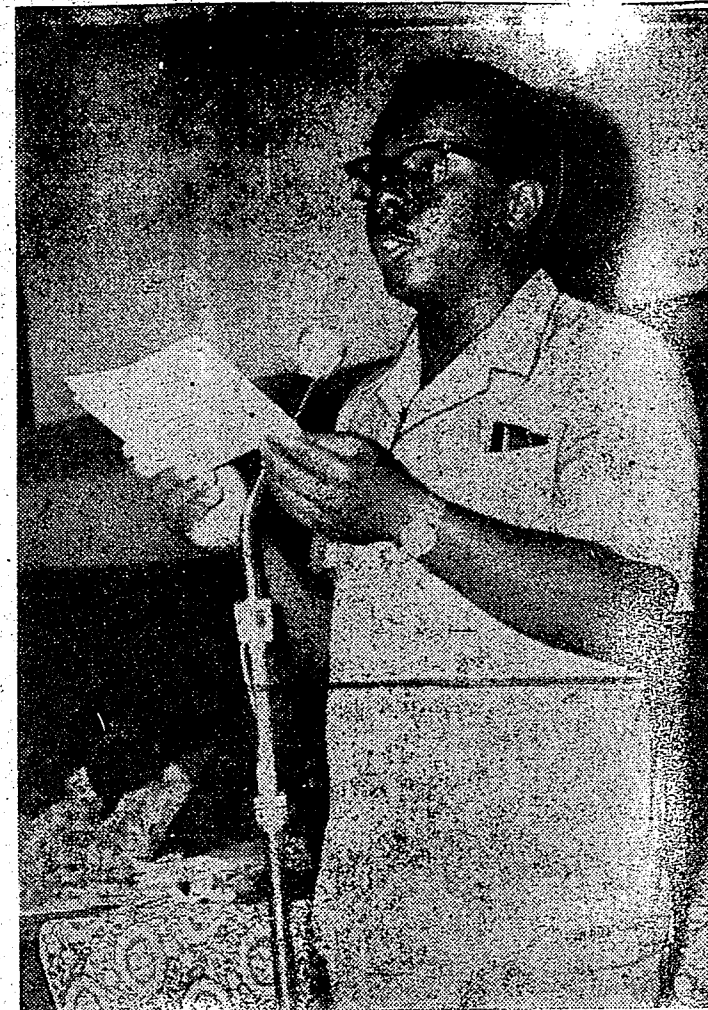
The aim of this programme is to mobilise the working people at the factory level solidly behind the Party for the achievement of national goals.

We believe that it is only through this that the working people will be made aware of their responsibilities to our national aim and enthusiastically increase the productivity which we need so much if our revolution is to succeed.

Increased productivity presupposes advanced technical equipment, and modern skills in management and supervision. If we are to modernise our agriculture and industry, then the workers who will work with these machines will have to be trained to acquire the necessary skills needed for the operation of these modern machines.



"If we are to modernise our agriculture and industry, then the workers who will work with these machines will have to be trained to acquire the necessary skills needed for the operation of these modern machines."



as Collective targets, would mobilise all the actual and potential powers of the enterprise.

They will discuss and examine all factors relating to or affecting production in the factory, e.g. raw materials, industrial relations, marketing, sales, repairs, etc.

They will also organise, jointly with managements, socialist emulation, sum up results, determine winners and outstanding workers, institute competition among workers and award trophies.

It will be the duty of these Committees to supervise the introduction of agreed variations, technical improvements and rationalisation proposals ensuring that the workers are always brought into consultation at every stage.

The Trade Union representatives on the Committee must concern themselves with more effective work, e.g. elimination of waste, careful maintenance

The Party is the core of our national revolution. As a mass Party, it embraces workers, farmers, intellectuals, etc., for the all-round political, economic and social struggle.

The Trade Union Movement as an integral wing has a specific role to play, the role of organising the workers at the point of production, i.e. in his workshop factory level. It is through this role that the Party strengthens its links with the workers and wins respect from them.

Hence it is important for the link between the labour movement and the Party to be firm. Since the T.U.C. organises the most advanced section of the people, it becomes a vital wing of the Party with special responsibilities and opportunities due to the character of those it organises.

The leadership of the T.U.C. must, therefore, enjoy the confidence of the workers and it



Women are playing an increasing role in industry, and they must be encouraged to take their due place in the trade union movement. Special attention must be paid to the protection of their right and conditions.

of collective amenities, such as canteen with cheaper i.e. subsidised meals, club facilities, housing schemes with houses allocated to workers on priority related to efficiency in production.

Achievements in increased production, when given adequate publicity, will spark enthusiasm in the working people and they will give willingly their best by changed spirit and attitude amongst them bringing better forces of leadership into play.

The Ghana T.U.C. is, in consultation with the State Enterprises Secretariat and the National Productivity Centre working for the establishment of Joint Production Committees comprising representatives from Managements, the Party branch in the factory and elected representative of the Local Trade Unions.

The work of these Committees would be directed towards the achievements of targets of the Seven-Year Development Plan and subsequent plans.

These Committees, through careful planning, discussion and through encouraging the release of initiative by utilising suggestions from workers on the job and personal as well

of machines (incentives must be given for the best kept machine) and maximum use of machinery for achieving efficiency and the inventing of more rational methods of production.

By reporting regularly to the workers with frank discussions and the acceptance of suggestions from the workers, these Committees will be achieving a development of democracy and this will lead to arousing the sense of responsibility and efforts of workers. It will also achieve Discipline, Devotion and Ideological Unity.

The Ghana Trades Union Movement, like all other organisations of its nature, is a social organisation; it does not exist in isolation, it must exist taking cognisance of the society in which it operates.

It is therefore necessary for the Ghana T.U.C. to re-examine itself at every stage of our revolution and adjust its structure to suit the demands of the revolution.

The present stage of our revolution requires national unity on all fronts. It is therefore necessary that the link between the Ghana T.U.C. and our National Party, the C.P.P. should be strengthened.

must be constantly judged and assessed by the masses who can soon sense when the leadership is growing out of touch with them. In order to achieve this, the following rules now operate:

- i. Regular branch meetings must be held and conducted in a businesslike manner.
- ii. Regular reports of activities must be submitted to the members for their information and consideration.
- iii. Regular election of officials must take place at all levels with all members having equal rights and duties.
- iv. Special efforts must be made to involve every member in the meetings of the branch and in its activities. Its meetings must be varied, dealing with not only day-to-day organisation, but including educational, political and cultural questions relating to the members and their families.
- v. There should be promo-

Continued on page 6



# How the White Settler State began

*An illegal State founded on theft, murder and massacre*

**CECIL Rhodes** secured the great territory of Southern Rhodesia by a trick. Queen Victoria and a Tory Government headed by the grandfather of the present Lord Salisbury, were parties to the treachery, and allowed Rhodes' private army to crush the African tribes when they rose against the settlers who had stolen their land.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the London Missionary Society was active in southern Africa and a missionary leader, Robert Moffat, persuaded Mzilikazi, the Matabele king, to allow a society mission station to be opened at Inyati in Matabeleland in 1859. But for twenty years it failed to baptise a single African.

The station, however, was an attraction for European hunters and traders and, from 1867 onwards, for gold prospectors going north in the search for the reputed gold-fields of Mashonaland.

When Mzilikazi died in 1868 he was succeeded by Lobengula who soon showed concern at the activities of Europeans attracted by minerals, the ivory of elephants and the skins of vast herds of other animals. The high veld (veld means open country) had a fine climate which made European-style farming possible, and this and rumours of gold, brought some very tough character hurrying up from the Cape.

## THE SCRAMBLE

The scramble for central Africa had begun, and Rhodes, already a millionaire and wanting to deliver the entire continent to his Queen, now moved to shut out the Germans, established in South-West Africa, and the Portuguese in the east—and enrich himself and his shareholders at the same time.

Rhodes brought the country under British authority with the help of Robert Moffat's son, John, who had given up missionary work to become assistant commissioner in Bechuanaland, and who was in charge of maintaining relations with the Matabele. He was succeeded at the Inyati mission by a clergyman named Helm, who became interpreter and adviser to Lobengula.

John Moffat was instructed to seek a treaty with Lobengula and his way was greased with a bribe to Helm.

On February 11, 1888, Lobengula, who was afraid of the Boers, signed a document at Bulawayo that was, in effect, an Anglo-Matabele Treaty, extending British authority over Matabeleland and Mashonaland. His father had known Moffat's father, so the King found nothing ominous in John Moffat's supplications through Helm.

The process of disaster for the Matabele had now begun. In October, Rhodes' agents, Rudd, Maguire and Thompson, again working through Helm, persuaded Lobengula to sign a document known as the Rudd-Rhodes Concession,

by which the King gave Rhodes the mineral rights over the undefined territory of Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

In return, he was promised payment of £100 a month and to his heirs in perpetuity: 1,000 rifles and 100,000 bullets; and a gun-boat on the Zambezi. The money arrived for a time, and so did the guns. The gun-boat did not

## RUMOUR SPREAD

A rumour spread that Lobengula had given the white men land rights, and the tribes asked their King for an explanation. Denying it, but anxious, Lobengula, who now doubted Helm's assurances that all was well, sent to the Inyati mission for fresh interpreters. Two men, Elliot and Rees, arrived at the royal kraal and were handed a copy of the Concession by the King, who asked if it meant that he had given away any land.

The two missionaries read it and replied that he had, for how, they asked, could men dig for gold on land that was not theirs.

Lobengula promptly despatched a letter to Queen Victoria saying that the Concession was revoked and that he wanted the document back.

But he had been outwitted. Rhodes was already in London using his connections and influence to get a Royal Charter for his company to do virtually as it liked.

Having got the Charter, Rhodes began sending in his settlers. The first were called the Pioneer Column. They were promised 3,000 acres each and gold mining claims.

They were dressed in specially-designed uniforms, were heavily armed and accompanied by Bechuanaland police and native troops and labourers.

Lobengula, who had expected to see a few gold miners and traders, looked on incredulously as these men moved into his lands. To terrify the Africans the Pioneers switched on a steam-engined-powered searchlight at night and exploded dynamite around their camps.

## SHARES FELL

Three months after setting out, they hoisted the Union Jack at Fort Salisbury, Mashonaland, on September 12, 1890, known since as Occupation Day.

But in the early days things did not go all the Company's way: gold was not discovered in quantity; settlement proved hard and some farmers returned to South Africa; and the Company's shares fell in price in London.

Rhodes decided that confidence could only be restored if the whole of the new country was under his control.

Accordingly, fighting began in October 1893, after Lobengula had returned his rifles and ammunition in disgust, remarking: "All white men are liars."

Historians say it was a Matabele uprising, but everything we know of colonial history suggests that the clash was provoked by Rhodes' agents, on the Matabeleland-Bechuanaland border.

Rhodes' conspirator, Starr Jameson (of the Jameson Raid), had decided that an invasion of Matabeleland was necessary in August, 1893, and had sent a letter to that effect to Captain Allan Wilson at Victoria, ordering the enlistment of volunteers in a commando force. Each man was promised a 6,000-acre farm in Matabeleland after it had been conquered, at a rent of 10s. a year, and mineral claims.

In addition, everything seized from the Africans was to be divided up between the Company and the commandos. This force had seven-pounder cannon, Maxims, and Lobengula's returned rifles. The Matabele had spears. The Maxims cut the Matabele to pieces. At the battle of Mbembesi one regiment of 700 Matabele had 500 men killed, while in the whole campaign, waged by 672 Europeans and 515 Africans in the invading force, the whole of the invaders' casualties in killed and wounded were 158, including 36 Europeans dead—30 in the single ambush of Wilson's Shangani patrol.

Lobengula's royal kraal at Bulawayo was burned and the King himself was on the run. He died, in January 1894, far to the north, of fever.

With this news, the Company's £1 shares shot up to £9. 10s. 0d.

After the fighting, the Matabele, their villages destroyed, their cattle stolen, died in hundreds from smallpox and starvation.

Matabeleland and Mashonaland were joined together and the country named Rhodesia, under the administration of the British South Africa Company, with Jameson as Administrator.

## FINAL STAND

The Africans made one final stand. In 1896 settlers were attacked and families on the farms killed. The British replied with a fearful massacre employing professional soldiers to aid Rhodes' private army. Company rule was consolidated after the military campaigns. When the first Legislative Council was established in 1898 it consisted of the Administrator (William Milton, chosen by Rhodes), the resident Commissioner, and nine members: four elected by the voters and five nominated by the Company. The Company also appointed an Executive Council of four from the nominated members.

All the voters were Europeans. In 1950 there were still only 419 African voters.

As early as 1894, the Matabele were shifted into reserves. Rhodes died in 1902. The Company's charter expired in 1914 but was extended for ten years. In 1920, when the population was 30,000 Europeans and 750,000 Africans, the settlers voted for self-government.

In September 1923, Southern Rhodesia became self-governing, with the proviso that the Colonial Secretary had to approve laws that differentiated between Europeans and Africans. In fact, London never bothered to exercise this right until forced to consider it in the crisis that loomed at the beginning of the sixties.

A Matabele delegation visited London in 1927 to petition King George V to restore their kingdom. Of course, they were unsuccessful and, back home, the settlers retaliated for this insubordination by banishing Lobengula's relatives to South Africa and Bechuanaland.

So Ian Smith is not the original reactionary of Rhodesia, but is the heir of a long line of oppressors of the African people, and "Prime Minister" of an illegal state founded on trickery, theft and massacre.

(With acknowledgement to "Comment", a weekly review, published by the British Communist Party).

# Religious Freedom in the G.D.R.

**MANY** people think there is no religious freedom in the Socialist countries. For instance, there are many who have very mistaken ideas about religious life in the German Democratic Republic.

The need to correct these mistaken views and to make the truth known is very necessary.

The churches of the G.D.R.—the Evangelical Churches, the Roman Catholic Church and a total of twenty-seven smaller churches and religious communities—enjoy the legal status of Public bodies or of associations. They maintain their own administration and regulate their internal affairs independently.

The religious communities in the G.D.R. have full freedom of conscience and religious liberty. Their religious activities are safeguarded by the Republic.

Religious communities have the right to express their point of view on vital questions affecting the people. Private and civil rights are not limited by religious activities, nor is anyone forced to reveal his denomination.

The freedom to form religious associations and to administer their affairs independently is allowed and the Church has the right to give religious instructions in public classrooms.

Likewise divine services and ministerial work in hospitals, prisons and other public institutions are permitted.

Recognised religious communities have the right to levy taxes upon their members according to the official lists of rates and the general regulations.

But the church must not exploit its members—that is it cannot employ its members or get them to work for the profit of priests and the leading members of the church.

On March 26th, 1960 Werner Meinecke read the following statement to the Faculty of Theology in Democratic Berlin:

"The workers and Peasants' State of the G.D.R. carried out this policy of separating the State from the Church in such a way as to exclude a renewed alliance of the Church and political power, or of the Church and ruling class. The Church is thus forced not only to examine various inherited views on its place and role in Social life, but even to abandon them and to become a Church living in the word and message of the Lord. It is at the same time free from imprisonment and a servility towards those lords, whom up to now it had to serve besides the lord."

The State offers some huge amounts of money to the Churches annually. In this respect, an annual amount of 12

million MDN. (C327,227) are paid from the Government budget to supplement the salaries of the clergy and clerical administration expenditures.

From 1950 to 1963 the Evangelical Churches alone received from the state the sum of nearly 200 million MDN (C54,900,000).

The 8 Jewish communities—survivors of communities which the Nazis sought to destroy—united to form the Union of Jewish Communities, which is legally independent. Expenditure for particular provisions required by this religion and the administration of these communities is mainly met by state subsidies.

Churches were among the first buildings the G.D.R. repaired after the Second world war. Synagogue destroyed during the war were restored or completely rebuilt and new ones built.

The building, restoration and maintenance of these

synagogues, churches and other places of worship are wholly financed by the State.

The Republic went as far as to repair all Jewish cemeteries, spending 200,000 Marks (C54,543) to this end because of its anxiety to atone for the Nazis' terrible policies.

All religious holidays are observed in the G.D.R.

Through their political party, the Christian Democratic Union Party, religious observers have a voice in the People's Chamber.

Membership of a religious community does not prevent participation in politics; nor does it affect one's interest in

the Government. Mr. Gerald Gotting, Secretary-General of the Christian Democratic Union, holds the post of Deputy Chairman of the State Council.

The *Die Zeit*, the daily paper of the Christian Democratic Union Party, is at liberty to discuss not only affairs connected with religion but those of a political nature.

Religious Communities have their own institutions such as hospitals, infirmaries, homes for the aged, convalescent homes, holiday homes, children's homes and nurseries.

The expenses of these charitable works are covered partly

by donations made by believers. The state has also built Catholic Seminaries for the training of priests.

The training at the Faculty of Theology is paid for by the state and the students receive the same amount of monthly allowances as students at other educational establishments.

The G.D.R. government puts no restrictions on religious practices such as exists in some countries like Spain where there is discrimination against the Protestants by the state. Believers are at liberty to worship whatever and wherever they choose in the G.D.R.

It is noteworthy too that by making a financial contribution to the work of the religious communities, the government of the G.D.R. gives a practical demonstration of its belief in religious freedom found in few of the major Western countries.

by *Relicia Antohene*

who has just returned from a year's study in the G.D.R.

# Focus on Ghana T.U.C.

Continued from page 5

tions for the best members enjoying the workers' confidence.

These rules must be strictly followed and with the assistance of our field staff we hope to mobilise the workers in support of the Party and the Leader, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, thereby fulfilling one of our most important duties that history bestowed on us.

The number of women in employment is daily increasing. Formerly they were mainly in the clerical-secretarial field. Recently, the trend has shifted to light industry where women are almost predominant, e.g. Garment Industry, Rubber Industry, Laundry, etc.

This new trend presents a problem of drawing more women into and making them interested in Trade Union activity.

To achieve this, we have established a Women's Department at the Headquarters level as a start with a Woman's Officer with special responsibilities for seeing to women's problems, like making sure that labour legislation as far as it concerns women, are kept in enterprises and that women's problems are given due consideration in policy statements and developments.

On the whole, this officer will handle those problems which women workers have especially and work to generate interest among the women, ensuring that they are involved in general activities. The main tenet of the inter-

national policy of the Ghana T.U.C. is the struggle for African Unity and World Peace although in support of the Party and Government's policy of non-alignment, it maintains close liaison with all international Trade Union Organisations on the basis of absolute equality which enables us to express our views boldly in the world Councils of labour.

The Ghana T.U.C. recognises African Unity as a necessity for the future of the African Continent and assumed it as an unbending duty to struggle on all fronts within Ghana and Africa for its achievement.

The Ghana T.U.C. as a foundation member of the All-African Trade Union Federation believes in the crucial role the AATUF will play in the struggle for African Unity.

That is why it maintains strong links with all member national centres belonging to the AATUF and is trying to explain the meaning of the struggle to our brothers in Africa who do not see eye with us due to neo-colonialist manoeuvres led by the ICFTU.

In its educational policy at home, the Ghana T.U.C. proposes such political education which will arouse the rank and file to appreciate the need and necessity of an African Continental Government which will support the workers in all their endeavours.

But this could not be achieved without a Central African Labour Union now. Such a Labour Union which will mobilise the African

Labour force behind the progressive political parties and governments for economic, social and political reconstruction.

Considering the fact that Labour has major and important role to play in

Ghana's efforts to achieve socialism, the Trades Union Congress is ever ready to re-examine itself at every stage of the country's revolution and to adjust its structure to meet the changing demands of time.

## Neo-colonialism's Puppets

Continued from page 1

ma, announcing Ghana's full recognition of the Military Provisional Government.

He went on to underline that "the best contribution that can be made to the situation in Nigeria is that foreign interests and foreign powers should not take advantage of the situation in Nigeria to meddle with or intervene in the internal affairs of Nigeria."

The people of Nigeria, he declared, "are entitled to decide their own future."

What that future will be depends on the mobilisa-

tion in Nigeria of the broadest possible movement against neo-colonialism and its puppets.

In this movement the leading role will be played by the Nigerian common people, for it is the common people who are neo-colonialism's most consistent opponents.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "when all is said and done, it is the so-called little man, the bent-backed, exploited, malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence who decides. And he invariably decides for freedom."



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