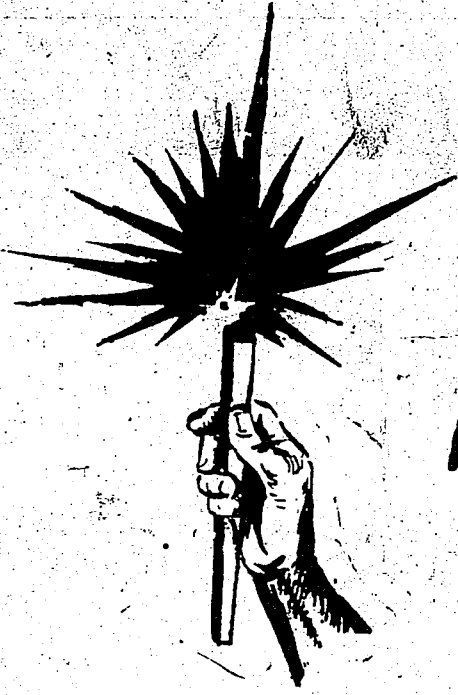


# THE SPARK



A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1963

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## EDITORIAL

### Cultural Imperialism

THE emergence of independent African States has coincided with a determined drive by U.S. finance capital to gain a foothold in every African state and thereby dominate the African continent. The multi-billionaires of Wall Street now dream of converting Africa into a second Latin America.

The direct methods used in this offensive by U.S. imperialism are becoming widely known. These include attempts to control the economy and military arrangements of sovereign African states.

We are aware of U.S. subversion of Congo (Leopoldville) through a political coup d'etat followed by dollar penetration under the canopy of U.N. presence. We are aware of the \$500 million worth of investments held by U.S. imperialism in South Africa. We know of the operation of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York and the Bank of America in Nigeria. We know of vast oil concession held by U.S. oil combines in Libya. We know of rubber and iron ore concessions held in Liberia.

#### MILITARY BASES

The penetration is proceeding apace in the military sphere. There are U.S. military bases in Morocco, Liberia and Ethiopia. And there are the satellite radar and communications stations in Nigeria, Zanzibar and Malagassy.

But there is an aspect of the penetration of Africa by U.S. imperialism which is not generally known even though it could turn out to be the most dangerous in the long-run. This is the subtle but persistent effort at controlling the mind of the African.

For this purpose a vast network of information centres, libraries and broadcasting stations have been set up or commandeered right across Africa, not to mention the torrent of cheap films that inundate our cinema.

Large armies of peace corps men and women push the American image in our secondary schools while similar penetration of our universities is made by so-called research scholars and self-styled Africanists. 'Operation Crossroads' and AAMSAC (Afro-American Society for the Advancement of Culture) serve as convenient covers for cultural imperialism.

Now, a brand new weapon is being added to the armoury of U.S. imperialism in Africa. It is the "Ebony" magazine. Obviously enjoying the blessing of policy-makers in the State Department and the financial support of U.S. big business, "Ebony" is setting out boldly to enslave the mind of Africa with the cheap, dazzling propaganda of the American way of life. They wish to impress on our minds the brighter side of the affluent society, forgetting that we know of the deplorable life led by 20 million Negroes in the U.S.A. and forgetting we know that the poverty of Africa for decades has been a contributory factor to the affluence enjoyed by imperialist countries today.

#### 'EBONY AFRICA'

The technique of U.S. imperialism is to promote its interests in Africa by using American Negroes. They staff their Information centres with Afro-Americans. They accommodate a few Afro-Americans on their Embassy staff. They send these Negroes out in AAMSAC, in 'Operation Crossroads', in the peace corps, etc. Now they are out to use a Negro magazine—"Ebony"—to continue their onslaught on Africa. The whole idea is to get us to embrace U.S. imperialism by using as vehicles for this way of life people of the same colour of the skin as ourselves.

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# EBONY: An Instrument of Imperialism

JOHNSON Publishing Company of Chicago, U.S.A., publishers of "Ebony", "Jet", "Tan" and "Negro Digest" have decided to launch "Ebony Africa" in 24 African countries.

There will be sales and advertising offices in Paris, London and New York and operating offices in 10 English speaking and 14 French speaking countries.

The first issue will come out in February 1964.

The magazine will have an initial circulation of 50,000 English language copies, 40,000 French language copies.

Robert Fentress, Circulation Director of "Ebony" has just completed an extensive tour of Africa and estimated that the circulation of "Ebony Africa" will rise to 250,000 within a year.

Era Bell Thompson, Co-managing Editor of "Ebony" has been named executive Editor of "Ebony Africa".

John H. Johnson, President of the publishing firm says the new magazine is being launched because "it offers us an opportunity for expansion and also because it will aid in creating better understanding between Americans and Africans".

#### BLACK BOURGEOISIE

Let us ask: whose interest is "Ebony Africa" likely to serve in Africa? In 1957, Franklin Frazier, the great Afro-American Sociologist said "Ebony" is an instrument of the black bourgeoisie in the U.S.A. He revealed that the magazine serves two main purposes.

1. To propagate the myth of negro business.
2. To create a world of make-believe as a compensation for an inferior status keenly felt by the black bourgeoisie.

Apart from the apparent danger in allowing foreign capitalist groups to enter Africa, potential dangers are bound to come out from John Johnson's invasion of Africa.

Johnson publications have never accepted the African revolution. In fact, they are opposed to African Unity.

It is obvious that not only will "Ebony Africa"

poison the atmosphere in Africa with neo-colonialist theories, but it will propagate the cause of disunity.

Johnson publications are noted for substandard reading materials devoted mainly to propagating the American image. Ebony, in particular, believes that America is a country where the impossible is slightly less attainable than the difficult. Jet carries an American farm kitchen—a dazzling porcelain-and-chrome spectacle, complete with refrigerator, disposal unit, deep-freeze, automatic washer and drier, and electric stove—as "the monument to the glory of the capitalist society".

#### AMERICAN IMAGE

Professor Daniel T. Boorstin of Chicago sees the great danger of hawking the American image. He says "in the United States, the making of images is everyday business. The image has reached out from commerce to the worlds of education and politics, and into every corner of our daily lives. Our churches, our charities, our schools, our universities, all now seek favourable images. Their way of saying they want people to think well of them is to say they want people to have favourable images of them. Our national politics has become a competition for images or between images, rather than between ideals. The domination of campaigning by television simply dramatizes this fact. An effective President must be

every year more concerned with projecting images of himself. We suffer more every day from the blurriness and the rigidity of our image-thinking. Examples are everywhere. Life becomes more and more illusory. We have become so accustomed to our illusions, they have become so routine, that they seem no longer produced by any special magic."

Johnson publications stand for this image.

#### AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

In a recent edition of the "Ebony" there appeared the biographies of the four immediate past American Presidents: Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower. "Ebony" characterised Truman as the President most sympathetic to the Afro-American cause for civil rights: paradoxically, ex-President Harry S. Truman, recently answered at a radio and television interview, when he was asked about his opinion of the Afro-Americans' march on Washington last August, by merely posing the significant question: "Would you like your daughter to marry a Negro?" This answer and

suggestion could have been made by the die-hard racists, Dr. Verwoerd, Roy Welensky or Winston Field, and yet Harry Truman is the man Johnson's *Ebony* puts up as a champion of the Afro-American cause.

Johnson is not only out to make profit but to do a neo-colonialist job for which he will willingly get the tacit and active support of the United States, French and other governments; not only will he subvert Africa with slick and cheap American propaganda but he will be able to convince the manufacturers and advertisers of Europe and America of the important role he will play in shaping African opinion. Through this Johnson will monopolise a great deal of advertising revenue.

It is laudable that the recent Conference of Pan-African Journalists has seen the danger and has warned all African journalists that:

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## Kwame Nkrumah on Congo



THE plight of the Congo is no secret in Africa. It is known in the fullest detail in every part of the world. What will happen if we allow the Congo Republic to go the way of a Latin American Republic? We shall do no less than give the green light for the consortium of imperialist now operating in Africa to go ahead with plans for the structure of neo-colonialism here on the Latin American model.

If we let go the Congo it will strengthen the colonialists and the settler-governments of Southern Africa. It will mean the handing over of the struggle of our brothers in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa

and the Protectorates to the more ruthless persecution of the practitioners of apartheid and quasi-apartheid. It will give encouragement to Verwoerd and his allies to strengthen still further the army that is being built up in South Africa.

This is the time we should be getting together to coalesce our forces against the threat of apartheid South Africa's menace to our African independence. We would be foolish if we sit back calmly while South Africa's ground to air missile base endangers our very existence.

If we let go the Congo we shall reinforce neo-colonialist presence here in Africa. While we are dilly-dallying, they are getting

busier and busier on our continent. Western Powers are increasing their investments in South Africa and refuse to be deflected from their support of Verwoerd and his regime. Surely these are signs of imperialist strength and unity, while we demonstrate our divisions and our feebleness.

If we let go the Congo we shall nullify the Addis Ababa Charter and confuse our minds with the hope of a unity that will never be fulfilled. We shall hand to neo-colonialist an instrument that will help them rather than the unity of Africa. The Congo is a symbol to all of us. And what goes on there now may be a symbol of what can happen to Ghana, or Nigeria, or Guinea, or Mali, or Tanganyika or any other African state.



# Resolutions Adopted at the Second

THE Conference of African Journalists meeting in Accra from 11th-15th November, 1963, conscious of the fact that our peculiar position as African Journalists demands of us certain peculiar obligations and determined to fulfil these obligations have resolved that the following shall form the basic objectives of the Pan-African Union of Journalists :-

## Conference of Pan-African Union of Journalists

1. African Journalists must champion the cause of the liberation movements in those parts of Africa not yet free, there must be the fullest collaboration between the African Press and the freedom fighters; there must be the fullest support for the liberation movements working for the liberation of the remaining parts of Africa still under colonial and settler domination.

2. But true and effective support cannot be given without real understanding. First of all African journalists must study the history and social conditions of the territories still under colo-

onial domination. That is how they will understand who the true freedom fighters are—which movements are valuable for Pan-African Unity, and which are mere opportunistic organisations, operating on funds supplied by imperialists who wish to set up neo-colonialist regimes of their own as soon as the old imperialists have been thrown out.

3. The NATO Powers particularly the United

States of America are dangerous in this regard. By some pretended sympathy for the peoples groaning under colonialism, United States agents try to win the confidence of freedom fighters. By supplying them with generous funds, they

try to win their loyalty. We have seen the effect of this in the Congo. We are seeing it in the liberation movements in the so-called Portuguese territories. It is a great danger, and constant vigilance is required.

4. It is the duty of African Journalists to establish the closest contact with freedom fighters—to give publicity to their heroic deeds, not only to strengthen their own morale, but to give new life and impetus to the African Revolution as a whole.

5. It is our duty to learn and tell the world of the prosecutions, persecutions, tortures and murders of

freedom fighters under Portuguese colonialism and fascism and under apartheid and white supremacy. That is how we can arouse the conscience of the world—not only to save freedom fighters, but to arouse world hatred and condemnation of those bestial regimes. We have seen the United Nations pass a resolution condemning the so-called sabotage trial in South Africa. The World Assembly was not aroused to take such an unusual and progressive step without millions of lines written about the evil deeds of apartheid.

6. In this connection it is considered that the esta-

ishment of an all African News Agency in Africa will be a great advantage in our struggle for African Liberation and Unity. We therefore note with great satisfaction and support the present efforts being made to establish such an Agency.

7. It is our duty to feed the Press of the rest of the world, with the horrors of colonialism, with the heroism of the freedom fighters, with the trials and murders of our martyrs. This we can only accomplish if we take great pains to get the true facts, if we write about them forcefully and passionately. The World must rely on our own reliability, and must be influenced by the impact of our good writing. The African Press must never let Africa or the World forget about the leaders of the liberation movements now in the prisons of the colonialists. The fate of Mangaliso Sobukwe, imprisoned for life on a barren island, of Nelson Mandela now facing the death penalty, of Chief Albert Lutuli, now banished to a lonely part of Natal, must always be used to waken the conscience of the world, and to raise the prestige of our struggle for Unity and Freedom.

8. African Journalists must study the economic

conditions in the colonial territories and watch the economic activities of the imperialists in Africa. It is no use writing vaguely about boycotts and sanctions. We must give chapter and verse. We must know what goods are manufactured and passed out of South Africa under false labels. We must know where the economy of the colonialists is vulnerable. We must organise our own research if the research now available is not adequate.

9. It is the duty of African Journalists to persistently stress and throw light on factors bringing forth understanding the unity among African peoples, and refrain from overstressing other factors that can only bring dis-harmony, ill-feelings and disunity. Tact and utmost discretion should be shown when tackling issues, towards which some sections or others of the African peoples are particularly sensitive, for such points can only serve as trojan horses to enemy infiltration.

10. There should be close co-operation between newspapers, radio and News Agencies in Africa and a good system of exchange of material should be devised and implemented.

11. We must work with and encourage the trade

Continued on page 5

## The Second Resolution

WE the African journalists meeting in Accra from 11th-15th November, 1963; aware that whilst being members of a vast world family of journalists, we have a special and important task in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa from foreign domination and for the national constructions of our countries recently liberated, do realise that our peculiar position as African countries demands of us something more than a professional attitude to our problems.

### COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

We condemn the inhuman situation created by the colonial Powers in countries still under foreign domination and give our unflinching support to nationalists in those countries fighting for their independence.

We believe that African Journalists should consistently and persistently decry the shameful policies of colonialism which are preventing some African countries from attaining the independence that is their birth-right.

We believe that in our endeavour to fight this political cancer of colonialism, imperialism, apartheid and white supremacy, African journalists should constantly in their national Press organs condemn the inhuman actions perpetrated by these systems. We should give prominence to news-items offered by News Agencies of the already Independent African States and carefully sift through those offered by well-known imperialist concerns before publishing them.

### NEO-COLONIALISM

In their fight, African Journalists should be aware of the new forms of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism as dedicated by recent political changes in Africa. This Conference therefore requests them to condemn the three forms of neo-colonialism: viz:

a) the maintaining of military bases by foreign countries in African States.

b) Neo-colonialism under the guise of economic and technical aid and c) Through the intermediary of non-African countries which profess good intentions but in actual fact are tools of international imperialism in Africa, Asia and Latin-America.

### NUCLEAR TESTS

We condemn all nuclear tests for they threaten world peace and endanger human lives. In this respect we solicit the help of all journalists in the fight for the cessation of these tests and deplore the recalcitrant attitude of France which in the face of protests from all African States continues to carry out nuclear tests in Africa.

### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

We condemn all forms of racial discrimination and urge all journalists to recognise their obligation to fight for the total eradication of this inhuman practice.

### AFRICAN UNITY

On the issue of African Unity it is our bounden duty as African journalists to work within the frame-

work of the Addis Ababa Charter towards the realisation of a continental Unity reflected in a continental Government.

We believe that it is imperative for all African States that have achieved their freedom to help those still struggling under colonialism, apartheid and white supremacy.

### FREEDOM FIGHTERS

We strongly support all organisations in Africa which are actively engaged in the struggle for the liberation of the African continent, for the assertion of the African Personality and in the contribution they are making towards the safeguarding of World Peace.

We urge all Journalists of African countries whose Governments have not as yet applied the resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity in relation to the territories still under colonialism to exert pressure on their Governments to carry out quickly their obligations under the Addis Ababa Charter.

We recommend that the Organisation of African Unity consolidates without delay the assistance approved for liberation movements in order to accelerate their struggle for independence.

## ON SOUTH AFRICA

THE African Journalists' Conference meeting in Accra from the 11th-15th November, 1963:

Conscious of the fact that the greatest danger to African Independence is the military might in the fascist South African Republic; Vehemently condemns the inhuman policies pursued by the South African Government against the African majority;

Urges Afro-Asian States in the United Nations to intensify their efforts to expel South Africa from membership of the United Nations;

Calls on the African States to intensify the boy-

cott of South Africa by denying landing and passage facilities to all international aircraft and ships bound for South Africa;

Calls on all African States to bring pressure on Britain and France to stop the supply of arms, ammunitions or any other war equipments to South Africa, and to discourage other Powers from following the example of Great Britain and France;

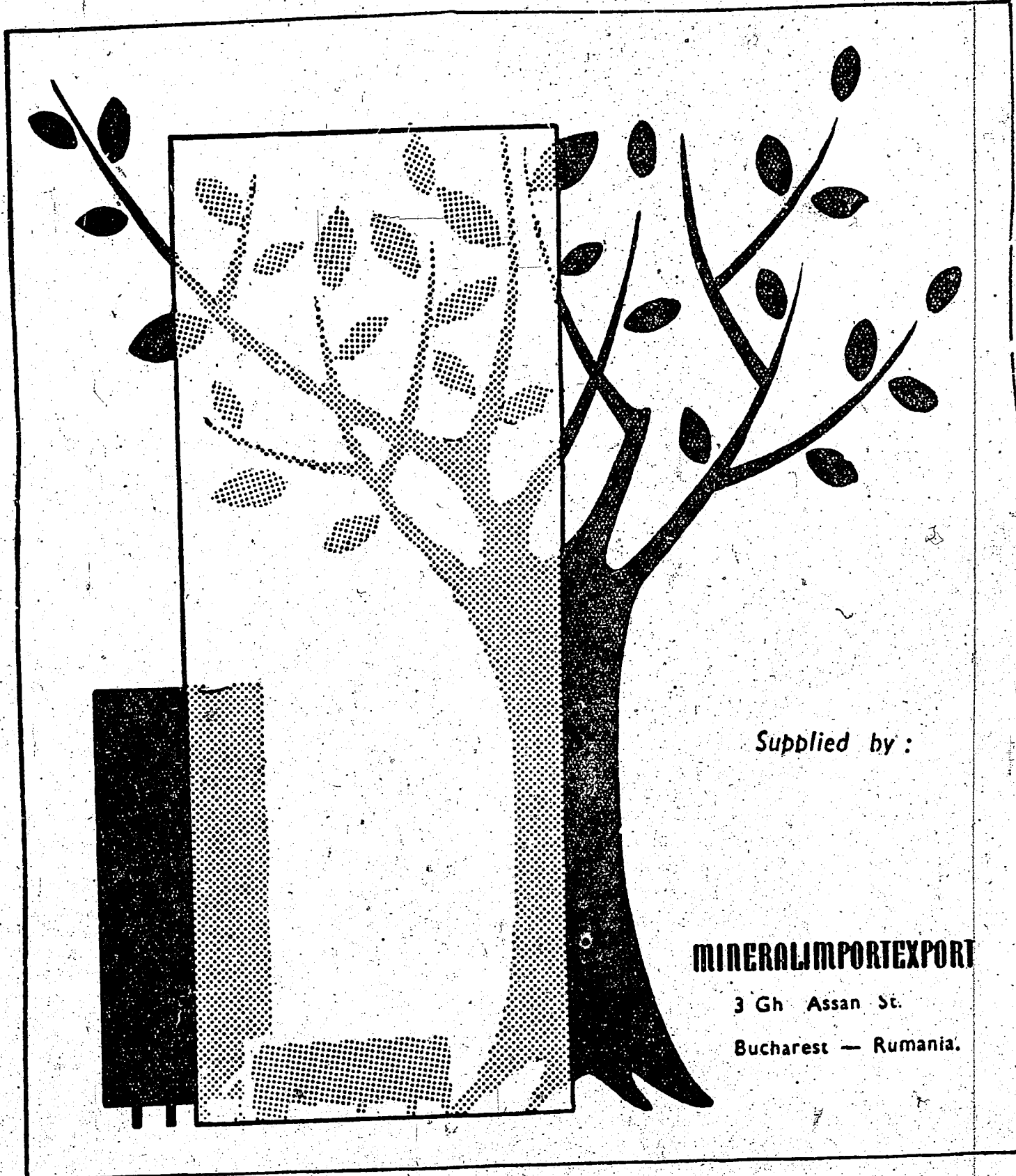
And demands that all efforts be made by the United Nations to terminate the South African Administration of South West Africa.

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# VERWOERD'S BANTUSTAN FRAUD

by B. P. Bunting  
Former Editor of the  
banned South African "SPARK"

SOUTH Africa's strangest election will be taking place in the Transkei African Reserve on November 20, 1963, when 45 members will be elected to the Transkeian Legislative Assembly in terms of the Transkei Constitution Act passed during the 1963 session of the all-White South African Parliament.

The Transkei Constitution Act claims to "confer self-governing on the Bantu resident in or deriving from the Transkei," the largest and most developed of the African reserves. As the wording indicates, the Act not only applies to Xhosa-speaking persons in the Transkei, but to all so-called Transkei citizens, defined in the Act as including "every Xhosa-speaking Bantu person in the Republic, including every Bantu person belonging to any associated linguistic group who normally uses any dialects of the language spoken by what is commonly known as the Cape Nguni, providing such person does not belong to any Bantu homeland other than the Transkei or fall under the jurisdiction of any other regional or territorial authority or council or any self-governing territory."

Transkei citizenship also covers every "Bantu person" born in the Transkei, every "Bantu person" who has been domiciled in the Transkei for at least five years, and every Sotho-speaking "Bantu person" in the Republic who derives from or is generally regarded as a member of any of the Sotho-speaking tribes resident in the Transkei.

The Transkei reserve, show-piece of the Nationalist Government's apartheid policy, destined to become the country's first Bantustan, covers a total area of 16,554 square miles in the eastern part of the Cape Province. The population consists of 1,384,673 Africans, 13,600 Coloureds (mixed blood) and 18,000 Whites, mostly traders and officials. Neither Whites nor Coloureds are affected by the Transkei Constitution Act, which concerns the rights and duties of Africans only. When the new Transkei Parliament is established, its laws will apply to Africans only.

## CENSUS

The 1960 South African census established that there were 3,423,000 Xhosa-speaking Africans in the Republic. This means that the majority of the Xhosa-speaking people, approximately 2,000,000 do not even live in the Transkei, but have been forced by the poverty of their homeland, the necessity to earn money for taxation and the attraction of higher wages, to seek a livelihood in the White areas of the country. Some go to the mines, some to the farms, and some to the towns where they work for various periods ranging from a few months to a number of years before returning to their homes. An unknown proportion possible as large as a third of the total—is now permanently urbanised, that is born and bred in the urban areas.

Nevertheless, under the Transkei Constitution Act, Xhosa-speaking people who were born in the urban areas and have never set foot in the Transkei are also regarded as Transkei citizens, will have a vote in

the forthcoming elections and will be subject to the laws passed by the Transkei Legislative Assembly. It is the Government's intention to force "nationhood" upon a people whose tribal way of life was breaking down and who were slowly but steadily being absorbed in the structure of industrialised South African society.

The Transkei Legislative Assembly is to be given the power, for example, to impose direct taxation on citizens of the Transkei, whether resident in or outside the Transkei. Furthermore, laws made in the Transkei may apply to Transkei citizens whether resident in or outside the Transkei. And Transkei citizens who break the laws may be prosecuted not only in the Transkei courts but also in the courts of the Republic.

Thus the Transkei Legislative Assembly may pass a law in Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, and some Transkei citizens born and brought up and resident in an urban area may be hauled before the local magistrate's courts for having contravened it. This provision of the constitution is likely to cause intense friction and even outbreaks of violence by urban Xhosa, most of whom are hostile to Bantu Authorities and particularly to the clique headed by Chief Kaiser Matanzima, chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority which is being superseded by the Legislative Assembly and who is one of the contenders for the position of Prime Minister when the Transkei Cabinet is set up.

## COMPOSITION OF PARLIAMENT

The Legislative Assembly is to consist of the four Paramount Chiefs, the sixty chiefs holding office in the nine regional authority areas of the Transkei, and the 45 members who are to be elected by the 800,000 odd registered voters of the Transkei on November 20. (Every citizen of the Transkei, over the age of 21 or a Transkei tax payer over 18 is eligible for the vote).

Thus Government-appointed and paid chiefs will always constitute the ma-

majority; the elected members of the Transkei Assembly will always be in the minority. This is the "self-government in his own area" for which the African has had to sacrifice his right to representation in the central legislative of the Republic.

Executive power in the Transkei will be in the hands of the Prime Minister (who will also be Minister of Finance) and five other ministers (of justice, education, the interior, agriculture and forestry, and roads and works). These ministers will be elected by secret ballot by members of the Legislative Assembly at its first meeting, which is due to be held on December 6, 1963, at Transkeian capital of Umtata.

The Transkeian Legislative Assembly will have power to make laws in connection with direct taxation of Transkeian citizens, whether within or outside the Transkei; Bantu education; the establishment, administration and control of inferior courts; the appointment powers and duties of justices of the peace and commissioners of oaths and members of the Public Service in the Transkei; the protection of life, persons and property and the prevention of cruelty to animals in the Transkei; the control of such portion of the Police Force as may have been sanctioned by the Republican Minister of Justice; public works and irrigation; the control of municipal and local authorities; and a variety of similar matters.

## DIALECT

Xhosa is recognised as an additional official language in the Transkei, which is also given its own national anthem ("Nkosi Sikelel'—Afrika) and flag to be flown side by side with the flag of the Republic.

At a time when other metropolitan powers are liquidating their colonies in Africa, the South African Government is attempting to create them. For there are important limitations, on the powers of the Transkeian legislature. Not only will it fall under the dominion of the Republican Government, especially in matters pertaining to defence, internal security and foreign affairs but it will have no control over non-Africans resident in the Transkei, who will remain citizens of the republic and will not be eligible for the franchise in the Transkei.

The Transkei towns will remain outside the purview of the African government. According to a report in the "Star" on October 26, 1963, "there will be no relaxation of the Group Areas Act in Umtata (the capital) after the Transkei is granted partial self-government.

This was made clear at a meeting of the Umtata Chamber of Commerce in Umtata when the President, Mr. J. Price, read the Chamber's executive committee report to members at their quarterly meeting.

"Mr. Price told members that representatives of the chamber recently interviewed the Transkei's chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr. Vic Leibbrandt, 'with a view to clarifying the position of prominent African customers who wished to be served in exclusively European establishments after partial self-government is granted to the territories.'

"They were told Umtata would be no different from any other town in South Africa where the provisions of the Group Areas Act applied. It would, therefore, be illegal for the proprietor of any hotel or tea-room catering solely for Europeans to have special permission for them."

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In the capital of the "self-governing" Transkei, the African would still be subjected to discrimination and even the Black Prime Minister could be ejected from any tea-room or hotel. Not surprisingly the International Commission of Jurists last September came to the conclusion: "It appears that claims that this is anything remotely approaching self-government are illusory."

If this falls short of real self-government, the Nationalist Government justifies it on the grounds that it is, at least, a step in that direction. But how far is Verwoerd prepared to go? Does the Bantustan policy really envisage the establishment of genuinely independent African states in the reserves? Can it be accepted that this is the aim of the Nationalist Government?

The answer is a categorical "No". In his policy speech on April 10, 1961, in which he indicated that the Bantustans could develop into "separate Black states", Dr. Verwoerd clearly indicated at the same time: "This is not what we would have preferred to see. This is a form of fragmentation which we would rather not have had if it was within our control to avoid it." The Prime Minister blamed the pressure of forces outside South Africa for the decision of the Government to embark on the Bantustan experiment at all. "In the light of the forces to which South Africa is being subjected, there is, however, no doubt as to what must be done in the course of time."

In other words, the Government will delay as long as possible the grant of independence — Minister of Bantu Administration, de Wet Nel has gone on record as saying he hopes it will never happen—but if the worst come to the worst it is prepared to accept the inevitable if it should be left with no alternative.

However, this is a very long term prospect, and white South Africa as a whole does not seem to be unduly disturbed by it. So far the Transkei is the only Reserve which has developed to the point where "self-government" can be imposed on it. The Government also had plans for a Zulu Bantustan, but they have been put into cold storage for the time being because many chiefs are still refusing to accept the Bantu Authorities system. A meeting of chiefs earlier this year decided that the whole issue should be submitted to a national convention of the Zulus so that the opinion of the whole Zulu people could be obtained.

## SELF-GOVERNMENT

There has been no move either by the Government or by the Zulu Paramount Chief to summon such a convention. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Natal said last September there were no further developments in the plan to establish a Zulu territorial authority. "The Zulus are not quite ready for it," he said. As for the other ethnic groups in South Africa, "self-government" for them is not even on the agenda for the foreseeable future. Thus even if the Transkei gets its "self-government" after the November 20 elections, that still leaves two-thirds of the African people of South Africa unaccounted for.

Even if all the land promised to be set aside for the African reserves under the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 (in return for the removal of the Africans from the common voters' roll) were acquired, only 13 per cent of the total area of South Africa would be available for African occupation. But in fact only 70 per cent of that total had been acquired by the end of 1962. It will probably take many years before the balance is acquired. Meanwhile, the communal roll franchise which was given to the Africans in 1936 was taken away in 1959. Today

the African has neither franchise in an integrated multi-racial South Africa nor freedom in his own independent state, and he is not likely to obtain either so long as the Verwoerd regime is in power.

## CHEAP LABOUR

For the real aim of the Bantustan policy is not to lead the African people towards freedom and independence as Verwoerd so glibly claimed when staking his claim recently for the British Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The real aim is to create depressed areas in which the African people will be confined as a perennial source of cheap labour for the White man's farms, mines and industries. This was made clear by the commitment to the Transkei Constitution Act introduced

only to supply the labour needs of the White economy, preferably on the basis of migrant labour.

It is contrary to government policy that African family groups should be permitted to establish themselves in the urban areas. Under the Bill, no African would have an automatic right of residence anywhere in an urban area and could be shunted around at the pleasure of any minor government official. Part of this Bill was enacted in 1963; the remainder will probably become law during 1964.

This is the reverse side of the Bantustan medal—that in return for fake self-government in the Reserves, the African people are to lose their right to citizenship in the White man's areas of the country. Even if the Transkei were to be granted genuine and complete independence under the pressure of world opinion, it would constitute no sort of threat to White South Africa. Already overcrowded and overstocked, the country is badly eroded, the people poverty-stricken. Where would the capital come from for economic development? An "independent" Transkei under present conditions would continue to be completely dependent on White South Africa, economically and in every other way. Attempts from outside by the Verwoerd Government, which has made it clear that it will never tolerate a "Cuba" on its doorstep.

## ONE MAN ONE VOTE

Meanwhile, 180 candidates were nominated on October 2, for the 45 seats at stake in the November 20 elections. Verwoerd claims this will be a free election based on the principle of one man one vote. It will be nothing of the sort. The elections are taking place under emergency rule established by the notorious proclamations 400 and 413 of 1960 in terms of which no meetings can be held without permission, no

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WALTER SISULU  
former Secretary-General of  
the banned A.N.C.

during the 1963 session of Parliament — the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. This Bill, described by the Minister of Information, English-speaking Frank Waring, at a press conference in February 1963 as designed to remove points of friction between the authorities and the African people, in fact proposed to turn the whole African people into homeless wanderers in the land of their birth, the last few remaining rights of the Africans in the urban areas were to be stripped from them. Mercilessly, the Government maintains that the Africans must look to their "homelands" for their political and economic development; in the White areas they will be admitted



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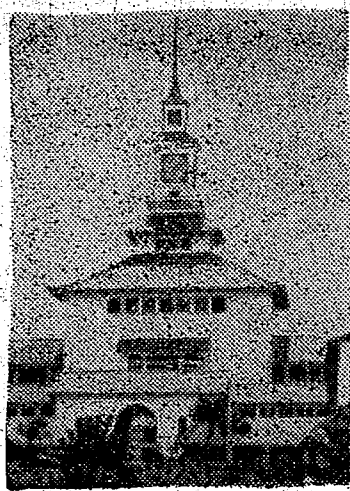
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## OUR UNIVERSITIES (5)

# LEGON

IN the Department of Political Science, students will be trained to gain an understanding of different political systems, and a shrewdness concerning the working of politics. Political systems have political philosophies standing behind them, and these political philosophies contain an ideology as well as an ethic and a programme. Given that we are seeking to build a socialist society, it is essential that the correct attitudes be expressed towards the ideology of socialism in the Department of Political Science.

I do not imply that every teacher in that Department must already be convinced of the correctness of the socialist ideology. Indeed, in order that the injustice of competing ideologies should be fully established, it is necessary that they should be expounded with reasonable sympathy.

I and my colleagues are however fully aware that in any Department of Political Science the philosophical and ideological sympathies of the Head are of great importance, and indeed assist greatly in forming the beliefs and opinions of students.

It is mainly because the sympathies of the earliest generations of teachers in Legon were reactionary that Legon has had a tradition of reaction. With the

new Citizenship Programme headed by Kweku Boateng and Kodwo Addison, it should be possible to enable students to demonstrate their identification with our valid national goals and aspirations.

But in order that this identification should be sustained, certain key positions which are the centres of power in our universities must be held by revolutionary Africans, with the emphasis on revolution-

ary, without that, the efforts of a few individuals who are animated by the correct ideology will be brought to nought because of the sheer weight of reaction and unsympathetic centres of power.

### HEADSHIPS OF DEPARTMENTS

It is in this connection that I suggested last week that Headships of the Departments of Law, History, Philosophy, and Political Science, and some others should be filled only with the full knowledge of our Head of State, who fortunately is also Chancellor of our Universities.

With this secured, we can remain confident that our political philosophy and ideology will be treated

from an objectively intellectual point of view, and never from a despicable merely carping and sourly hostile point of view.

It is essential that in Department of Philosophy, concern should not be with exclusively metaphysical points. In a socialist regime, philosophy contains only two supremely important sections: Logic and Scientific Philosophy including the Philosophy of Science and the Philosophy of Society. Metaphysics and allied concerns derive their importance from the refutation of idealistic and other reactionary philosophies which they make possible. There is nothing for example to prevent a joint development of cylematics between the Departments of Mathematics and Philosophy.

At this stage, it is necessary to assure Legon that I am fully aware that the Department of Philosophy is already introducing a course in Social Philosophy and offers courses in Ma-

## Focus on SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA PART ELEVEN

THE web of circumstances in the history of our times has inexorably patterned out the course of development which emergent nations should follow. This course is socialism. It is the only way by which a young nation can hope to build up a firm foundation for rapid development: politically, economically, socially and culturally.

It is this course of socialism which Ghana, under the inspired leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has chosen to pursue.

We continue in this issue, the series of articles tracing the progress of socialism in Ghana in the economic, social and political fields. After that we hope to follow the trend of socialism in other African countries also.

In response to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's sessional address to the Parliament of Ghana on October 15, THE SPARK is turning its search-light on the universities in Ghana. This is part five of our series.

We believe our article will stimulate discussion and help the authorities to greater activity, tightening the loose ends and putting right what is amiss.

We must emphasise that THE SPARK believes that our education must be completely in harmony with the prevailing conditions of our society.  
—EDITOR.

thematical Logic and the former at least is essential in a Socialist Society.

### AFRICAN HISTORY

A Department of History here in Ghana is required to concentrate on African History not on European or other foreign History. Surely, room can be found for European History in that Department without cutting out African History even in the shape merely of

West African History. In the age of African Unity, this is a retrograde step.

In Department of English or of French, concern cannot be merely with literacy points, and dehydrated questions of syntax and prosody. Literature for good or ill is only often a mirror of society, a critique of society, and can be profitably treated as such. For clues, I refer the relevant Departments to Trotsky's "Literature and Revolution" and to Dr. Nkrumah's forthcoming book called "Consciencism".

I could go on and suggest in the case of each Arts or Social Studies Department how it can relate its work to the needs and aspirations of our society in the building of socialism.

But I wish now to pass on to one or two other matters. I fully back the Vice-Chancellor of Legon in his revulsion at growing rowdiness among his students. I refrain from giving details, but during frequent visits to Legon, I have come across unpleasant incidents with some of which University Authorities are well acquainted. I support the effective action being contemplated and in some cases already taken.

In contrast to reluctance of some Legon youths to behave like Nkrumahist youths, some other students

at Legon have worked on State Farms and in our villages in a commendable attempt to assist the state in practical ways even while they are still students.

### ERROR OF JUDGEMENT

Students of the University College of Cape Coast too have shown similar initiative though in their case an error of judgement brought their initiative to naught.

Some students studying economics there were told by one of their teachers that they cannot just study economic theory in a vacuum and that it was desirable that they should know what a factory is like by actually working in some. They tried to, but unfortunately only wrote to expatriate firms and industries in Ghana. Of course, they were turned down. I wonder why they had not seen fit to write to state Industries while their knowledge such as it was, could have been profitably used.

The Department of Economics at Legon may not merely ponder and take to heart, but consistently apply in practice the point of view adumbrated in the recommendation to economics students at Cape Coast.

# Aluminium Smelter at

## TEMA

THROUGH regular press reports, through statements in the National Assembly, through large-scale resettlement of towns and villages to be affected by the Volta lake, and through individual and group visits to Akosombo, the general public has been kept informed of the sustained progress in the construction of the hydro-electric power system on the Volta River. From these accounts, we are aware that work on the dam site is proceeding on schedule.

There is however another phase of the Volta River Project which has not caught the public mind. This is the setting up of the smelter of the Volta Aluminium Company. The work on this smelter began in Tema on October 1, with the erection of aluminium fencing. This project is an integral part of the Volta industrial complex and public attention should be drawn to it in order to gain a full picture of the progress being made on the Volta.

### PRODUCTIVITY

The Volta Aluminium Company Smelter (Valco, for short) is being built a mile and a half from Tema Harbour. When completed this plant will cover an area of 430 acres and have an initial production capacity of 100,000 tons of aluminium per annum. The estimated cost of the Smelter is £G46 million. And it is being built by an American firm—Kaiser Engineers International.

Certainly, it will not be superfluous to point out

that the entire cost of the Volta River Project is being borne by the Ghana Government and people. We are building the whole scheme out of the sweat of our brow. And this sacrifice is precisely the guarantee we have that this vast industrial complex, when completed, will be really ours and not be used by foreign financial interests to exercise a stranglehold on our economy.

Of course, it is well-known that our government has borrowed from overseas to finance the Volta

projects. Exactly half of the total estimated cost is made up of loans raised abroad. But the point to emphasise is that these are loans, not aid. And on them we are paying interests at the attractive commercial rate of from a little over 5% to

### by X'ray

just under 7%. And to underline the business character of the loans, our government is being called upon to commence repayment of the principal even before the projects go into production.

The Volta Aluminium Company will be the biggest consumer of Akosombo electricity. It will produce aluminium at a low cost, thanks to the presence of vast deposit of bauxite and low cost electricity in close proximity. Some of the aluminium produced will be used in heavy industry in the form of beams and girdes, engine blocks, wheels and aluminium bars. Others will go into production of home utensils like cooking pots and other household wares.

### BIGGEST CONSUMER

But the real significance of the Volta Aluminium

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# Resolutions adopted by the Pan-African Union of Journalists

Continued from page 2

unions both within the colonial territories and in the outside world. The industrial and agricultural workers in South Africa and the so-called Portuguese territories are the most reliable section of the fight for liberation. In the outside world, the dockworkers, the transport workers, the workers in the oil fields and the munition industries hold the real key to sanctions. They can stop the ships from bringing goods and supplying arms to the imperialist strongholds, and will be ready to do so long before the imperialist government can be persuaded to act. The imperialist governments will only be ready to act against South Africa and Portugal if the pressure of the workers plus the weight of public opinion become too strong for them. This is where the Press can play its strongest role.

12. The African Press must regard the wars of liberation as real wars, and must find the means to penetrate into the areas where the struggles are hottest, reporting the news like war correspondents.

13. African Journalists must work for the improvement of press reporting

and make their newspapers, radio and television presentations attractive and understandable so as to ensure a better education of their people.

14. The greatest role of African Journalists must however be in our own countries. We know, especially after the speech of President Nkrumah at the opening of the Conference when he analysed the fundamental objectives of the Addis Ababa Charter that to arouse the conscience of the African masses in our independent territories is our main duty. By fighting corruption at every turn, by weeding out the corrupt elements in our governments, by exposing every agent of neo-colonialism, we will prepare the ground for real African Unity. Every opponent of African Unity must be fought as the enemy of the African Revolution. But we mustn't think of the enemy of our Revolution as a naive and open opponent. We must watch for the delaying tactics—for those who spread doubt—for those who tell us that we are going too fast—for those who shout Unity, Unity, to cover their other

crimes against their own peoples.

15. Bribe-takers, robbers of the national treasuries, oppressors of the workers and peasants cannot be true friends of the African Revolution, no matter how enthusiastic they seem in the cause of African Unity.

16. These elements are bound to betray us at a vital point—they will sell out to the neo-colonialists as soon as the stakes are high enough. We know that, as African Unity reaches reality, the bribes of the neo-colonialist will become bigger and bigger.

17. There is no short-cut for our Revolution. We must first clean our political houses, so that our independent states are ready for the sacrifices which the achievement of African Unity entails. We must also study the economic structures of our own countries in relation to the countries which offer us aid so that we don't shout neo-colonialism, neo-colonialism without knowing how it operates. When we have got rid of the neo-colonial-

ists in our own territories, we will be in a position to help our less fortunate African brothers.

18. We shall relentlessly pursue our efforts towards the achievement of African Unity which will be crowned with the formation of an African Continental Government, otherwise we shall remain ever too weak to be taken seriously by the imperialist.

The profits of colonialism are still too large for the imperialist to give them up without a struggle. As our might becomes greater, their might will become weaker, and the struggle will be shorter.

19. As journalists of the African Revolution, we must fight apathy as well as corruption. The "non-political" attitude is often the greatest menace to our progress. It is a relic of colonialism, when the best African minds were recruited for the services of the imperialists, and were carefully trained to have nothing to do with politics.

20. It is our duty to show that this "non-political attitude is nothing more or less than imperialist politics with which our universities, civil service and other intellectual workers have been seduced away from our Revolution.

deliberations, many problems which now seem insoluble will fall away by themselves. We only have to take border disputes and national differences as an example.

22. To protect the independence of Africa and to preserve its Unity, African Journalists should fight against any literary invasion of the Continent. Slick

magazines and other publications of a subversive nature hiding behind the glamour and attraction of their designs should be exposed and utterly condemned. We should be careful of publications which preach harmony where there is disharmony and publications which publish only success stories and ignore the sufferings of the masses.

## Verwoerd's Fraud

(Continued from page 3)

body may make a statement subversive of the authority of the government or any chief or headman, and anybody can be arrested and detained without charge or trial indefinitely. Some hundreds of Government opponents are known to be in jail at this moment, and will so be debarred from taking part in this "free" election, even though they have committed no crime for which they can be brought before a court.

But this is not all. A new political party was formed to fight in the Transkei election on a programme which would press for full independence, votes for all races and a campaign to bring about a one-man, one-vote system throughout South Africa. The party, which was called the People's Party of Eastern Pondoland (one of the Transkei areas), hoped to stimulate the formation of similar parties in the other areas of the Transkei. But the Government reaction was typical. The leader of the party, Mr. Leonard Mdingi, was simply arrested and detained without trial. Other followers of the party, and even opposition candidates who did not belong to the party, were refused permission to hold meetings in most areas of the Transkei. A prominent member of the Liberal Party who had announced his intention of standing as a candidate, Mr. Hamington Majija, was banned from attending gatherings and forced to go into hiding to avoid being placed under arrest.

### ELECTIONS

Nevertheless, it can be assumed that some sort of elections will in fact take place and the Government stooges in the Transkei will not have things all their own way. The main contenders for power are chief Kaiser Matanzima, chairman of the Transkeian Territorial Authority and head of the district known as Emigrant Tembuland, and Paramount Chief Victor Poto of Eastern Pondoland.

Matanzima, a known Government supporter, stands for apartheid, Black rule in the Transkei and an all-Black civil service, a "Bantu Battalion" in the South African Defence Force, the eventual elimination of White traders and officials from the Transkei and the addition to the area of the Transkei of certain White areas formerly occupied by the Africans.

He hopes to win acceptance for the apartheid policy by playing upon the national sentiments of the African people and it should not be automatically assumed that there are no sections of the people responsive to his deceptive brand of nationalism within the framework of apartheid. Matanzima is a young, university-trained, ambitious man determined to carve out a career for himself within the limits permitted by the Verwoerd Government, possible with the hope that when he has finally established himself

at the head of affairs in the Transkei he will be able to start a movement for independence which even Verwoerd cannot stop.

Opposed to Matanzima and considered the more likely to become chief Minister at this stage is Paramount Chief Victor Poto of Eastern Pondoland who has stated that he is strongly opposed to any suggestion that chiefs should automatically be members of the Transkei Legislative Assembly. "The general public have been debarred from having a say in their own affairs, the chiefs have lost the dignity of chieftainship and they have been branded as Government servants", he said on September 30, 1963. The disturbances in the Transkei would only cease, he said, when the people were satisfied with their general conditions—"and they can only be satisfied if they have a say in their government."

### THE TWO HOUSES

He proposed that there should be two Houses in the Transkei Parliament, the Lower one completely elected on the basis of one man one vote, while the chiefs would sit in the Upper House. This proposal drew the angry rejoinder from Matanzima; "Only Communistically inclined people would rejoice in Chief Poto's fight against his own birthright. It depicts cowardice on his part, and a shameless attempt to sell his colleagues on the altar of bloodthirsty Communism, whose objective is to destroy all democratic forms of government." Which shows that Matanzima has nothing to learn from Verwoerd when it comes to the tactics of anti-Communism.

Supporting Poto is Paramount Chief Sabata Dalinyebo, a relative of Nelson Mandela and head of the Tembu nation, the largest group in the Transkei. Sabata is a firm opponent of Bantustan and the whole

scheme for Transkei independence. At a meeting in Cape Town on August 11, 1963, he said the "freedom" which was being granted was like that in a fowl run, where there was no outlet. Once one entered it, one was in it for good. "A cattle kraal with a gate will be better," he said. "For we wonder why the Government is giving only the Transkei freedom. We want freedom for all South Africa." The seven candidates nominated by the Tembu at a meeting at Sabata's Great Palace all pledged themselves to multi-racialism as a policy and said they would definitely support Paramount Chief Victor Poto in his campaign for election as the Transkei's first chief Minister.

Polling in the elections will take place not only in the Transkei but throughout the Republic wherever the concentration of "Transkei citizens" warrants it. Each voter will be required to vote for as many candidates as there are seats for his region. It is expected that because of the number of candidates (180) the ballot papers in some of the electoral divisions will be almost two feet square. Illiterate voters will inform the electoral officer, in the presence of two witnesses, of the candidates for whom they wish to vote, and the officer must record their votes as they request. It will be seen that opportunities for rigging the elections will not be entirely absent.

The Transkei elections will be presented by the Verwoerd Government to the world as the opening of a new era in the life of the African people, the inauguration of internal self-government, the first step on the road to independence. It is important that Verwoerd's bluff should be called, and the elections and the whole Bantustan jiggery-pokery exposed for the fraud they undoubtedly are.

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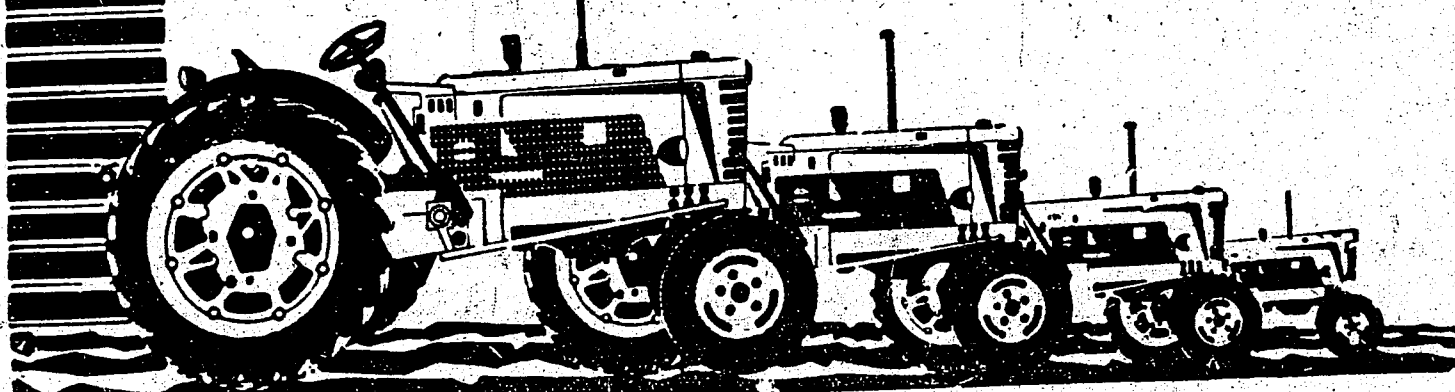
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# 'SPORTSMEN MUST MAKE THEIR VOICES HEARD'

Says Stan Levenson

"It was a very hard fight keeping them in"—thus Sir Arthur Porritt, London based New Zealand member of the International Olympic Committee. "I do not support the resolution"—thus the Marquess of Exeter, one of Britain's two members on the I.O.C.

They were commenting on the I.O.C. decision in Baden-Baden, West Germany, threatening to bar South Africa from the Olympic Games unless the South African Olympic Committee gets its Government to end apartheid in sport by the end of the year.

### TALK — BUT DO NOTHING

Sir Arthur Porritt, Sergeant-Surgeon to the Queen since 1952, and David George Brownlow Cecil, the sixth Marquess of Exeter and a big man in the City of London speak with the voice of the Establishment: they will do and say anything about apartheid—except back measures to end it. They faithfully reflect the views of Britain's new Prime Minister, Lord Home, who says he is against apartheid, but opposed to doing anything about it, such as imposing sanctions.

## Ebony: An Instrument of Imperialism

continued from page 1

"To protect the independence of Africa and to preserve its unity, the African Press should fight against any literary invasion of the Continent. Slick magazines and other publications of a subversive nature hiding behind the glamour and attraction of their designs should be exposed and utterly condemned. We should be careful of publications which preach harmony where there is disharmony and publications which publish only success stories and ignore the sufferings of the masses."

### EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

Africa must awaken to this subtlety and cunning. The truth must be told that we are not engaged in a colour fight, though the emancipation of our kith and kin is a plank in our platform.

The African Revolution is out to destroy imperialism in whatever form it chooses to operate and to build in its place a society free from the exploitation of man by man. We must know that imperialism, frightened by its weakened position in Africa, will use every stratagem including that of parading under the black skin.

We have no alternative but to ferret out, expose and decimate all agents and agencies of imperialism. "Ebony" is one such agency. The colour of the skin of the persons involved should not deceive us. We have to shoot straight at imperialism even if it means shooting at a black skin. This is the duty we owe ourselves.

geria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, presents a gold medal to Mr. Alexander Augustus Bruce Tagoe, a Ghanaian, as the best medical student. Mr. Bruce-Tagoe also wins the Sir Kofi Aboayome prize for distinction in pathology and the Blair Aitken memorial prize for scoring the highest mark in surgery. SOUTHERN RHODESIA. Premier Winston Field of Southern Rhodesia, refuses questions from the opposition on the possibilities of concessions in the Constitution to obtain independence for the self-governing British Colony. KENYA. Two Members of the opposition Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) announced in the Kenya National Assembly to join the governing Kenya African National Union (KANU). CONGO. Two Soviet diplomats who arrived from Congo (Brazzaville) last night alleged to be carrying documents hostile to Mr. Cyrill Adoula's Government have been arrested by Congolese authorities.

12th NOVEMBER, TUESDAY: GHANA: A team of doctors at Korle-Bu hospital successfully performs a "hole-in-the-heart operation" on Madam Victoria Kuamu, 27, from Togo. \* The President of Pan-African Union of Journalists, Mr. Jean B. Deen, pays warm tribute to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, for his contribution to the African cause and describes him as "undoubted pioneer of African Unity." ALGERIA: Mr. Abdel Aziz Bou-tefflika, Algerian Foreign Minister, leads a 19-man delegation to Addis Ababa on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier dispute. TANGANYIKA: The Dar-es-Salaam City Council is to start renaming some of the city's streets from December 1st. GUINEA: Guinea condemns Portugal's threats of blockading the mouth of the Congo River in an effort to exert economic pressure on the Congo (Leopoldville) Republic as "diabolical act". 13th NOVEMBER, WEDNESDAY: KENYA: The Kenya Minister of Commerce and Industry, Dr. J. G. Kiano, announces that Kenya will impose a trade boycott on South Africa and Portugal from December 12, the date of the country's independence. \* Premier Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya announces in Parliament that Kenya will remain in the Commonwealth when she achieves independence next month. CONGO: The national liberation army of Angola announces the success of their army by killing numerous Portuguese, and damages several aircrafts with their encounter with Portuguese soldiers at the airport of Noqui in North Angola, three miles from the Congo frontier. NIGERIA: Chief Festus Okoti-Eboh, Nigeria's Federal Finance Minister, announces at Port Harcourt that very soon Nigeria will introduce her own currency to reflect Nigeria's status as an independent country. TANGANYIKA: The general secretary of the Tanganyika National Teachers Union, Mr. C. Mwalongo, tells a press conference in Dar-es-Salaam that the United States Peace Corps lowers standards in schools. GHANA: Mr. Kojo Botsoi, Ghana's Foreign Minister, leaves Accra by air for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, as the head of a Ghana delegation to attend the African Foreign Ministers meeting on the Algerian-Moroccan border dispute. 14th NOVEMBER, TUESDAY: DAHOMEY: Dahomey's new Provisional Government dissolves all political parties in the country and bans all meetings, demonstrations and political parties. NORTHERN RHODESIA: Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party, reports that a shot was fired while addressing a recent meeting. A bullet went through the straw hat of one of his supporters. NYASALAND: The Convention African People's Union (opposition party) welcomes the coming general elections in Nyasaland announced recently by Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland. 15th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY: ETHIOPIA: The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Africa on the Algerian-Moroccan border dispute is expected to be opened by Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia today. GHANA: The Union of Pan-African Journalists may form a new movement embracing all journalists' associations in Africa. This will be the outcome of proposals submitted to the conference by Ghana and Nigeria. NIGERIA: The Federal Prime

Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, welcomes Mr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda and his newly wife. 16th NOVEMBER, SATURDAY: TANGANYIKA: The Tanganyika Government arrests Jose Jacou Fumane, a Mozambiquean political refugee for spying for Portuguese Government. GHANA: Ghana strongly recommends that the United Nations Secretary-General, U. Thant, make efforts to persuade the United States Government to extend diplomatic immunity and facilities to all persons connected with the U.N. including all officials of the U.N. Secretariat. 18th NOVEMBER, MONDAY: TOGO: The trial of Noe Kutuklui, former assistant Secretary-general of the late President Olympio's Togolese Unity Party will open in Togo today. Kutuklui is charged with attempting to overthrow the Togo Provisional Government. NYASALAND: In a broadcast over Radio Malawi, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland says the Legislative Assembly will be increased from 33 to 55 members. GHANA: Mr. Antoine Pinay, former Prime Minister of France, arrives in Accra from Abidjan, Ivory Coast, for a three-day private visit to Ghana. MOROCCO: King Hassan II of Morocco, inaugurates Morocco's first Parliament in Rabat, formally marking the end of more than twelve centuries of autocratic rule by various dynasties. Under this system, the King delegates his legislative powers to a new government of Mr. Ahmed Sahnini. 19th NOVEMBER, TUESDAY: NIGER: A report on the possibilities of an African Common Market is to be considered by a special committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in Niamey, Niger, this week. IVORY COAST: Mr. Philippe Yace, president of Ivory Coast National Assembly, confirms the deportation of three French citizens. GHANA: Mr. B. T. Bartimeus, Secretary-General of the Federation of African Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, appeals to Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Prime Minister of the Congo, to consider relaxing actions against trade unionists in the Congo. U.A.R.: The United Arab Republic nationalises six agricultural companies owing more than 13,000 acres. The land will be sold to farmers in lots not exceeding five acres. NORTHERN RHODESIA: Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia nationalists leader, says that rumour causing strikes by European miners on the copperbelt are "highly and secretly organised on the international level". GHANA: Mr. Kofi Batsé, 33, editor of the "SPARK" has been appointed Secretary-General of the Pan-African Union of Journalists. 20th NOVEMBER, WEDNESDAY: \* Sir Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, arrives in Ghana by air today from Nigeria with his wife on a short visit to Ghana. UGANDA: Mr. George Magezi, Minister of State tells Members of the Uganda National Assembly that Uganda will establish missions in Accra, Bonn, Delhi and Geneva. NIGERIA: The visiting Mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brant, tells newsmen in Nigeria that West Germany will continue to trade with South Africa, despite the latter's apartheid policies. \* The Federal Premier of Ni-

The Baden-Baden resolution was a compromise between those who wanted South Africa's immediate suspension and those who wanted to leave things as they are.

The resolution has two points—to change the line of the Verwoerd Government and to get the South African Olympic Committee to make an unequivocal statement backing the Olympic principle which bars racial discrimination.

Yet Sir Arthur and Lord David, who are in powerful positions, prefer to hold back.

How can they turn a blind eye to the fact that in its fifty-three years' existence, the Union has never sent a mixed team abroad, while inter-racial sport in its own boundaries is as rare as a snowball in hell?

### VIOLATES IDEALS

How can they overlook the dodges of the white South African sports leaders who try to hoodwink people into believing that they organise mixed teams?

One of their tricks was to send a team of white and African boxers to the U.S. earlier in the year—but they travelled in separate planes and were in different

weight divisions to ensure that they could not clash in the ring.

A group of African athletes competed in Britain during the summer—but they were kept apart from the white South Africans who were here at the same time.

Reginald Honey, South Africa's member of the I.O.C., can say what he likes but he cannot hide the fact that his body supports apartheid and violates Olympic ideals.

Mr. Honey and his colleagues have yet to make a statement condemning sports apartheid. This is what the I.O.C. is asking them to do.

Of course, there is no chance that the Verwoerd Government will allow freedom in sport by the end of this or any other year.

This will mean South Africa's suspension—but it will not end apartheid unless organisations and individuals abroad take a much firmer line.

The Rugby Football Union and M.C.C. carry on as if nothing has happened. Many leading footballers, including Stanley Matthews and Danny Blanchflower, make regular summer trips

to the Union; athletes, swimmers and boxers are periodic visitors to the Cape.

Earlier in the summer the International Football Federation surprisingly re-admitted the South African F.A.

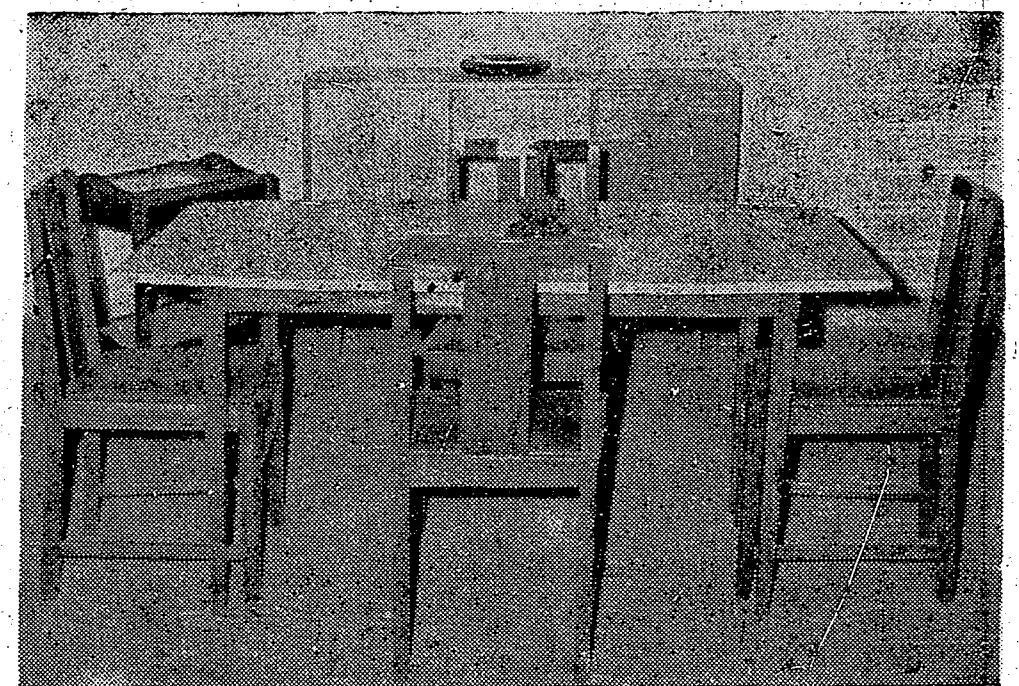
While British and international sports organisations and individuals continue to flout the highest principles of sport and of humanity, Mr. Honey and his colleagues will be able to thumb their white noses at the world.

Fortunately, there are many sportsmen who think and act differently from the Sergeant-Surgeon and the sixth Marquess.

Test cricketer David Sheppard, Olympic runners McDonald Bailey, Nick Stacey and Frank Sando, jockey Doug Smith, Bristol Rovers and other football clubs, rugby players and referees are among those who have stuck to their principles and refused to compete with Springbok teams.

Theirs is the true voice of the sportsman; it needs to be joined by hundreds of others if we are soon able to welcome South Africans of all colours into the world community of sport.

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