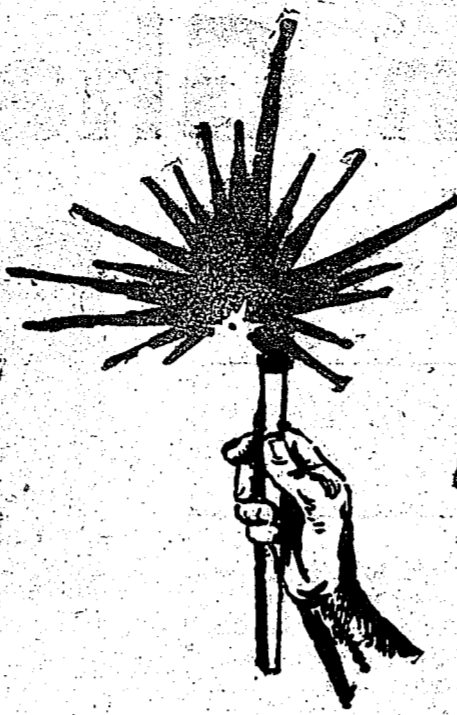


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EDITORIAL

Harnessing Foreign Capital

IN RECENT weeks, that section of the British press which puts across the views of British big business and of the "City" of London has played on the tune that Ghana is heading for economic collapse. Inspired letters emanating from the propaganda outfit of self-exiled leaders of the United Party have provided the smoke-screen for those misguided and ill-informed attacks.

The newspaper stories put the blame on socialist economic planning. Their strategy—or more appropriately the strategy of British finance capital—has been to mount a campaign against foreign capital coming into Ghana. These financial oligarchies reckon that they will drive foreign private capital away from Ghana by forecasting impending economic collapse and by dragging in socialist economic planning as a red herring.

However, two recent events have combined to blow this strategy sky-high. First came the dramatic news that British pound was faced with imminent collapse. The central banks of other countries, principally of the U.S.A., had to rush in with £1,000 million to save the pound sterling. After all, the British economy was not so strong; and the British 'experts' who forecast economic collapse for Ghana should have spent more of their energies on their own home situation.

The second event is the start of work on the Valco Aluminium Smelter here in Tema. The project takes up £46 million in its initial phase and will mushroom to the staggering figure of £100 million. What is more, all this money is private foreign capital coming in from the United States of America. What a fitting reply to the British experts who hold that Ghana's economy cannot attract foreign investment!

Perhaps the British standpoint has not been due so much to a scientific survey of Ghana's economy as to a dog in the manger attitude. Being unable themselves to find the capital for the entire Volta Project—note that the British were the first to dabble in this scheme but never brought it to fruition—British finance capital now seems to take the view that the grapes are sour.

The truth, however—the inescapable truth—is that the entire Volta Project (power generation at Akosombo, Tema Harbour and Valco Aluminium) is moving ahead with sure strides. Construction is on schedule. In parts, it is ahead of schedule. The various aspects of the scheme are closely interwoven and carefully balanced. And as a result, there is general agreement that here is an outstanding example of a vast economic project which satisfies all the canons of sound lucrative business.

Nonetheless, the historic importance of the Volta industrial complex is not its soundness as a going concern. This lies elsewhere. The Volta industrial complex provides, on a large scale, a monumental example of how foreign private capital could be effectively utilised under a system of economic planning geared on to socialism. The opposition of private capital to socialism and to serious economic planning has hitherto been total and uncompromising. This is a known fact. But here before our very eyes we can see a planned economy putting foreign private capital to the service of socialist development. As Kwame Nkrumah said at the ground-breaking ceremony of the Aluminium Smelter at Tema, the whole thing is a "demonstration of the possibility of foreign private enterprise working within the framework of socialist economic planning".

There is no doubt that Ghana's latest experiment will be watched with keen interest the world over, particularly in the developing nations. For our success will dispel the bogey that foreign private capital comes to the assistance of a developing economy only when that economy follows the path of capitalist development.

(Continued on page 6)

The British Press Again

by
Our
Correspondent

THE Western Press has been described as the most prostituted in the world. In Britain three vast press monopolies produce 90 per cent of the newspapers which appear, both national, local, daily, weekend and evening.

The industry as such is shrinking and newspapers are disappearing at an alarming rate; witness the demise of "The Daily Herald", jointly owned by the press millionaire Cecil King and the British Trades Union Congress.

As the circulations of even apparently well established newspapers decline, there is the development of frantic, panic-stricken measures to try and boost sales. After all the newspaper owners are in the business for profit, which is determined by their advertising revenue, which in turn is determined by circulation.

As the number of papers shrinks, journalists are faced with unemployment and it is no wonder that some of them are tempted to become cheapjacks, peddling unreliable but sensational information to their readers.

These journalists play on the most ignorant and blind prejudices of their readers, exploiting racial feelings, playing on nationalism, appealing to a completely unjustifiable sense of national superiority and consistently misrepresenting events and the reasons for them.

Some journalists believe they have replaced the gods or at least the prophets; with the aid of a typewriter and a few quotations from strictly unnamed personalities, they can look into the future, tell us what is about to happen anywhere in the world, analyse events of all kinds, carrying out their brainwashing operations on an extensive scale. Their bosses don't care so long as their hired men fulfil two functions. First, they must be sensational, each presenting himself as the one and only journalist who has made a unique discovery. Secondly, they must dish up news which will directly or indirectly support the existence of a capitalist system under which their bosses are allowed to make their millions through the sale of what they choose to term 'news'.

An issue of "The Sunday Times" recently excelled itself in this respect. It has a correspondent, one Tom Stacey, who produced for the edification of readers a despatch on Ghana. There is probably, we hope, not more than one journalist Stacey in the African continent at present, so perhaps we can conclude that this is the fellow recently expelled from an Independent African state for discovering non-existent plots.

One lesson Mr. Stacey should learn and quickly, is that he should not over-indulge himself. We can understand that he is a firm believer in the rights of 'free' enterprise; we are sure that he regrets the passing of the jolly old British Empire, no doubt he believes that Africans are really not capable of ruling themselves, and if they are capable he is clearly not determined to admit it.

However, he must not go through life, least of all a journalist's life, just fitting the facts to his subjective opinions or even to those of the Editor of "The Sunday Times". He has, allegedly, looked in on us in Ghana, though the headline is carefully phrased "back from Accra" without saying

how long he has been back. Judging from his allegations he has been back rather a long time and we sincerely hope it will be an even longer time before he returns. From our enquiries it seems that Mr. Stacey has either not been in Accra recently, or if he has, he has violated the Immigration laws of our country, a point the Authorities will no doubt bear in mind. Mr. Stacey thinks Ghana is heading for bankruptcy and attributes this to Kwame Nkrumah's determination to pursue "African Leninism".

According to him, this is the common view of the business and diplomatic community in Accra. Readers should notice how very careful Stacey is to avoid giving facts. Are we asked to believe that responsible diplomatic representatives would give interviews of this kind to a foreign journalist? Can we believe for a minute that serious diplomats would even give up their time to discuss these questions with him? We are absolutely sure that diplomats whose own countries are surging ahead to build socialism on the basis of Leninism, as Stacey calls it, (we usually term it Marxism Leninism) would never for a minute dream of supporting such views. What Stacey probably means is, that somewhere or other he has bumped up against a member of a diplomatic mission whose country's philosophy is capitalist too and he has listened to the usual bar-room-over-a-drink type of gossip.

ALARMING RUMOURS AND GOSSIPS

It is no secret in Ghana that the foreign business community and some of their friends in some diplomatic services spend their time whipping themselves into a panic by retailing alarming rumours and gossip to each other. In the course of an evening, speculation becomes fact, flying round from drinks party to drinks party, to reappear as news, retailed by a glib reporter anxious to scrape up something which will please his masters in London.

It is a bit cool for a British journalist to forecast complete economic collapse, and terrible suffering for our people because of balance of pay-

ments difficulties, when his own country (Britain) has just meekly returned from the capitalist money markets of the world with a loan of £1,000 million pounds to get her out of the biggest economic and financial crisis she has faced for years. A crisis, incidentally produced by policies of the late Government which was not dedicated to Leninism but dedicated to the ideas of free enterprise and capitalism which are so dear to Stacey's heart.

It is true that Ghana has a balance of payments problem, journalists don't need to go to "well-informed" businessmen and diplomats to learn that. It is true that there are import restrictions. (Britain too by different methods is trying to restrict imports) and it is true that there are temporary shortages. Anyone with the slightest intelligence and a modicum of goodwill to our country would be able to explain the reasons for this. They would be able to show that the Government has taken steps to correct the balance of payments problem, to ensure that our foreign currency is used increasingly on those imports which will stabilise our economy and help us to establish modern industries. There may be hitches and mistakes, we do not claim that all our policies and economic plans will be smoothly applied from the very beginning, but while conceding that, we don't have to take Stacey's tendentious reporting as if it were true and we reject the whole intent of the article which is designed to present Ghana as if it were some sort of police state, like Spain, or Portugal—Britain's oldest ally ruled by a dictator, and facing complete social, economic and political collapse.

We would like to correct one or two details of the despatch from so many which are essentially inaccurate.

Mr. Stacey believes the bulk of the finance for the Volta dam is provided by Western aid. What is the bulk? 90%, 95%, 80%? Perhaps the worthy correspondent doesn't know. For the construction of the Dam, Ghana provided half the finance, foreign aid the other half. He asserts that private finance has become too wary to invest in Ghana. If that is so, what was Mr. Edgar Kaiser doing here last week? Did he come just for the sake of the ride?

If Stacey were a serious observer of Ghana, or even reasonably objective, he might read our press sometimes and then he would discover that, far from being afraid to appear in public, Kwame Nkrumah has in the course of the last few weeks, to take just a short period, fulfilled

numerous public functions. He has visited the Volta Dam, opened the Tarkwa gold refinery, cut the sod for the Valco plant, seen the opening of the bridge over the Volta river, greeted heads of state at our airport. He undertakes rather more public engagements than many Heads of State whose activities are well publicised in the British Press.

One thing we can say for Stacey, in some things he is no fool. He takes the opportunity in attacking Ghana, to attack Mr. Wilson and one of his economic advisers Kaldor. To prove that he knows something about economics, he quotes the name of a *laissez faire* economist of the London School of Economics, P. T. Bauer. He's a clever lad. Now, after he has mentioned two O.K. names like Kaldor and Bauer, you are supposed to accept his views on African Leninism and *laissez faire* economics.

LAISSEZ FAIRE POLICIES

Mr. Stacey doesn't seem to have heard that it is precisely *laissez faire* policies which have left African countries the economic difficulties they find themselves in. Perhaps he will slumber down about the prospects for private investment in Ghana when he has read the President's speech at the Valco Plant ceremony where it was made crystal clear that private investment will be welcomed, that it can play a most valuable role in Ghana's developing economy. That is rather different from simply operating a Government to make the country safe for foreign investment to operate freely as it did in colonial days and as some capitalist powers would like it today.

Not only does Stacey take the opportunity to attack the Wilson Government in Britain but he tries to divide us from and make relations difficult with our neighbouring state of the Ivory Coast. The people there will be gratified to know, no doubt, that Stacey thinks they are living in a virtual paradise; perhaps he should compare notes with his colleague on the *London Times* who recently informed us that all, repeat all, trade is still in the hands of the French and that the cost of living is among the highest in the world, being twice that of France. We suspect the continued existence of the tricolour as the flag of the Ivory Coast is not only to comfort and reassure foreign investors, perhaps the Frenchmen in the backrooms of the Government there haven't got round to redesigning one for them.

Who is benefiting from this Ivory Coast boom and how long is it likely to last? Are the foreign timber exporters replacing the trees they are ripping out of the forests there or are they as we suspect denuding the country rapidly, quite unconcerned about its future.

We are not attacking Mr. Stacey because we think he is not right to criticise. Our own papers are full of criticism, as he will find if he takes the trouble to read what someone else writes, but we don't see why we should accept half-baked facts, and quotes from anonymous sources. If these diplomats, Ivory Coast Ministers and businessmen really believe what Stacey alleges them to have said, why haven't they the guts to come out openly and say so. If they haven't the courage to speak out they should keep quiet and not drip their poison out through the end of Stacey's pen.

Sorry, Stacey you didn't enjoy your 'trip' to Accra. Staying in Accra, assuming you did stay, would make you a real expert of course on the whole of Ghana's economy and its future. If you had moved out of the bars, the posh hotels and the business haunts you might even have seen the place and liked it. See what you missed. However, if you do propose to pay us a visit, come in the normal way, and talk to some people who at least think Ghana is capable of solving her problems, even though temporary difficulties may arise.

LENINISM

By the way, without even coming to Ghana you could read a little Leninism and even find out that the rate of economic growth of those countries where Marxism-Leninism is being applied is not really too bad, and that in the course of a few decades many Marxist-Leninists have managed to lead their countries from out of the poverty and misery which *laissez faire* economic policies created for them into being among the most industrially developed countries in the world. Ghana intends to succeed too. It will be just too bad if Stacey doesn't like it. The readers of the *Sunday Times* in the meantime can always read something else.

Foreign Capital in Ghana's Socialist Economic Planning

(Speech by Kwame Nkrumah at the Ground Breaking of the Aluminium Smelter at Tema — 5th December, 1964.)

FORGIVE me if I speak a little longer than I intended, but I consider this occasion to be of great significance not only to the economic development of Ghana and our relations with the United States, but also the demonstration of the possibility of foreign private enterprise working within the framework of socialist economic planning.

This is an enterprise of international co-operation. Thanks to the United States Government, the Export/Import Bank and the Agency for International Development, what we are witnessing today has been made possible. As my friend Edgar Kaiser has said, it is a product in the direction of world peace.

We are happy to have with us today, the President of the World Bank—Mr. George Woods.

It is just over a week ago, that I had the pleasure of laying the Foundation Stone of Ghana's Atomic Reactor Centre, and dedicating it to the progress of true science, and to the application of science to the well-being of our people.

We are met here this afternoon on an equally significant—indeed, historic—occasion. We are here, as you have been told, to mark the beginning of work on the Aluminium Smelter to be built by the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO). This project will cost VALCO nearly £100 million sterling, and will, when completed, lay another foundation for the effective and rapid industrialisation of Ghana.

COMPLIMENT OF THE VOLTA RIVER PROJECT

The construction of the Aluminium Smelter is a logical and vital complement of the Volta River Project. That Project, as originally conceived, consisted of three inter-related schemes, namely: the construction of a Dam and Power Station on the Volta for the generation of electricity; the erection of an Aluminium Smelter which would use electric power from Akosombo for its operation; and thirdly, the building of a Harbour here at Tema, which, with its ancillary road and rail facilities would be capable of handling the increasing import and export trade to be generated by the Smelter and the many other industries springing up throughout the country.

As everyone knows, the Government of Ghana, even before a decision on the whole Volta Scheme had been reached, decided to go ahead with the construction of Tema Harbour and the Township round it, out of our own resources.

Nearly £30 million have already been spent on the Tema harbour, every penny of which has been found by the Government of Ghana. Already plans are under way to expand the Harbour and facilities available here in the interest of our developing economy.

The construction of the Dam and Power Station at Akosombo, financed by Ghana, Britain, United States of America and the World Bank, is proceeding satisfactorily. As we have been told, it is confidently expected that electric power from Akosombo will begin to be generated by the end of 1965.

For financial and other reasons, it was agreed during the negotiations for the construction of the Aluminium Smelter that the Smelter should come into operation by the use of imported alumina, and that the use of Ghana's extensive bauxite deposits should be deferred at least for the time being.

In view, however, of the great importance which we attach to the rapid development of the potentialities of the Volta Project and its

associated industries, we look forward to the development, at an early date, of our bauxite resources, so that all stages of the aluminium industry, from the mining of bauxite to the production of the finished aluminium ingot, can be carried out in Ghana. I am glad to state that, at my invitation, Kaiser Engineers have readily agreed to undertake a feasibility study of alumina production in Ghana based on our local bauxite resources.

We are also considering, seriously, certain proposals for establishing Fabricating Plants for the production of aluminium products in Ghana. We intend that this project should be designed, from the beginning, to enable us not only to serve the local market, but to sell our products on the wider African Market.

The Aluminium Smelter which is to be built here, will be the largest consumer of electricity from Akosombo. The balance of the electricity from Akosombo will be available for domestic uses in Ghana, as well as for export. In this connection, you will wish to know that we are establishing a State Electricity Corporation, which will be responsible for the distribution and sale of electricity throughout Ghana and her neighbouring countries. This power will assist effectively in accelerating the diversified industrial and agricultural development of Ghana on which we have embarked. The Smelter Company, by paying for the bulk of the power from Akosombo, will do much to assist in the repayment of the vast sums invested in the Volta River Project.

WHERE TRIBUTES ARE DUE

Ladies and Gentlemen, Let me here pay tribute where tributes are due. First of all I must say that happy as I am today, my joy is somewhat overshadowed by disappointment and regret that that great man Henry J. Kaiser, the father of Edgar Kaiser and the brain behind the whole Kaiser Industries Corporation, is unable to be with us. He has promised to visit us many times and I was greatly hoping that we would have him here with us today. Unfortunately, his advancing age has made the long trip to Ghana too difficult for him.

I would like to quote to you some inspiring lines by Emerson which Henry Kaiser appended to a much treasured photograph of himself and his son Edgar which he dedicated to me and which hangs on the wall of my office:

"What makes a nation's pillars high? ...

Not Gold, but only men can make

A people great and strong,

Men who for truth and honor's sake

Stand fast and suffer long ...

They build a nation's pillars deep

And lift them to the sky ..."

My comment on Emerson's noble words as quoted to me by Henry Kaiser, are as follows:

How inspiring!

How significant!

These words so profound

From an old American visionary

To a young African Revolutionary.

Such thoughts, so deep,

From him to me.

Although I have not yet had the honour and pleasure of meeting Henry Kaiser in person, I feel that I know him very well indeed. I know him because I know his son and the close relationship that exists between them. I know, too, that the sterling qualities that I admire in Edgar are those same qualities that went into the making of Henry Kaiser.

POWER

I first met Edgar Kaiser in the Waldorf Hotel in New York when he called to see me with Chad Calhoun for discussions on the proposed Volta River Project. I was immediately attracted to him. He spoke in a direct manner, firmly and to the point, sure of his facts and with deep sincerity.

Here, I thought, is a man I can do business with. And so I stressed to him: "Our first consideration must be power, because power is like money—nobody seems to have enough of it."

During our very animated discussion, I saw Chad Calhoun turn to Edgar and say: "This man talks like your father." We certainly understood one another. From that date a firm friendship developed between us, not only from the business side, but the sort of true and lasting friendship which is built on mutual understanding and trust, and which develops naturally through that rare and indefinable bond of affinity.

But that meeting was important for another reason. It was the trigger that set things in motion. It so happened that President Eisenhower was staying in the Waldorf at the same time, so Edgar, in the way he has of getting down to things, suggested that we saw the President straightaway. When Eisenhower heard what I had to say, he turned to one of his officials and said that he understood that the matter had already been taken care of. When he was informed to the contrary, he ordered: "Then why don't you get on with the damned thing!"

"Yes, Sir!" I cried enthusiastically. Unhappily, however, the Volta River Project was not born quite so easily and painlessly as that. A lot of money was involved and there were many difficulties to be overcome. Then there was a change of Government in America and the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected President. It so happened that I was in New York soon after his inauguration, and I flew to Washington to have discussions with him. I believe I am right in saying that I was the first Head of State to meet the new President.

DEPTH OF UNDERSTANDING

I was greatly impressed by the depth of understanding shown by this young man. He listened with keen interest to what I had to say and showed that he was not only well informed on the subject of the Volta Project, but that he was genuinely anxious to help. From then on, President Kennedy took an active personal interest in this scheme.

He promised to help us with it and he kept that promise, in spite of the fact that he came up against much criticism and forceful opposition from his Cabinet colleagues, Congress Members and the press. It took a great deal of pluck to stand by his promise to us and only a man of such outstanding moral courage, high calibre and forthrightness could have taken such a step alone. What we see today at Akosombo and what will spring from this ceremony this afternoon, is enough justification for his action.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we owe a very great deal to the late President Kennedy.

We owe a great deal, also, to my good friend Edgar Kaiser whom I am delighted to welcome here today, and to Chad Calhoun who, I am sorry to say, is unable to be with us on this occasion due to illness. I would like to express to Mr. Kaiser and Mr. Calhoun, and to all who have contributed to make this project possible, my warmest personal appreciation and that of Government for their outstanding collaboration on the work on this Aluminium Smelter. May I also express our appreciation to the Government of the United States of America and the Export/Import Bank, for their financial backing and confidence in this enterprise.

I am happy to note that the Volta Aluminium Company and their sub-contractors have completed all the preliminary work, and that they expect to complete the Smelter, and to receive power from the Volta River Authority at the scheduled date.

LATEST DESIGNS IN TECHNOLOGY

I have been assured that the Smelter which will go up here will incorporate the latest designs in Technology and will be second to none in the world.

Today's ceremony presents a striking contrast to a similar function at the Akosombo Dam site in January 1962. At that time, the Volta Dam and the VALCO Aluminium Smelter project were a long-cherished dream. Today, the 260 feet majestic dam wall at Akosombo, the power house installation, and the aluminium towers which dot the skyline around us have brought this dream nearer to fulfilment. I would like to congratulate the Consulting Engineers, the Principal Dam Contractor, the supply contractors and the Volta River Authority for the efficient and conscientious discharge of their responsibilities for implementing the Dam project almost a year ahead of schedule.

GHANA OF TOMORROW

The establishment of this Smelter marks the beginning of the third element in the Volta River Scheme. The Smelter will provide an assured market for the Volta power, and serve as a built-in safeguard for making the Project itself viable and profitable. It will also create new employment opportunities and impart technical and industrial skills to a large number of Ghanaians. When the Smelter reaches its full plant capacity, it is expected to bring in revenue of nearly £2½ million a year to the Volta River Authority as sale proceeds of the power supplied to the Smelter. This revenue will help to service the foreign loans granted for the Project, and, eventually, strengthen our foreign exchange position.

From the elevated ground on which we stand, I see a symbol of the Ghana



KWAME NKUMAH

tomorrow—a vast new industrial complex comprising a modern Port and a new Aluminium Dock; the Cocoa Complex, the Food Complex, the new Textile Factory, the Vegetable Oils Plant, the Oil Refinery and the new Steel Mill; in addition there is the Clinker Cement Factory, a 12-mile modern Motorway linking Tema and Accra, a Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Yard, the largest in Africa, and new Hotels gradually rising on the horizon in the midst of a modern suburban township in the centre. This rapid transformation of Tema into a growing, booming industrial centre, within the short space of seven years, is indeed a source of pride and encouragement for the future of Ghana. The climax will come when we declare Tema a free port for the ships of all nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, my good friend, Edgar Kaiser, himself a distinguished, illustrious and keen businessman, has stressed the virtues of individual initiative in economic development and industry. I should like to state that no ideal is dearer to us in Ghana and in Africa than the development of the potentialities and powers of the individual to his fullest capacity. This is why we are passionately dedicated to the establishment of a Continental Union Government for all Africa, and the creation of the political, economic and social environment in which African individuality and personality will grow to their full stature, where the genius of the African will flourish along with the virtues of individual initiative and personal enterprise.

We recognise that our immediate and paramount task is to mobilise our economic potential to the fullest extent. It is only in this way, that we can increase our national production and income in order to assure rising living standards to all our people on a sustained and enduring basis. The revolution of "rising expectations" of our peoples presents us with a formidable challenge. This makes it imperative that 'speed' should be the watchword of our economic growth; and distribution of our expanded production.

TWIN FORCES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Ladies and Gentlemen, The Volta River Project and the VALCO Aluminium Smelter are a striking example of a happy blend of these twin forces of economic growth, namely, State and foreign private enterprise. The Volta Project is the largest State economic undertaking in Ghana in collabora-

tion with foreign Lending Agencies. The VALCO Aluminium Smelter itself is the result of the contribution of two enlightened and reputable private Corporations in the United States.

This common, co-operative endeavour is a clear demonstration of the fact that Ghana welcomes foreign capital, institutional or private, provided it comes without strings and with the sole purpose of helping to accelerate the economic development of Ghana, to the mutual benefit of the investors and our country. The growing industrial complex at Tema that we see around us emphasises that the era of vigorous industrial expansion will begin, not end, with the completion of the Volta Dam and VALCO Smelter. More urgent and pressing tasks await us. We must harness the potentialities of the Volta Lake, the Volta power and the VALCO Smelter to secure a rapid expansion of ancillary industries, and for the development of our agriculture, fisheries and road, water and rail transport.

The Consulting Engineers, Kaiser Engineers and Constructors, have prepared a comprehensive outline design report on the development of the Volta Lake Transport System. The Government has decided to implement the project without delay. It is proposed to extend the Ghana

Railways system to cover rail-links between Akosombo and Tema, and between Koforidua and Tema and the Volta lake port, Apinso, soon to be constructed. The Volta Lake Transport System will provide a vital artery for commerce not only between the southern and northern regions of Ghana, but also between the Tema port and our Northern and Eastern neighbours: Togo, Niger, Upper Volta and Dahomey.

BOATS AND BARGES

We hope to build the boats and barges required by the Volta Lake Transport System at the Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Yard now being constructed at Tema.

Let this Aluminium Smelter be a symbol of the mutual understanding and co-operation between us and all friendly countries and international bodies, in the great and challenging adventure of developing the economic potential of Ghana to its fullest extent. May it also serve to strengthen the foundations of African Unity, expand world trade, and promote prosperity and peace.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to be here today to join in the ground breaking ceremony, to mark the beginning of work on Africa's first Aluminium Smelter.

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STUDIES IN CONSCIENCISM (2)

The Nkrumaist World Out-Look

by **Habib Niang**

We continue today the publication of Mr. Habib Niang's expositions on Philosophical Consciencism. It deals with the concepts of space-milieu, categorial space-milieu and categorial space, and their relationship with the outlook of the blackman living outside Africa.

VERY often it is said that Kwame Nkrumah is a visionary. In fact this has been universally acknowledged since his historic speech from the rostrum of the African Summit Conference at Addis-Ababa. After that speech, some people have even called him "the visionary of a United Africa". Then, some people went to the extent of identifying vision with utopia. The same mistake was made in relation to his speech during the African Summit Conference in Cairo last July. In his second Cairo speech from the rostrum of the Second Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Kwame Nkrumah has shown a new world out-look.

"What are these major causes of tension in the world?" he asked. "First, there are the tensions resulting from the problems left over from the Second World War. Secondly, there are the tensions arising out of the striving of the peoples of the developing areas of the world to throw off their burdens of imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination in their efforts to create a better world for themselves without the interventions of foreign powers. Thirdly, there are those divisions resulting from a conflict of ideologies. Fourthly, there are tensions caused by the possession by the great powers of weapons, the destructive capacity of which there is no parallel in history".

"To my mind", he continued, "the overriding cause of tension in the world today lies in the second of the four classes of tension I have defined, namely the difficulties placed in the path of development of the emergent and developing nations by the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers.

"Thus we in Africa are threatened by two dangerous forces. The first is the desire of foreign powers to penetrate Africa, and establish new forms of colonialism through the vicious system of economic exploitation and economic imperialism. The world is witnessing the intrigues of this system in their classic form in the Congo and Southern Rhodesia".

This classical neo-colonialist policy draws its inspiration from the doctrine of enlightened despotism. We may call it, therefore, enlightened imperialism. It seems, at least as far as Africa is concerned, that the difficulties faced by imperialism, in its struggle against the nations which "came into existence as a protest and a revolt against the state of affairs in the world to-day, have succeeded in nipping in the bud that enlightened imperialism. In any case, its symbol, J. F. Kennedy has been buried.

"The second threat to the new Africa is the danger of ultra-rightist trends in neo-colonialism which I would designate as fascist imperialism. These trends are evident in certain quarters of the world today. They are not a flash in the pan. Nor do they represent the "Lunatic Fringe" of a deadly evil which is capable of upsetting the peace of the world by turning the existing situation into a mad renewal of nuclear diplomacy.

"Neo-colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle".

This principle, like all Nkrumaist principles, has solid grounds both in thought and practice. It was already implicit in the historic Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of The World presented by Kwame Nkrumah to the Manchester Conference in October 1945, and approved and adopted by the Pan-African Congress. "We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive... by all means at their disposal". Today Consciencism gives a philosophical basis to the same principle.

"I have said that a colony is any territory in which the interests of the people are alienated from them and subjected to those of a group instinct from the people of the territory itself. It follows that a colony may be externally or internally subjected

to imperialism came and changed all this". Some Africans "became imbued with European ideals either through direct European education or through hobnobbing with the local colonial administration. They gave the impression that they could be relied upon implicitly as repositories of all those stand and conservative virtues indispensable to any exploiter administration. They, as it were, paid the registration fee for membership of a class which was associated with social power and authority". Therefore they constituted a group outside the people of the territory externally subjected. In Africa, nowadays, Southern Rhodesia is not the only example of such a colony. In the same way, in Africa today, the Union of South Africa is not the only example of "an internally subjected colony". It is obvious that such colonies enjoy the legal attributes of independence. If those colonies (so-called "Independent African States") are both internally and externally subjected, the whole of the African Continent would be said to be externally subjected. For, the interests of the African people are subjected to those of a group outside the African Continent. But we have seen that many African countries are also internally subjected. Those African countries are also internally subjected because, from within, their interests are subjected to those of a class in the sense of Marx.

"Neo-colonialism is a greater danger to independent countries than is colonialism. Colonialism is crude, essentially overt, and apt to be overcome by a purposeful concert of national effort. In neo-colonialism, however, the people are divided from some of their leaders and instead of providing true leadership and guidance which is formed at every point by the ideal of the general welfare, some leaders neglect the very people who put them in power and unconsciously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists."

In classical colonialism, as the colony is externally subjected, it is possible to overthrow the colonialists "by a purposeful concert of national

effort" within a political movement.

Indeed a purposeful concert of national effort inside a colony externally subjected, is in a position to liberate such a colony even if the effort is limited to political positive action.

It is not, generally, the case when a territory is internally, or both internally and externally, subjected. For in that case, the situation is more complex and more difficult to overcome. For when the leaders, instead of providing true leadership and guidance, unconsciously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists or on their own behalf, the only way to fight and eradicate them is to suppress them. The only way to suppress them, effectively, is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle.

An internal subjection is like an extraneous body within the human body; the only way to eradicate it is by extraction. This kind of operation is necessarily painful and bloody.

We may also find a solid theoretical ground in the concepts of inside and outside when "we accept as a policy the general principle that territorial and boundary disputes should be settled without the use of force", that is to say, without "armed revolution and guerilla struggle". For "in the modern world, every country is now a neighbour". In addition to the inside of the nation, there is to be found the inside of the optimum

zone for self-induced development. It is the idea of the inside (of the optimum zone) which constitutes the basis of that principle which affirms that "territorial and boundary disputes arising out of legacies of the colonial past of the independent and emerging countries of Asia and Africa should by all means be settled by peaceful means".

"But, there are other territorial claims which arise out of imperialist and colonialist occupation. In this case the country occupied and victimised by a foreign power should have the right to use all means and resources at its disposal to recover its territory and safeguard it".

We have just seen why this is the basis of the liberation struggle in Africa. In the same way, to take an example outside Africa, we can say that this is also the basis of the liberation struggle of the people of Palestine. For, as it was stated in a resolution of the Casablanca African Summit Conference in January 1961, Israel has become an instrument of imperialism. The leaders of the Israelites, "instead of providing true leadership and guidance" for their co-religionists have "unconsciously become instrument of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists". But, "only a Union Government of Africa can assist effectively in the solution of the problems of the Middle East, including the Palestinian question".

So Kwame Nkrumah's vision, his philosophy, becomes "a reflection of the objectivity, in conceptual terms of the unfolding of matter".

POEMS OF THE LEFT

THE NET OF THE WORLD MARKET

The workers who make the long slanting cuts
In the rubber trees of Ceylon
May never have seen a Jew—
Nevertheless the fruit of their labour
Was put to use in Auschwitz.

Tin washed with a hose from a cliff in Burma
May finish up keeping the rain from the heat
Of an African dying from undernourishment
In a Johannesburg shanty town.

Nickel mined by the African
Tipped the bullets that shot a Serbian Partisan
And ninety-nine of his comrades.

Now they are all entangled in the net of the world market
The people shake their shoulders,
Look at the sky through a break in the mesh,
And flex their arms—
Ready to fight first and build after.

—David Craig

THE CONGO

the man who
has money
and a gun in his hand
will shoot your children
in the name of freedom
rather than
let you live
like a man who has
love
in his heart.

—Jan Vine.

HOW DO YOU DEFINE AFFLUENCE?

A dripping, ticking, kitchen tap
trickles its constant running nose
into a stained and chipped sink's lap.
Wallpaper bubbles silently from lachrymose
plaster; and ceiling whitewash paperchases
down occasionally onto the cold linoleum.
Fungi grows in unexpected places,
striking the nostrils with a rancid flagellum.
Yet there warts a faint expectancy
in every corner of the lonely gloom.
An old man died here recently:
new tenants will be coming soon.

—Roy Kendall.

CUBA IS NOT AN ISLAND

Cuba is not an island
As other islands are
In spirit she resembles
The centre of a star.

A star which radiating
In five enormous points
With every corner touches
One of the continents.

The heart is not an island
But reaches far beyond
So, if you strike the centre
The body must respond.

—Merryn Williams

EQUALITY

The force of falling water
Is in two bars of fire;
Ah, but not the life of water.
It is not worse, or weaker,
After its fall.
Its purity comes clear
From the foam of the pool.
It is gravity that is here,
In the fire. The stream does not care.
It sheds height eagerly
On its way to the sea.

Water wants to live at one level,
With constant, rolling energy.
And, when it's put with men,
It runs away as fast as it can,
Discarding height, and difference.
From these superfluities, we fabricate
Whatever inequalities we choose.
Norman Iles.

THE SONG OF THE MARXIST

I sing of a Universe of motion,
of beginnings and of ends,
of the soft infant and the aging mother,
of the father proceeding to an old man,
and the relaxation coming in the twilight,
where having done is of account.

I sing birth by chance,
of continuity product of fragments
broken yet always continuation,
broken yet never broken.

I tell how all enters into being
into the flux of being
within these changes giving much to being,
then ceases.
Subordinate to the end,
creating beginnings,
subordinate to beginnings of creativity
yet looking to the end,
such is my song.

—Kevin James Kewell

British Firms With A Stake In Southern Rhodesia

- Barclays Bank
- British American Tobacco Company
- British Insulated Calendar Cables
- British Motor Corporation
- British South Africa Company
- Richard Costain
- Fisons
- Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.
- Imperial Tobacco Company
- Lancashire Steel (holdings in Rhodesian Iron and Steel)
- Pearl Assurance
- Shell Oil Company
- Stewart & Lloyd (holdings in Turner & Newall Ltd. asbestos mining)
- Unilever
- Mitchel Cotts (merchandising interests)
- Metal Box Co. Ltd.
- Dunlop Rubber Co.
- John Brown & Co. Ltd. (shipbuilding and engineering)
- J. Lyons & Co. Ltd.
- Pilkington Bros. & Co. Ltd., (glass)
- Rothmans (tobacco)
- Rover Car Company
- David White & Sons Ltd.
- Ford Motor Company
- Cerebos Salt and Food Manufacturing Group.

ANNOUNCEMENT

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Portugal and De-colonisation (3)

It must have been apparent to Dr. Nogueira, in spite of the impression he seeks to create to the contrary, that the most important question involved in the whole discussion of colonialism in the United Nations is the question of how to interpret the provisions of Article 73 of the Charter. In particular the interpretation of the key expressions "non-self-governing territories" and "a full measure of self-government". Whenever it is shown that a member state has any such non-self-governing territories, even Dr. Nogueira agrees (p.22) that that member accepts certain obligations, the most important and far-reaching of which is "to develop self-government taking full account of their political aspirations".

The crucial question in each case, therefore, is whether or not a particular territory is or is not self-governing. Dr. Nogueira argues that this question is to be determined by each member state. He says the Charter clearly gives this exclusive competence to decide to each member; but as we saw in the previous part of this review, this view is only tenable if the Charter is rewritten in the way he attempts to do. The Charter, as it is now, quite clearly does not give any such exclusive competence to any member. On the contrary the law relating to the matter, as is generally agreed, leaves the question of the interpretation of the Charter to the United Nations and its competent organs.

The United Nations General Assembly in seizing itself of the question of colonialism also proceeded to define the terms of Article 73. Portugal of course switched the line of attack; and now challenges the particular interpretation proffered by the Assembly. Dr. Nogueira attempts to show in his book that the General Assembly's interpretation is not acceptable because he says it leads to dangerous and undesirable consequences. He attacks the interpretation which the General Assembly has put on the expressions "non-self-governing territories" and "a full measure of self-government". Again even though Dr. Nogueira may genuinely be opposed to the Assembly's interpretation as it actually is, he attempts to make his case much more attractive by "doctoring" the Assembly's decisions.

RESPONSIBILITY TO EXPRESS OPINION

Thus he says that the General Assembly has declared that the Assembly, and the Assembly alone, is competent to indicate which territories anywhere in the world are "non-self-governing" (p. 32). This of course is not true. All the General Assembly has said is that IT IS WITHIN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS to express AN OPINION on the principles which have guided or should guide members "in their interpretation of the expression "non-self-governing territory". (Assembly Resolution 334 (IV) of December 2nd, 1949). All the Assembly did was to deny the assertion by the colonial powers that they had any right to participate in the interpretation of the expressions. The Assembly has never said that it has the sole

competence in the matter. Dr. Nogueira "makes" the Assembly say so because this gives more punch to his charge that the Assembly has been irresponsible.

In 1960, a Committee of Six, including the representative of the United Kingdom, was appointed by the General Assembly to study and report on the criteria and principles by reference to which it may be determined in each case whether a territory is or is not a 'non-self-governing territory' within the meaning of the Charter. This Committee reported — unanimously, and its report was later accepted and adopted by the General Assembly (Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV) of December 15th, 1960 with Annex). Dr. Nogueira opposed this resolution and rejected the criteria and principles it embodied. In this book he attacks these criteria and principles but, again, he distorts them before doing so.

First the Resolution says clearly that "A non-self-governing territory" can be said to have reached a full measure of self-government by: (a) Emergence as a sovereign state, (b) Free association with an independent state or (c) Integration with an independent state". (Principle IV). Yet Dr. Nogueira says that the Assembly has rejected the distinction between "independence and autonomy", that the Assembly has declared that "only total independence, without any tie to the former mother-country should be the goal, and anything else is unacceptable" (p.31). This in spite of the clear language of the resolution and in spite of the fact that the next two principles (Principles VII and VIII) deal specifically with the method by which a subject people may freely choose to either associate themselves

with another country or even to be integrated into another state). Dr. Nogueira is bent on giving the anti-colonial cause a bad name, the more justifiably to hang it.

Similar distortions are to be found in his statements about the Assembly's criteria for determining the status of any territory. Briefly the Assembly's position is this: Whenever you have a separate territory administered by another country whose people are of a different racial stock from the people governed, there is a PRIMA FACIE presumption that the governed territory is a colony. But this is only a presumption. To arrive at a final decision, you must examine the (administrative political, judicial i.e. constitutional, economic and historical) relations between the two territories. If these relationships are such that the governed territory is arbitrarily "placed in a position or status of subordination"; then the territory concerned is non-self-governing.

It is thus possible for two countries separated by long distances and inhabited by peoples of different racial stocks, to still belong to one state and have equal status if their economic and constitutional relationships clearly indicate no subordination of one to the other. In fact the General Assembly has applied this test in a number of concrete situations and has decided in many cases that the prima facie presumption is rebutted by the facts of political, legal, economic etc. relations between the peoples. Thus it declared in 1955 that Hawaii is not a colony, that Surinam and Dutch Antilles are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and that Puerto Rico has ceased to be a colonial territory.

A FORM OF RACIALISM

Nor has the Assembly even said that the difference of race and geography are the only necessary factors. In fact in the case of Greenland, which was contiguous geographically to Denmark and inhabited by a population of the same racial stock, the Assembly decided, on the basis of the constitutional relationship between the two countries, that colonial relationship exist-

by
Dr. T. A. Mensah

ed. It was only in 1955, after the Constitution had been changed to give full political rights to the Greenlanders, that the Assembly decided that Greenland was no longer a colony.

Dr. Nogueira sees only one possible interpretation of the clearly stated criteria and their practical applications. He complains that the criteria "express a school of thought which suggests that all ethnic groups, no matter how small they may be, should constitute a different and autonomous entity with a separate and autonomous political power..." This is, of course, racialism which Dr. Nogueira finds deplorable. Even if what he says of the Assembly's criteria were true, it would still be surprising to hear Dr. Nogueira of all people (whose government still classes Africans as "second-class citizens" in their own country, whose government is the closet collaborator of the apartheid regime in South Africa) declaim racialism in any form. When all the racialism he declaims is the "racialism" which says that a people "arbitrarily" dominated by another race have the right to freedom, the hypocrisy becomes almost sickening.

SYMPATHY

It is plain, from even a cursory reading of the book, that Dr. Nogueira's purpose is not to discuss the issues "without prejudice" as he claims. It is plain that in spite of the quotation with which he begins his book, he seeks to bolster up his arguments "by exploiting the ignorance and prejudice of his readers". He seeks to confound those who have not bothered to read either the Charter or the United Nations resolutions on colonialism. He seeks to appeal to the prejudices of those who find the whole de-colonisation process a tragic mistake. In this connection it is revealing to note that Lord Chandos (the former Oliver Lyttleton of the British Colonial Office) in his foreword to the book reminds the British readers that the British "have been in treaty relations with Portugal for more than 600 years". They should, he adds "read and understand the Portuguese case".

One need hardly remark that it is not 'understanding' so much as sympathy which Lord Chandos 'begs of the British readers; and it is for sympathy which Dr. Nogueira artfully pleads in his book. All that emerges out of the book, to the informed and

careful reader, is that Dr. Nogueira and his Portuguese government are against the very premises of anti-colonialism, that they resent the efforts of the United Nations to interfere in the working of the colonial system, that they despise the other colonial powers for having allowed the United Nations so much leeway, and finally that the whole concept of de-colonisation is built on a fallacy—a fallacy that coloured men have the same rights as white men.

Of course one understands why a country of Portugal's standing should fight tooth and nail to keep her colonies. Without them she is reduced to an economic wreck and a political nonentity. So she must keep the colonies and

she must damn the ideas which undermine her system and those who purvey such ideas. But Dr. Nogueira could (and should) have said this, he should have found a way of saying this in pleasant language. Anyone who reads his books will brant that he has ingenuity. There is no doubt that he could have said all this in some sugar-coated fashion that would have appealed to his natural sympathisers and allies and may even have escaped his opponents.

What one wonders at is why he decided to tread on such dangerous ground, to tinker at the Charter and the public statements of the United Nations and the anti-colonial positions. Or did he think that they

could not recognise his ingenious tinkering? May be he still thinks that the coloured peoples of the world are second-class readers and thinkers. He must now know that he is wrong. It is to be hoped that he will learn, just as quickly, that he is mistaken about the ability and determination of the oppressed people of his so-called overseas provinces to govern themselves and to fashion for themselves their own system, organs and constitutions of government. If he does not, the disappointment that awaits him is bound to be infinitely greater than that which he must feel at the failure of his attempt to confuse and confound the world about anti-colonialism.

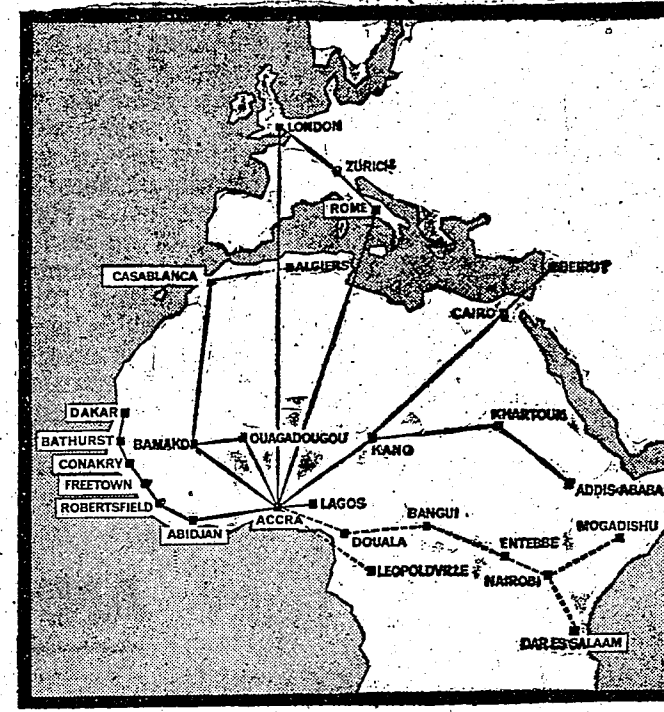
We continue our series on the review of the recent book by Dr. Franco Nogueira—the Portuguese Foreign Minister—entitled "The United Nations and Portugal—A study in Anti-Colonialism", London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1963.



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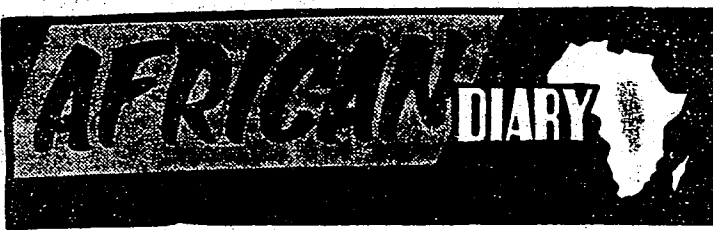


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1st DECEMBER, TUESDAY : **DAHOMEY** : President Sourou Migan Apathy of Dahomey in a message to Kwame Nkrumah on his arrival back in Dahomey, after his fruitful five-day official visit to Ghana, has expressed his strong conviction that the friendship, fraternity and solidarity between his country and Ghana would grow from strength to strength, so that real action is taken for the realisation of a Continental Union Government of Africa.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA : Over 250 Africans were detained last week in Harare—a suburb of the administration centre of Salisbury by the Southern Rhodesia white racists' administration.

This act was described as a part of Ian Smith's plan of wholesale arrest of Africans in

an attempt to suppress the mounting liberation movement in the country.

ALGERIA : Algeria and North Korea have issued a joint communique in Algiers supporting People's China's proposal for a summit conference to ban and destroy all nuclear weapons.

The communique marked the official visit to Algeria of Mr. Choe Yong Gueun, President of North Korean People's Assembly.

SOUTH AFRICA : Some 5,000 students from colleges and universities from all over Britain marched through some London streets to demand an end to the apartheid regime of South Africa.

Mrs Hilda Bernstein, a South African journalist whose husband is at present in jail in South Africa, told a rally after the march that torture was an integral part of state power under the Verwoerd regime.

2nd DEC. WEDNESDAY

GHANA : Addressing the U.N. General Assembly after his election as the President of the U.N., Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey, Ghana's Permanent Representative, reaffirmed the country's "unshakable faith in the organisation and its support for the principles of the U.N. Charter.

Mr. Sackey expressed his earnest prayer that he would be able to carry out the onerous burden that befalls upon him at this session.

* The President of the World Bank, Mr. George Woods and Mr. Edgar Kaiser, President of Kaiser Industries Corporation, have arrived in Accra to attend the ground-breaking ceremony marking the commencement of work on the £46,000,000 Volta Aluminium Smelter at Tema.

ZAMBIA : Zambia and Malawi were admitted to membership of the United Nations by acclamation in the General Assembly.

TOGO : A Lome court has sentenced Mr. Gerson Konour to 10 years imprisonment for his part in the "Palime plot" against the government of Mr. Nicolas Grunitzky last year.

MALAWI : Five former Malawi Ministers have sent a message to U Thant, Secretary-General of the U.N., alleging that Dr. Hastings Banda, Malawi's Prime Minister "is bargaining for Northern Mozambique in return for recognising Portuguese Mozambique".

The five former Ministers, Mr. Kanyama Chiume, Mr. Augustine Bwanausi, Mr. Certon Chirwa, Mr. Yatutu Chisiza and Mr. William Chokani, accused the Banda regime of trying to create a "buffer" state to "prevent the liberation" of Portuguese Mozambique.

Continued on page

PAT SLOAN EXPLAINS

AS a visitor to Ghana for the first time, an Englishman who for thirty years has specialised on Soviet affairs after living in the USSR from 1931 to 1936, I hesitate to write in full all my impressions of Ghana. But on one or two questions I already feel competent to write—especially where my own lecturing has been misinterpreted.

Reporting my lectures in Accra, the daily press attributed to me the statement that by 1980 the USSR hopes to achieve her "fullest communist status, the country would be a paradise in which everything would be free to all her citizens."

I appreciate that it is not easy to report briefly a one-hour lecture. But I must at once place on record my utter repudiation of the words attributed to me.

"FULLEST" COMMUNISM BY 1980?

I did not say the USSR would achieve its "fullest" communism by 1980. I did not use the word "paradise". I did not say that "everything would be free by 1980".

In an honest endeavour to summarise, the reporters (or sub-editors) tried to paraphrase, and got me wrong. So let me explain:

The USSR today, has a twenty-year Programme covering development to 1980. While, technically, this is the Programme of the Communist Party, it was only timely adopted after a nation-wide discussion at meetings attended by 73 million people out of a total population of 230 million. So, indeed, the Programme may be called a Programme of the whole people.

And this Programme provides for the beginning (not the "fullest" development) of Communist society by 1980; a society in which each "contributes according to his ability and receives according to his needs."

To achieve even this first stage of "paradise" much has to be done. It is planned that

industrial production be increased twofold between 1960 and 1980; that agricultural production be raised two-fold, and that production per head of population shall surpass that of the U.S.A. early in the 1970's.

In order that people shall gradually begin to receive according to their needs a two-fold development is planned

THE LAZY AS WELL AS THE HARD WORKERS

1. In order to stimulate everyone to give of his best, both the lazy as well as the hard workers, wages will continue to be paid according to work done.

2. But, in order that more and more things are supplied according to need, it is planned that by 1980 the following will be among the free social services: Housing—to be supplied rent-free to everyone as a social service. Local transport (underground, buses, trolley buses, etc.) to be provided without fares being charged. And a main need at all places of work and education to be supplied as a free social service. Note that this is but the beginning of the Age of Plenty, not its "fullest" development. It is the target for 1980, but 1980 will mark but the beginning of the entry into

the epoch of Communist advance.

1980 IS BUT A BEGINNING

So the "Communist Paradise" of 1980 is but a beginning. It will take many more years to see its "fullest" development.

History is a process sometimes slow and sometimes speedy. The great creative agent in history is man. But even Soviet man wishes no claim to perform supernatural miracles. If miracles are performed, they are the work of the hand and brain of man working collectively.

Which brings me to "paradise" from quite another direction. Do the Russians believe in paradise in the traditional, religious sense? Are they religious? — I have been asked this question often.

First, there is no prohibition against religious worship in the USSR. People who wish may worship, but the churches must be supported by the contributions of their worshippers.

COMMUNIST PARTY AND STATE ARE ATHEIST

And, on the other hand, the Communist Party, and state are atheist. They give no support to any religion. And they aim at so developing man's faith in man, that man to man shall be "brother, friend and comrade", as the third code of Communism puts it.

Long ago, ever since 1917,

Dean Hewlett Johnson (until his recent retirement, Dean of Centerburg—he is now over 90) has constantly declared that the Soviet Union, as an example of Communist policy in practice, was more "Christian" than the "Christian" world of capitalism and imperialism.

In Britain today the Anglican Bishops of Birmingham, Coventry, and Woolwich have all publicly made statements of a socially progressive character both on peace and on internal issues.

The two Encyclicals of the late Pope John, with his emphasis on peace, and co-operation even with atheists for the "common good", had world-wide influence, both on Catholics and on those with whom they are now ready to co-operate.

The Congregationalist, the Rev. Dougl Soper, has for years associated himself publicly in Britain with progressive causes, and played a pro-

minent role in opposing Apartheid in South Africa.

LONDON PARKS WERE LIKE "BROTHEL"

The Rev. Billy Graham, American evangelist, told Britain after visiting Moscow that, morally, compared to Moscow, London's parks were like "brothels".

The above list may seem impressive, but it is a tiny fraction of religious spokesmen in Britain. The British churches as a whole have shared in the imperialist tradition; and British trade and conquest went historically hand-in-hand with the Church Missions as importers of British "Christian" ideology as a handmaiden of British rule.

But in the Ghanaian struggle for liberation, a large list of the churches, and churchmen played a progressive role. The Mission-schools were originally modelled, at secondary level, on the so-called "public

schools" of Britain—the most exclusive school network in the world, even today only catering for the children of the wealthy top 10% of the population, while the really public schools are the secondary modern and grammar schools which are all day-schools open to the children of the mass of the people.

ALL-EMBRACING NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

It will be instructive to see (may be even instructive for the British) how Ghana will develop an all-embracing national school system, working outwards from what it has already inherited from the colonial period. In British "public schools" attendance in chapel is compulsory. In Ghana's secondary schools it was too, I am told; but is now in some schools voluntary.

Ghana's aim is socialism. In "Consciencism" the aim is stated of embracing "philosophical materialism" i.e. Socialism-Communism-philosophical materialism. These aim at uniting man, on a collective, co-operative basis, to achieve on earth a "paradise" based on two things: Material plenty, and a truly human-morality of brotherhood in which men will live in the Age of Plenty on earth as morally as life after death has even been portrayed by Christians.

If, in Ghana, those who seek the Kingdom of heaven on earth see, like Dean Hewlett Johnson, that only through socialism and communism can men even reach that kingdom, that "paradise"; that "communist society", then a long and constructive period is possible between Marxist materialism on the one hand and all forms of Christianity on the other which see practical work for the "common good" as their main objective.

As to ideological differences, they can be thrashed at by degrees as practical co-operation for the common good brings all men nearer also to a common body of accepted truth.

Big Business Stake in Southern Rhodesia

From

A Special Correspondent

SOUTHERN Rhodesia is dependent on foreign capital to finance mineral, agricultural and other enterprises. Between 1939 and 1955 interest, dividends and profits transferred abroad amounted to approximately 20 per cent of its exports.

Annual mining production (1963) is £15 million (about one quarter of that in Northern Rhodesia). It includes asbestos (31 per cent); gold (26 per cent); coal (12 per cent); chrome ore (12 per cent); and copper (10 per cent).

It is estimated that up to 1955, 1,000 million dollars worth of mineral production was taken out of Southern Rhodesia by foreign investors.

Said Mr. R. S. Walker, President of the Chamber of Mines, in Salisbury last May: "At least 75 per cent of last year's production came from mining assets owned by investors outside the country"

Although investment in manufacturing industries has increased in recent years, priority has been given to developing the processing of raw materials from which the foreign owners (who are also the owners of the raw material assets) get a high rate of profit, while the African population get little benefit.

EUROPEANS BENEFIT

Even projects like the Kariba Dam have benefited Africans little. Thousands have lost their land as a result of the lake rising behind the dam in the Zambesi valley. It has been estimated that 20,000 people lost their land and homes in Southern Rhodesia. Another 30,000 lost their homes in Northern Rhodesia—now Zambia.

The benefit has been to the big European-owned mines, industrial enterprises and the homes of the white population.

Since the dissolution of the Central African Federation the need for Southern Rhode-

sia, now cut off from the huge profits made in the Copper Belt in Zambia, to find capital has become acute.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co. Ltd. has large copper mining interests in Southern Rhodesia. It received in 1962 dividends amounting to £339,500 from its subsidiary M.T.D. (Mangula).

In February 1962 an agreement was signed by a consortium of petroleum firms including Shell, British Petroleum Vacuum, Caltex, Total and American Independent for the building of a £10 million refinery. The refinery would take in oil brought in through the port of Beira (Mozambique).

In December 1961 it was reported that a group of Anglo-American companies lent the Southern Rhodesian Government £51 million to be spread over thirteen years. The Standard Bank of New York lent over one million pounds in May 1962.

SUBSIDIARIES

A consortium of firms representing financial houses in West Germany, France, Italy and Japan has offered (May 1964) £50 million to the Southern Rhodesian Government for development projects.

The Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa Ltd. is prospecting over a wide area. Gold, copper and chrome are their primary interests.

The Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation Ltd., which operates in Australia, Canada, U.S.A., South Africa, the United Kingdom and Spain, and which made a profit of £6,300,000 after taxation in 1963 as against £5,700,000 in the previous year, has subsidiaries registered in Southern Rhodesia.

The principal is Rio Tinto Holding Co. Ltd. Others are Rio Tinto (Rhodesia) Ltd. owing the Cam and Motor, Pickstone and Patchway gold mines and the Rio Tinto Sandawana Ltd. which owns 97 per cent of the Sandawana emerald mine.

Turner and Newall Ltd., major asbestos producers, which own the Rhodesian General Asbestos Corporation Ltd. and Turners Asbestos

Products Ltd., both registered in Southern Rhodesia, as well as nine British companies and fifteen overseas companies, showed a group profit of £6,500,000 in 1963.

The British South Africa Company with total investments of £47 million has five subsidiary companies registered in Southern Rhodesia. All are concerned with mineral and agricultural exploitation. The Company also owns forests and agricultural estates totalling 140,000 acres. Products include maize, tobacco and timber.

Rhodesian Selection Trust, in which American Metal Climax Co. has a 46 per cent interest, has immense copper and phosphate interests in Zambia and Southern Rhodesia. It has declared increased profits for the year 1962-63.

Coronation Syndicate Ltd., which became a subsidiary of Lonrho, is now a subsidiary of Tweefontein United Collieries of South Africa, as a result of recent share transactions (October 1964). The Lonrho Group has increased its holdings in the British Central African Corporation which thus became its subsidiary.

African Explosives and Chemical Industries (A.E. and C.I.) (capital: £130 million), supply the whole of Africa with explosives as well as industry with chemicals and agriculture with fertilisers, is half owned by Imperial Chemical Industries (I.C.I.) and De Beers Industrial. Chairman is Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer.

HUGE PROFITS MADE

The A.E. and C.I. made sales of £49 million in Africa in 1963 compared with £13 million in 1962. Profits after taxation in 1963 amounted to £5 million made mainly from the sales of fertilisers and agricultural products.

It is reported that its explosives plant at Salisbury is to be considerably expanded. Sir J. L. Hullet and Sons of Durban, a group which has double.

large sugar-growing interests in Southern Rhodesia, reported net group profits after tax of £4,600,000—nearly double the previous year's figure in 1963. Two companies are registered in Southern Rhodesia as subsidiaries: Mtikwe Sugar Co. and Tokwe Development Co.

According to Mr. A. S. Quinton, Chairman of the Sabi Limpopo Authority, with interests in dam construction and owners of citrus fruit plantations, private enterprise has invested £21,800,000 in citrus and sugar cultivation in Southern Rhodesia.

SHARP INCREASE FOR GROUP INTERESTS

The Anglo-American Corporation Ltd. (see above) have large interests in the Hippo Valley Estates, a company producing sugar.

Tate & Lyle has large interests in sugar-growing in Rhodesia. They showed group profits after tax of £5 million in 1963—a sharp increase on the £3,400,000 of the previous year.

TOBACCO

The South African Mutual Insurance Group has £60 million invested in the two Rhodesias and has plans to invest a further £500,000 in sugar-ranching and cotton projects in Southern Rhodesia.

Gallaher Ltd., the United Kingdom tobacco company, has large interests including a packing and handling plant in Salisbury, employing 1,500 Africans.

Other firms with interests in Southern Rhodesia include Globe Telegraph Trust Ltd. with quoted investments of £13,300,000 with a market value of £44,600,000. Unquoted investments of £7 million are considered to be worth £13,300,000.



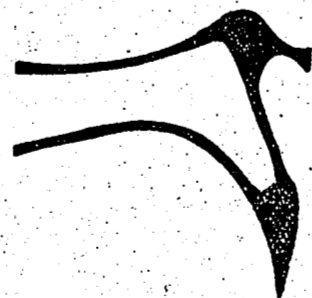
Import - Export Enterprise

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Telegrams: "Skorimpex" — Kodz
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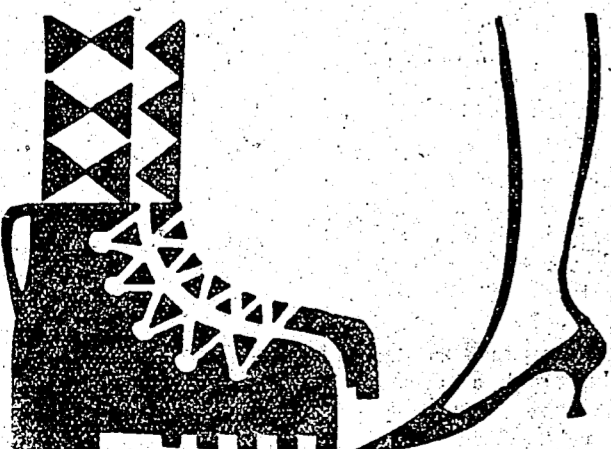
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The Theatrical Movement in Revolutionary Cuba (I)

ART is a singular and complex social phenomenon that contains various forms of artistic expression: literature, painting, music, sculpture, theatre, cinematography, etc., etc., each of them admitting ulterior subdivisions. Literature, for example, includes Prose, Poetry, Dramaturgy, etc., etc. Art and its various forms of expression are particularly studied by the general theory of Art called Aesthetics.

As a defined form of social conscience, Art takes its characteristics by the singularity of its object and way of reflecting reality. The artistic image always finds its material incarnation in the works of art; books, paintings, statues, musical works, theatrical representations or performances, etc. It is through these that ideas and intentions of artists are made accessible to the perception of other men, and enabled to influence them. Therefore art is not only noble, exalted reflex of reality, but also the materialisation of this reflex.

THEATRE

Since the theme of this article is specifically the Theatre, or better still, the theatrical movement which is taking place in Cuba as part of one of the main aspects in a revolutionary process; the development of cultural expressions, we will from here on refer mainly to it, after having given a general definition of what Art is, according

to Marxism, which is the ideology that inspires our revolution, and guides us in the construction of Socialism.

The Theatre is a form of Art, both as a sub-division of Literature and in its representational form. The individuals that dedicate themselves to perform this art are to be considered artists, and the result of their work as works of art, reflecting an aesthetic idea, and ideological theory on reality.

The social essence of Art and the ideological tendency derived from it, determine its ideological peculiarities. All art is ideological, independent of whether the artists themselves understand it or not, admit or deny it. Because of this, even artists that proclaim the "absence of ideas" are, in reality, vehicles for definite ideas. Today, the so-called "absence of ideas" is nothing else than a way to transmit Bourgeoisie ideology.

Following these Marxist principles, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, aware of the importance of Art, and as such of the Theatre, has taken measures to provide for

its development in a social, ideological and technical dimension.

At the time of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the cultural level of the country had descended to incredible limits. The triumph of the Revolution, the seizure of power by the working class in alliance with the peasants and the progressive sectors of the middle class in the cities made possible the profound changes which have taken place in the economic structure as the national resources were rescued through such means as the development of agrarian reform through the intensification of collective cultivation of land, the industrial development and the establishing of commercial relations according to the needs of our people. Swiftly our Revolution fulfilled the objectives of the national liberation stage, fully approaching the construction of a socialist economy.

IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL PROGRESS

In the ideological and cultural fields, progress has been made in such degree as was difficult to conjecture. The Campaign of Alphabetization, took place in a record period of one year, with the massive co-operation of students' brigades, professionals and teachers, young and old, at day-time and at night in the countryside and in the cities, in every centre of work, military unit or farm. The thousands of students under scholarships given by the government will supply the needs of technicians, professionals, etc., that a Socialist society demands.

Art and culture is no exception to the other fields of work. The Cuban government has established the National School of Art, where young people are training themselves to supply the country with the future artists. Each brand of art has its own building, specially constructed to lodge the students and to provide them with the peculiarities of their art. The School of Dramatic Arts has had a theatre built and fully equipped with modern techniques that will assure our future actors, actresses and directors, an integral education in their specific Art. Since these students are very young, they are given general education as part of the curriculum, as well as the ideological training so necessary in the formative years. These are good examples of what our Revolutionary Government is doing to raise the cultural standards of our country.

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

The Press, Radio and Television, the film industry and all the most efficient methods of communication we know are today fully serving the revolution and the defence of its ideology. These vehicles were rescued from the shameful, commercial and culturally poisonous situation into which they were thrown by those who profited from the degeneration of popular taste through film, radios, music and comic books of no artistic value at all. The values of art in these media were based upon the ability to sell socks, soap or soap to name just a few of the usually cheap merchandise, which the capitalist system offers in exchange for the mentality of the people.

The "Consejo Nacional de Cultura" (National Institute of Culture) was created in order to guide direct and organize the cultural expressions according to their various characteristics, such as literary, the theatre etc. as well as

library activities, and the plastic arts. The C.N.C. is to attend through the schools of art, to the formation of our future creators, interpreters, professors, in these branches of culture.

The theatrical movement could be divided in two main activities: the professional and the amateur theatre.

THE PROFESSIONAL THEATRE

The Revolutionary Government Subventions, the organic lives of numerous professional groups throughout the island; five dramatic groups in the capital, each with a different personality determined by their artistic direction. There is one group called "Theatre Brigades" whose main function is to perform every night in a different place of the province, and to leave on tour to various towns and cities of the interior of the country. This group has several teams that permit them to be at various places at the same time, giving at least three different performances every night, and others of similar Organizations. In every principal city of the six provinces of Cuba, there exists one group on similar economic conditions as those of the capital. The C.N.C. provides the technical services of all these groups through a big workshop, employing carpenters, artisans, tailors, designers, etc., in the making of all theatrical accessories. Each group has one general director, and at least one artistic director, a minimum of twenty-five actors and actresses, a designer, a literary adviser, and professors to carry the work at the seminar. All of them are paid by the C.N.C. on various levels determined by the work they perform.

THE ACTIVITIES

The activities of these groups consist mainly of two important aspects, the actual performance of their art on the various theatres assigned to them, and the continuous study and practice through the seminars organized in each group, according to their needs and tendencies. The continuity of studies as part of the life of the professional artists is encouraged to allow every day analyses and discussions on artistic principles, methods and forms. The usual classes are of interpretation, direction or production, mimics or pantomime modern dance or ballet, acrobatics, music, vocal training, sometimes languages, history of the theatre, etc.,. In some cases special seminars have to be prepared in order to put on a special play. For instance, when Bertolt Brecht's play "The Good Woman of Se-Chuan" was performed, a special Marxist seminar was prepared in order that his theatre which he himself called "dialectic" theatre might be properly comprehended. The experiment proved a success, and now most groups have ideological seminars to discuss, analyze and forward their artistic work.

The repertoires of these groups are rich, and differ according to their own artistic tendencies. In a general sense there is a considerable preference both from the creators and the public, for national plays. It is also one of the main interests of our Government to forward the national theatre in its literary aspect.

The writer in the theatre, called the Dramaturge or the Author, is of great importance, especially in the dramatic theatre, where the representation springs from the written theatrical work. In our country, a group of young writers were united in a seminar to last two years, and

there they will learn the history, styles and other important aspects both of the Theatre in a universal sense, and our Cultural heritage in particular. From them we have already received some of the best plays written in Cuba after 1959: They are young, socialist and talented men and women from whom a great deal is expected.

"Marxism" Lenin said "is an example of how Communism is the result of the sum of knowledge of humanity". But due to the fact that for centuries society has been made up of various social classes, with contradictory interests,

some exploitators, the others exploited, there has both been in society, an homogeneous attitude.

The classes destined to disappear but determined to smother the historical development in order to perpetuate their privileges, tried to deform the real meaning of such a heritage to their advantage.

The new forces in earnest to respond to history and to end privileges, take a different attitude. These will be the forces to pick up and transmit to new generations in the purest essence of the Cultural heritage guaranteeing cultural

continuity. They will approach the study and analysis of such a heritage with the right frame of mind that the culture of a given country does not remain static; on the contrary, it is in constant transformation along with the transformation suffered by the given society itself, and aware of and alert to, the influences from outside selecting always the positive influences, i.e. those which can be integrated without deforming or weakening the culture to which they are being added, leaving those that damage the given culture and make it loose its own character.

Editorial

Continued from page 1

And this is a convenient point at which to ask for the reasons for this historic break-through by Ghana in the strategy of economic development. Why have we succeeded in mobilising foreign private capital in the service of socialist economic planning?

Many will quickly attribute this to the consummate political skill of Kwame Nkrumah. Others will point to the remarkable degree of mutual understanding existing between Nkrumah on the one hand and the owners and financiers of the Tema Aluminium Smelter on the other hand. No doubt, these are both important elements in the situation.

But there is something more fundamental. Kwame Nkrumah could show consummate bargaining skill in negotiations with foreign private capital because he is playing a good hand. And foreign private capital—the hard-headed calculator that it is—has come along smoothly because the conditions here look very attractive indeed.

What then are these conditions? First and foremost, there is political stability in this country. The precise, effective and far-sighted policies designed to weld this nation into a strong and united people's state are now bearing fruit in the economic field.

In the second place, the Volta industrial complex, as it stands, is a sound economic project. The cheap power, from Akosombo finds a ready market at the Tema Smelter; conversely, a huge electricity-consuming aluminium works finds power supply both abundant and cheap. Again, the modern Tema harbour is equipped to handle a large and expanding volume of cargo connected with the Smelter and other ancillary enterprises. And this modern harbour and industrial layout is linked by a first class road and rail system with the rest of Ghana and sister African states. The aluminium from the Smelter will have an assured and expanding market inside Ghana; it can count on the world-wide connections of the Kaiser corporation. And into the bargain will soon go the provision of cheap and abundant supply of bauxite locally.

This excellent combination of favourable factors has inspired faith on both sides in this gigantic combined operation. Because the project is sound, foreign private capital sees nothing but gain in investing in it. And again because the project is sound, Ghana can comfortably pay the high rates of interest demanded by foreign private capital.

Both sides stand to gain. And political stability assures that the mutually beneficial economic deal will last.

Those who wish to emulate Ghana in this exercise should know precisely where Ghana's strength lies. And we Ghanaians who want the continued success of the lucrative economic venture must constantly reinforce the foundations on which the whole edifice is erected—sound, balanced economic planning and political stability.

African Dairy

Continued from page 4

3rd DECEMBER, THURSDAY: GHANA: Ghana has signed three separate protocols providing for exchange of goods with three countries.

The three countries are the People's Republic of China, Bulgaria and Israel.

The protocols were annexed to long-term bilateral trade agreements concluded between Ghana and the three countries.

* In a statement issued in Accra, the Pan-African Union of Journalists condemned the action of the South African racist regime against the imprisonment of two South African journalists, Mr. Hugh Francis Lewin and Raymond Eisenstein.

The Union called on all journalists organisations in Africa to demand without reservation the release of their colleagues.

The P.A.U.J. noted that the two journalists had been jailed for seven years by the apartheid minority government just for demanding justice and fair play and an end to the monstrous policy of apartheid.

CONGO: (Leopoldville) The Defence Minister of the Stanleyville Revolutionary Government, Mr. Gaston Soumialot, told a press conference that his forces controlled two-thirds of the Congo and that they were moving to liberate the remaining one-third, including the Congolese capital, Leopoldville.

The Minister said that the Belgian aggression done by the Belgians in the Congo is unprecedented in the 20th century.

Mr. Soumialot criticised the International Red Cross for not intervening when blacks were killed; which meant "even in death they are discriminating"

KENYA: The Kenya Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Odinga Oginga, has signed orders declaring two British journalists, Richard Beeston and Douglas Brow, of the British Daily Telegraph, and Sunday Telegraph respectively, as prohibited immigrants.

The journalist were given 24 hours to leave Kenya. It was alleged that a publication in the November 29 issue of the British "Sunday Telegraph" attacked Kenya and particularly Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta which promoted the deportation of the two newsmen.

SUDAN: Round table talks aimed at forming a federal relationship between the North and South Sudan, have been called for by the leaders of Southern Sudan.

4th DECEMBER, FRIDAY: SOUTH AFRICA: The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, has announced that "he would not put an embargo on mail imports to South Africa, saying an announcement of an embargo would be equal to a declaration of war."

The Prime Minister made the statement after rejecting a proposal that he should initiate oil sanctions against apartheid South Africa through the United Nations.

SUDAN: A five-man state council, including three doctors was today appointed to act as Sudan's head of State.

The committee will be sworn in tomorrow in the presence of the Prime Minister, Sir El Khalifa and other government members.

NIGERIA: Radio Nigeria has announced that about 1,000 Nigerian workers in plantations and estates in Cameroun have been retrenched.

* All six directors including the Chairman of the Government owned Nigerian National Press Limited—printers and publishers of the "Morning Post" and "Sunday Post" have been removed from office and replaced by four senior government officials as interim directors.

5th DECEMBER, SATURDAY: GHANA: Speaking at the ground-breaking ceremony marking the commencement of work on the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO) Smelter at Tema, Kwame Nkrumah described the project as "an enterprise of international co-operation", and that the smelter would incorporate the latest designs in technology and would be second to none in the world.

He described the Volta River Project and the VALCO aluminium Smelter as striking examples of a happy blend of the twin forces of economic growth, namely, State and foreign private enterprise.

Kwame Nkrumah then paid tribute to the late President John Kennedy for his outstanding moral course, high calibre and forthrightness who, in spite of criticism and forceful opposition from his colleagues, the congress and the American press, helped in the financing of the Volta River Project.

ETHIOPIA: The National Secretary of Ghana's Trade Union Congress, Mr. J. A. Ampah, has told the second African regional conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, that political unity in Africa is the first step in overcoming all problems.

"This is fundamental if we are to emancipate ourselves from the cramped economic circumstances in which we are placed."

U.A.R. A meeting of the Economic Committee of the Organisation of African Unity, scheduled to be held in Cairo, United Arab Republic on December 14, has been postponed until January 14 because of the recent events in the Congo.

7th DECEMBER, MONDAY: GHANA: Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghanaian President of the United Nations General Assembly, speaking at a "Salute to the President" dinner given in his honour by United Nations Correspondents Association has said a Continental Union Government will give Africa a "very powerful force" to find solutions to world problems not only for the United Nations but also other world Councils.

Mr. Sackey pointed out that a Union, Government would be Africa's answer to many problems facing the continent.

SOUTH AFRICA: Bruce Morrison, a former South African sales representative, and one of Moise Tshombe's white mercenaries, was quoted by the "Johannesburg Sunday Express" as saying in an interview that wounded Congolese nationalists are being shot as "an act of mercy" by white mercenaries and Moise Tshombe's troops and then left to die in the bush.

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure of Guinea has said the Guinea Democratic Party's local organisation should be totally rejuvenated before the forthcoming party election.

The President said the rank and file members had a right to denounce those unworthy of party posts.

KENYA: At a rally specially organised at Lumuru, near Nairobi, for Premier Jomo Kenyatta to talk to the people for the last time as Prime Minister before becoming President of the Republic of Kenya, Mr. Kenyatta said, "one-party system will enable a Republican Kenya to progress and play her rightful and decisive role in the struggle for African independence and Unity".

He pledged that Republican Kenya would remain non-aligned and in the Commonwealth as well as adhere to and abide by the Charters of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) and the United Nations.

8th DECEMBER, TUESDAY: NIGERIA: Nigerians will go to the polls on December 30th to elect new members to the 312-member Federal Parliament. UGANDA: A draft convention on freedom fighters in Africa has been completed and is ready to be forwarded to the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.)

The O.A.U. Commission on Freedom fighters held its final meeting at Kampala, Uganda, after three weeks tour of Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi.

The Commission also took evidence from freedom fighters, governments and other representatives.

TANZANIA: A public rally to restate Tanzania's foreign policy will climax a three-day celebration of the country's second republic and independence anniversary.

SUDAN: The Sudanese Prime Minister, Sir El-Khatim Khalifa, announced at a press conference in Khartoum, Sudan, that fourteen Southern Sudanese were killed and about 400 injured during today's clashes between Northerners and Southerners.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Southern Rhodesian white-dominated Parliament has given its final approval to a bill providing for the death penalty for anyone found possessing a bomb. While white settlers including women and children are armed, a penalty of up to 20 years jail would be imposed on anyone (Africans) who possesses an offensive weapon other than a bomb.