

# THE SPARK



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# IN UNITY LIES OUR STRENGTH

COMMENT ON:

## RACIAL PROBLEMS IN BRITAIN

OUR planet today is a very small place. Within hours of being delivered the speeches of eminent statesmen ring around the world committing them to programmes and policies with a vast public as witness. For this reason influential politicians consider their statements carefully knowing full well that at any time they can be confronted and challenged with their very own words which are "on the record".

We are consequently entitled to regard the public utterances of a man like Harold Wilson, Britain's Labour Prime Minister, as responsible, considered statements which reflect his policy and principles.

The speech delivered annually by the current British Prime Minister at the Lord Mayor of London's banquet is always taken as a significant statement of policy. Whoever occupies that high office speaks to the embattled ranks of 'the City of London'; he addresses the richest and most powerful men in capitalist Britain, the bankers, the captains of industry, the directors of big monopoly companies.

Mr. Harold Wilson, soon after his elevation to the position of Prime Minister, spoke at this banquet. His speech reflected the uneasiness which all thoughtful people feel about the growing problems of racism in Britain today.

\* \* \*

He said, "this (i.e. racialism, Editor) is for every nation an overriding great moral imperative, a straight issue between right and wrong.

"If we believe that 'He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth', we cannot condone in others or ourselves assert, colour prejudice and the practice of racialism.

"We must outlaw racial intolerance, colour prejudice and anti-Semitism—whether found in activities of squalid relics of fascism, politicians of any party or in attitudes of a so-called Labour Club."

These were noble words and one wonders if any members of the audience felt any twinges of conscience or if their thoughts went out to the plight of millions of African and Asian workers who, have toiled and lived in terrible conditions that the coffers of these men shall fill and fill rapidly.

Did their thoughts momentarily include the miners on the Rhodesian Copper Belt, or the African workers in South Africa, or the labourers on the rubber plantations of Malaya, whose toil and sweat and poverty have built the fortunes of these City magnates? We rather doubt it, because in capitalist society, in imperialist circles, morals and business are two separate things to be carefully isolated one from the other.

The speech obviously anticipated Labour's decision to put forward a Bill designed to make incitement to race hatred illegal and to stop colour bar practices. This is to be welcomed but it is only a half measure. Colour discrimination is not easy to prove in a court of law, some magistrates and judges who use the privilege of their seat on the bench to make racialist remarks themselves, can hardly inspire confidence.

(Continued on page 5)

THE policy of "divide and rule" is Imperialism's oldest weapon. It is a policy which has cost the people of Africa dear, and for which they are still paying a heavy price.

Faced by the rising tide of the national liberation movement the colonialists played tribe against tribe, region against region, religion against religion, party against party, man against man to divide the freedom movement and postpone the day of their departure.

Before they finally went they did their best to sow the dragon's teeth of future disunity and strife.

We in Ghana well remember how the constitution bequeathed by Whitehall contained the seeds of a regionalism which if allowed to blossom would have borne the poisoned fruit of division and instability—division and instability of which imperialism would have been quick to take advantage.

### SEEDS OF STRIFE

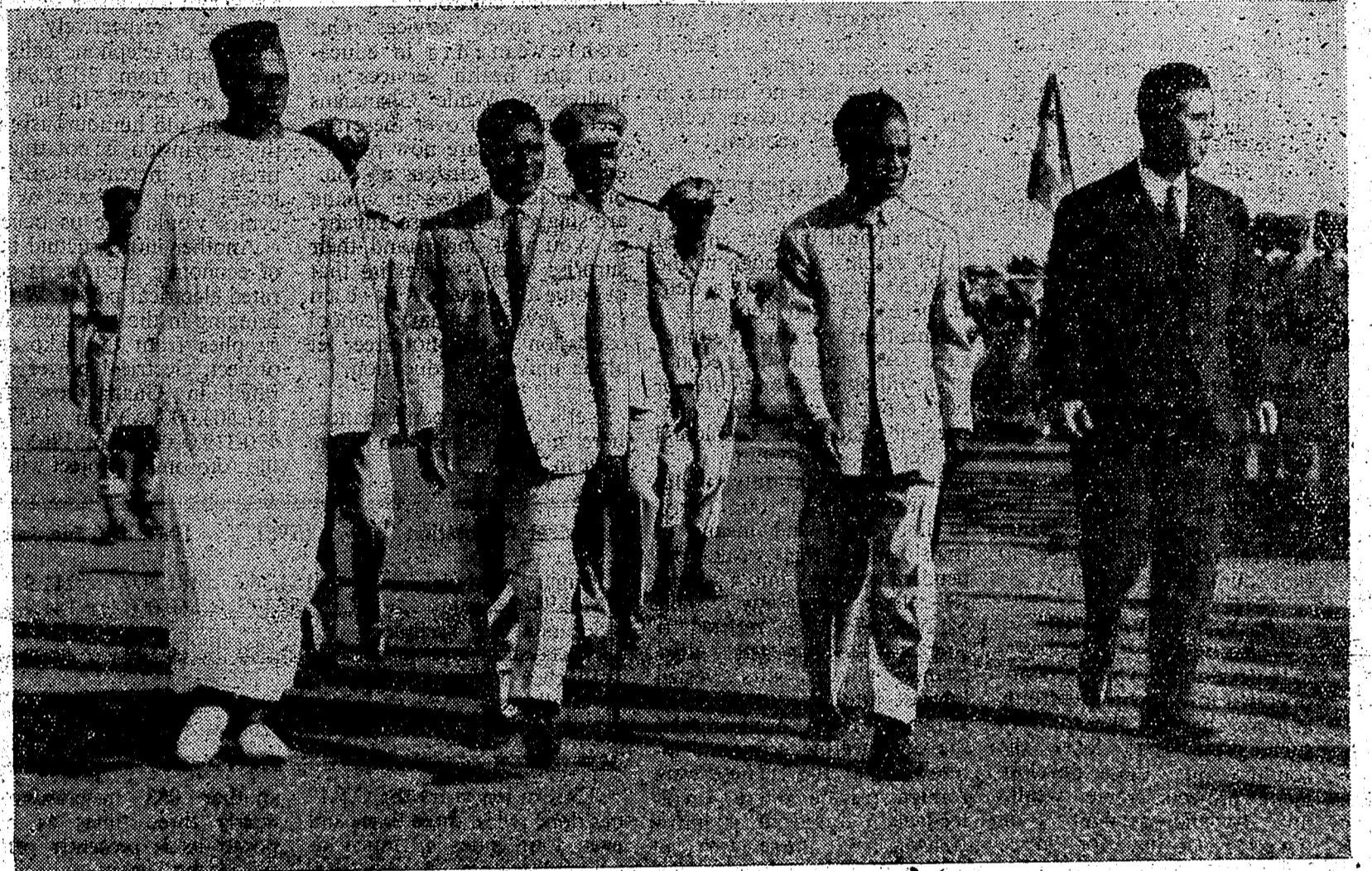
We were quick to detect the danger. Imperialism's hopes of interfering and exploiting differences were dashed.

Thus we opened the road to economic independence through socialist industrialisation and diversification of our economy, and to a fuller, richer life for our people.

But elsewhere in Africa imperialism has been more successful. Nigeria, long cited by London and Washington as the "model African Democracy", the example for other African countries to follow, was during the recent elections seen to be a divided state ruled by terror and violence, dominated by corrupt self-seeking politicians and the semi-feudal emirs of the North, thanks to the legacy left by the former colonial rulers.

In the Congo, the seeds of strife sown by an imperialism which, while retreating, was preparing the ground for its return in a new guise, have blossomed into open war.

But the people of Africa are awakening to the real-



## Africa Marches Forward

isation that the road to freedom, economic progress and a better life lies through unity.

And if this is true of each newly-independent African state, how much more true is it of Africa as a whole? Having learnt the lesson of unity in the struggle for the freedom of our separate countries, is it not high time we applied the lesson to our continent as a whole?

### PART OF LEGACY

The disunity of our continent, with its frontiers reflecting not race, geography or economics but the division of the spoils between rival European imperialist powers during their grab for Africa, is a part of the legacy of imperialism.

Imperialism is trying to perpetuate this legacy. It is playing one newly-independent African country against another, setting one group of African states against another. It is pursuing the old policy in a new guise.

But if "divide and rule" is the slogan of imperialism, "unity is strength" must be the slogan of the new Africa.

"The survival of free Africa, the extending independence of this continent, and the development

towards that bright future on which our hopes and endeavours are pinned, depend upon political unity." Kwame Nkrumah has written.

"Under a major political union of Africa there could emerge a United Africa, great and powerful in which the territorial boundaries which are the relics of colonialism will become obsolete and superfluous, working for the complete and total mobilisation of the economic planning organisation under a unified political direction".

### GREAT RESOURCES

A United Africa would mean an end to the last footholds of colonialism on our continent and the islands off its shores; it would mean an end to foreign military bases on African soil, and an end to foreign intervention in the Congo and other African states.

A United Africa could make its voice heard in the councils of the world, taking its place in the vanguard of the struggle to end colonialism throughout the world, to secure an end to the arms race and to achieve general and complete disarmament.

A United Africa could put an end to the economic backwardness bequea-

thed by imperialism by launching a great continental development plan which would enable our continent to take its place among the most advanced nations of the world.

### COULD BE RICH

For, though Africa is poor, she could be rich. Our continent provides 96 per cent of the world's gem diamonds (excluding the U.S.S.R.), more than two-thirds its cobalt, and nearly two-thirds of its gold, nearly half its antimony and over one-third of its manganese; our own Ghana is the world's second largest manganese producer.

There is coal and iron in abundance, there is natural gas, oil, and some of the world's greatest known reserves of uranium ore.

Africa, too, has the power resources with which these riches could be developed. She has the greatest water power potential in the world, the Congo alone having more than one-fifth of the world's total.

But hitherto the gold of Africa has gone into the strongrooms of America's Fort Knox or into the vaults of the City of London. Her raw materials have gone to forge the industrial might of the Western countries.

Now we must use them to forge our own economic strength: We can do so only by uniting, by working together in accordance with a plan for Africa.

The creation of giant new plants using all the latest techniques is beyond the power of individual African states. Furthermore, such plants would be uneconomical in countries some of which have populations little bigger than those of the largest European cities.

### ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

But as Kwame Nkrumah has said, "With our united resources, energies and talents we have the means, as soon as we show the will, to transform the economic structures of our individual states from poverty to that of wealth, from inequality to the satisfaction of popular needs.

"Only on a continental basis shall we be able to plan the proper utilisation of all our resources for the full development of our continent".

Even the most advanced countries of Western Europe are finding it necessary to come together in this age of economic giants.

How much more necessary is it then for us?

(Continued on page 5)

# Economic Progress in Ghana Since 1957

WE have just celebrated the eighth anniversary of our independence. Eight years is a very short period, when it comes to the measurement of economic progress. All the same, our progress in the economic sphere has been remarkable. It is there for all to see. It is reflected in economic feats like the Volta River Project, the Valco Aluminium Smelter, the Oil Refinery. It is reflected in vastly expanded social services and infrastructural base without which sustained economic growth is impossible. It is reflected in increased employment generally, in growing industrial output and in increased output of agriculture. But is also reflected in the changing nature of our economy—a change from a narrowly based, export sensitive, dependent economy run on the basis of private enterprise to a balanced, modern, self-reliant economy operating increasingly on the basis of public ownership.

Thus the changes in our economy since 1957 have come along four channels:

1. in the level of social and infrastructural services;
2. in the volume and variety of natural commodities and manufactured goods;
3. in the techniques of production;
4. in the relations of production.

Before I go on, I would like to draw attention to what I consider a very important point. In a developing country, it is very often deceitful to measure economic progress merely by aggregating the various new projects that have come into being. These projects undoubtedly are the visible indices of progress. But they can exist without bringing real economic progress to the country under study.

## RAPID EXPANSION

If development projects are operated in a way that permits a lion's share of the fruits of such projects to leave the country, then these development projects create wealth not for the country, in question but for investors domiciled outside the country. Two results flow from this. The wealth of the country in question is not fully enjoyed by its people. The capital accumulation potential of the country is seriously impaired. There will, therefore, be a tendency for the country's economy to perpetuate its character of dependence.

Those persons, including some economists, who gauge economic development by visible projects like buildings, factories etc. are therefore well advised to ponder over this fact. As we add up the quantitative indices of economic progress, we must never forget that the qualitative aspect of this progress is of even greater importance in the long-run.

We may now take a brief look at the economy we inherited from colonialism in 1957. It was lopsided and over-dependent on cocoa. Its social and infrastructural services were of a low level.

Its reserves of about £70 million were tied up overseas in low yield securities. They were held entirely in sterling.

It had no export services and depended entirely on foreign sources for insurance, banking, brokerage and transport services.

## MONETARY SYSTEM

Its monetary system was manipulated from the City of London and dominated by two foreign banks.

Its import trade was squarely in the control of foreign firms.

A good deal of the profits realised within the country was exported overseas and lost to development within the country.

We had little control over the direction of our foreign

which have matured by 1965. could be traced to a period earlier than 1957. However, all of us are anxious to know what strides our Party and Government have made. It will be better therefore to

by  
S. G. Ikoku

trace developments back to 1952 when our Party took a hand—though not the upper hand—in the administration of this country. It is more elucidating to compare developments in 1951 when colonialism was in absolute control with 1965 when our Party is in absolute control.

First, social services. Our achievements in education and health services are impressive. While Ghanaians seem unexcited over these advances which are now regarded by all our citizens as common place, visitors to Ghana are staggered by these advances. You will understand their surprise when you realise that in some big sister African states even primary school education is still not free, let alone university education.

Let's compare performances here in 1951 and ten years later in 1961.

Student Population	1951	1961	% Increase
Primary Schools	154,360	481,500	211.9
Middle Schools	66,175	160,000	141.7
Secondary & Technical Schools	3,559	19,148	437.8
Teacher Training Colleges	1,916	4,552	137.5
Universities	208	1,204	478.8

Thus in ten years the C.P.P. has done twice, three times and even four times as much as colonialism did in over 100 years.

## TWO RESULTS

This is not all. Secondary education is now free. University population is heading for 7,000. There is no doubt whatsoever that our output of high level manpower will exceed the 7% of total labour force we plan for in the 7-Year Development Plan. The result of this effort is the opening of responsible and key jobs in administration and industry to Ghanaians. Such an exercise is indeed an important index of progress in any nation. It reflects our Party's belief in creating our own corps of high administrative and executive personnel. This belief is given a firm status in our philosophy. To prove this I quote a passage taken from p. 102 of *Consciencism*.

*"It is far easier for the proverbial camel to pass through the needle's eye, hump and all, than for an erstwhile colonial administration to give sound and honest counsel of a political nature to its liberated territory. To allow a foreign country, especially one which is loaded with economic interests in our continent, to tell us what political decision to take, what political course to follow, is indeed for us to hand back our independence to the oppressor on a silver platter."*

The same rapid expansion has taken place in our health services. Hospital beds have gone up from 2,308 in 1957 to 6,155 in 1961 (an increase of 159.9%). Thirty rural and urban clinics existed in 1961 where only one existed in 1951. The number of doctors (including dentists) has risen

in the same period from 156 to 500 (an increase of 22.5%). The expansion of our infrastructural base has been phenomenal. And this as you all know is a major factor in rapid economic growth.

In the field of transport and communications, the Tema Harbour has been built and put into operation.

Class 1 bitumen surfaced roads have lengthened from 1,398 miles in 1957 to 2,131 miles in 1963. Road vehicles in use grew from 35,368 in 1957 to 52,866 in 1963 and is still growing.

The Railways did 156,007,000 passenger miles in 1956/7 compared with 204,164,000 in 1963.

Postal services have greatly expanded reflecting an up grade in business activity. In 1957, 33,987,000 letters and 2,202,000 registered articles were handled by our postal system. By 1963, this had gone up to 80,779,000 letters and 8,176,000 registered articles—a two and half and a three fold increase respectively. The number of telephone calls has gone up from 3,197,848 in 1957 to 25,503,516 in 1963 (I might add humourously that this expansion is not due entirely to increased calls by lovers and slackers as the cynics would like us believe).

Another infrastructural index of economic progress is generated electrical power. Without bringing in the expected cheap supplies from the Akosombo project, electrical power generated in Ghana rose from 311,503,000kwh in 1957 to 470,319,000kwh in 1963. And the Akosombo project will add

another 883 megawatts i.e. nearly three times as much power as is presently generated in the country.

We may now touch on the directly productive sector of the national economy.

The big contrast in our position here is that while on the eve of independence this country was wedded to an economic policy and practice that left the productive sector virtually to private enterprise, our stand today permits both public and private capital to operate in the productive sector. This is the result of our socialist ideology. But it could be justified on grounds of common sense. In a developing country where investment capital is scarce, the total reliance on private investments can only mean a greater dependence on investments from foreign sources than from domestic sources.

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bring out my point. Whereas in 1955, fixed capital formation in this country amounted to £52m. and £20m. of this came from the public and £32m. from private sources; by 1962, total fixed capital formation reached £95.9m. and of this, £49.4m. came from public sources while £46.5m. came from private sources. In other words,

	% total investment	
	1956	1962
public	38.5	51.5
private	61.5	48.5

Thus, today, capital formation depends more on public

effort than on private effort. This spotlights the fact that our economy is really becoming ours.

Another way of looking at this growing control of our economy by the public effort as against private (largely foreign) effort is to find out the changing pattern of control in a few key sectors of the economy.

In the field of banking, the Ghana Commercial Bank and the Bank of Ghana now dominate effectively the entire banking system, thus redressing, in favour of Ghana, a situation

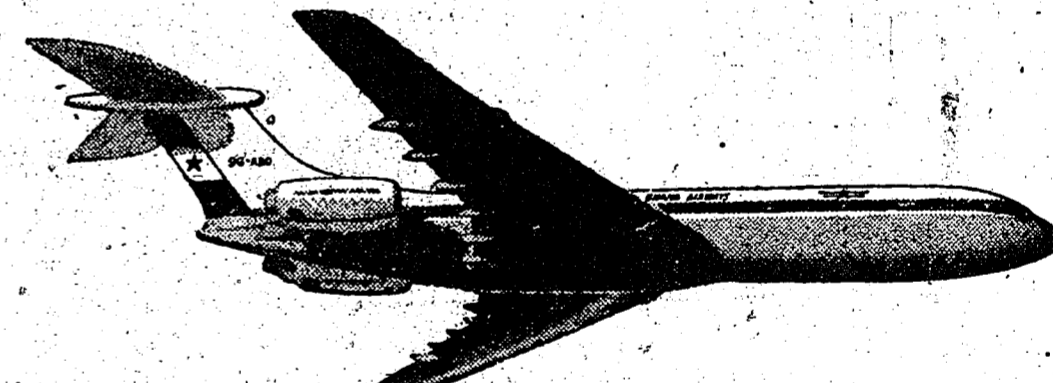
in which foreign interests dominated our monetary institutions. The holding of Ghana's foreign exchange brings out this changed position dramatically. In 1958, two-thirds of our foreign exchange assets were held by the Bank of Ghana. By 1963, all our foreign exchange assets were held by the Bank of Ghana.

In the handling of imported goods, a situation which was a hundred per cent in favour of foreign interests has changed to that in which 32% of these transactors, now pass (Continued on page 5)

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	DEP.		16.05	
ZURICH	ARR.		17.25	
	DEP.		18.15	
LONDON	ARR.	15.25	18.40	15.25

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THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

# Africa and International Trade (2)

It seems that the only way out is for the African governments to set up a commission whose sole job should be to study and recommend ways and means of distributing production of economic crops on a continental basis, basing on the law of comparative cost and thus avoiding a multiplicity of crops which will inevitably result in overproduction and the dumping of the markets to nobody's advantage. Certainly, this is a field where emotionalism, nationalism and parochialism or any other form of uncontrolled chauvinism will have to be shelved if we have to meet the challenge before us solidly and realistically.

There are many merits deriving from such diversification of crops. It allows intensive research into improved methods, cultivation, drying and storage, and therefore improved end-product, because of the concentration of financial, material and human resources. But by trying to produce the same crops in all African countries, the concentration of such resources becomes impossible. However, it is through improved crops that a brand image which is the spring board of modern marketing, is established; and once it is established it must

be maintained at all cost or else it becomes disastrous.

Perhaps I should also mention here that this should be the indirect beginning of processing our foods, as most certainly the research will have to extend to different processing methods with the eye on a particular export market. This is where the idea of setting up regional boards of trade or Export Import Corporation becomes most useful. These would feed information to the relevant bodies about different export markets. They would be concerned with statistics regarding social changes, increase and decrease in consumption certain tropical commodities, competition and other relevant factors which would enable the producer countries to plan their strategy in advance for the particular market.

### CHALLENGE TO AFRICAN LEADERS

Africa has certainly made her weight felt in International politics but she is as yet a long way off from being an International Economic force to be reckoned with and not dictated to; and yet she has everything to do just that except one thing, the will to co-operate and co-ordinate all efforts. Of the many ways to

make this possible, by far, the most important is incumbent upon the leadership. Many of our leaders have shilly-shallied and vacillated and sought favours from external self-interested forces almost to the point of being blackmailed—but the results have been disappointing. It is the boys who have sought no favours that have been most progressive and have done the greatest for their people.

It should be the avowed objective of every African leader today to see that Africa is no more regarded as underdeveloped and primitive during his lifetime, and this, whether he likes it or not will have to be done through compromise, co-operation and co-ordinating all efforts and resources and economic planning for the whole continent. This is the challenge we pose to our present leaders. Indeed, Africa's future strength in international trade is very promising, if only, without undue procrastinations the present leaders took a realistic view at the following points in the interest of the continent's future rather than personal ambitions, prestige parochial nationalism.

(1) It is wishful thinking that any appreciable development can take place without unified trans-continental rail,

road and air transport and telecommunications system being established. The present trend of every country trying to buy one or two expensive planes to set up unremunerative national airlines for prestige purposes is sheer squandermania.

(2) It is time we learned to appreciate the advantages and effect of distributing major industries on a continental economic basis and not on national prestige basis defying all economic logic.

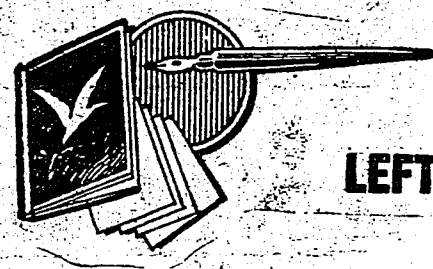
(3) One is left irritated and wondering as to what we are trying to prove by wasteful globetrotting, using expensive hotels on top of fabulous salaries and ostentatious living, in every sense; of ministers and top civil servants completely inconsistent with the respective standards of the overwhelming majority of the country's economy and the over all living the masses. The money thus squandered could have been deployed for national reconstruction in different fields.

(4) Above all, talk alone will not do. The leaders must show by example and deed that austerity and hard work is more rewarding in the long run than simply grabbing riches as quickly as possible without putting strenuous efforts to

raise and maintain productivity; and if need be, laws, however unpalatable, may have to be enacted to the effect of awakening the noble ideals of SELF-HELP, SELF-DRIVE and a singularity of purpose of the masses. The spirit of adventure and initiative must be stimulated and enhanced among the young.

(5) Last but not least, it is heavily incumbent upon the present leadership to inspire and encourage among the youth a true spirit of 'commercial enterprise' a thing which was highly discouraged during the colonial days for understandable reasons of avoiding local and international rivalry for the companies in the metropolitan countries. Commerce and Technology are the very backbones of any nation and Africa cannot afford but throw most of her efforts into these fields if not continental basis. Thus Development Banks, International Banking, Insurance and merchant shipping bodies should be set up continentally instead of leaving the field to foreigners.

If only the above five points could be looked into carefully and action taken accordingly, there is no reason why Africa cannot be truly a great continent for us to be proud of in our lifetime.



LEFT POEMS

## Africa

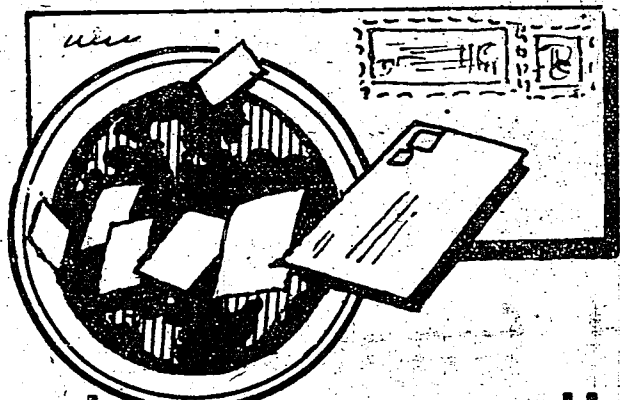
What saints and scholars, artists, poets—MEN!  
Lie buried here in this dark continent?  
Dead in the soil from which in hope they sprang,  
Paused, then crouched to die before their lives began.  
Our best have all been crushed beneath,  
An alien people's thumb.

What Kings and ministers would Gray have found  
Lost like diamonds in the clay below?  
Trapped like the gold you've sweated out for them,  
Imprisoned in the caverns of colonial rule,  
All Africa's been crushed beneath,  
An alien people's thumb.

What teachers and technicians—what plain men!  
Now lie impatient in the womb of Liberty?  
Unborn, but heirs to all that Man can build  
In a land where slaves have shed their chains and live.  
Must these too be crushed beneath,  
An alien people's thumb?

Then Liberty, these fifty years suppressed, shall roll  
Like thunder down across the plains, and march  
The tread of alien feet with a cry for freedom  
And pledge to those who crouched and died,  
No more shall Africa be crushed beneath,  
An alien people's thumb?

by Peter J. Whitehead



## Letters to the editor

Sir,  
THERE are moments in History when great thinkers are baffled even by the simplest of questions. This is especially true when nations and their politicians are faced by questions of Rights and Freedom which they profess to stand for.

Such is the situation facing the Labour Government—the Great Labour Dilemma. The question turning the hairs grey of each member of the Harold Wilson Labour Government is the Southern Rhodesian one. One is appalled that:

(1) The Labour Government is not achieving those high sounding proclamations made during the last electoral campaign.

(2) Labour has forgotten that old and yet true advice by Sir Guy Carleton, later Earl of Dorchester, in 1774, that in all nations the majority should rule and not the minority.

Sir Carleton gave this advice because of fear of a possible clash between the French majority and the English minority in Canada. This was after the American war of

Independence when a few English Loyalists fled to 'Loyal Canada'. This handful of Englishmen demanded power to rule thousands of the conquered French. Hence Sir Carleton's advice.

Now, is this situation not the same as the present one in Rhodesia? Has the British Government stopped building on what all students of British Constitution appreciate, namely "one man one vote" and that the majority of the people should rule?

In this 20th century, Britain wants it to be known that in the land of the Black, a minority of 200,000 whites can rule 4,000,000 blackmen. Is this so because the African majority unlike the French majority in the 1770 Canada, is not heavily armed to fight the British minority? A clear and well defined policy by Labour is demanded by the world and Africa, in particular.

The last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference demanded that Britain should follow her tradition in granting independence to Southern Rhodesia.

What we in Africa who were and are still under Bri-

## Southern Rhodesia

tish Colonial rule know is that independence has always been granted by Britain and not by a superb bluff of a so-called Unilateral declaration of Independence by the Colony. If Southern Rhodesia is a British Colony, then this tradition must be upheld.

Those Labour Slogans during the last electoral campaign—"majority rule", "one man one vote" in Southern Rhodesia should be put into action now. It is surprising that Labour now ruling is prepared to carry on the same vacillating policy of the last Conservative Government by sending Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner on an aimless trip to Southern Rhodesia.

Labour is vacillating knowing fully that Ian Smith with the help of Verwoerd and Salazar, is prepared to crush any uprising by the Africans.

By Alfred Ayer

## Malcolm X

My dear Editor,

Mr. Chris Ollen of Oxford, England, accuses Mr. W. G. Smith of serious "careless assessments" in his article entitled "Malcolm X". Apparently this charge is based on the fact that Smith did not prove his case by analysing all the works, writings and speeches of Malcolm.

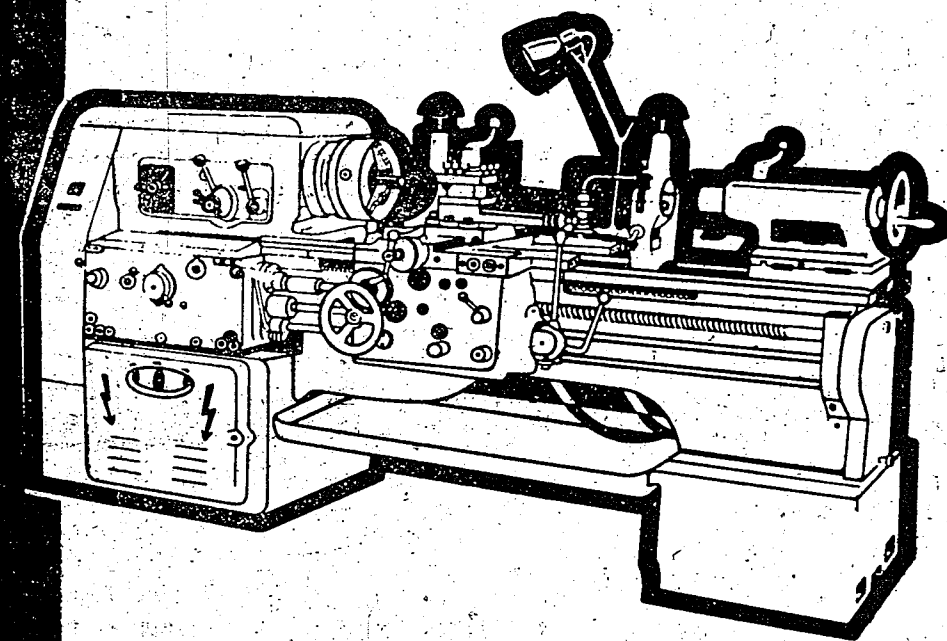
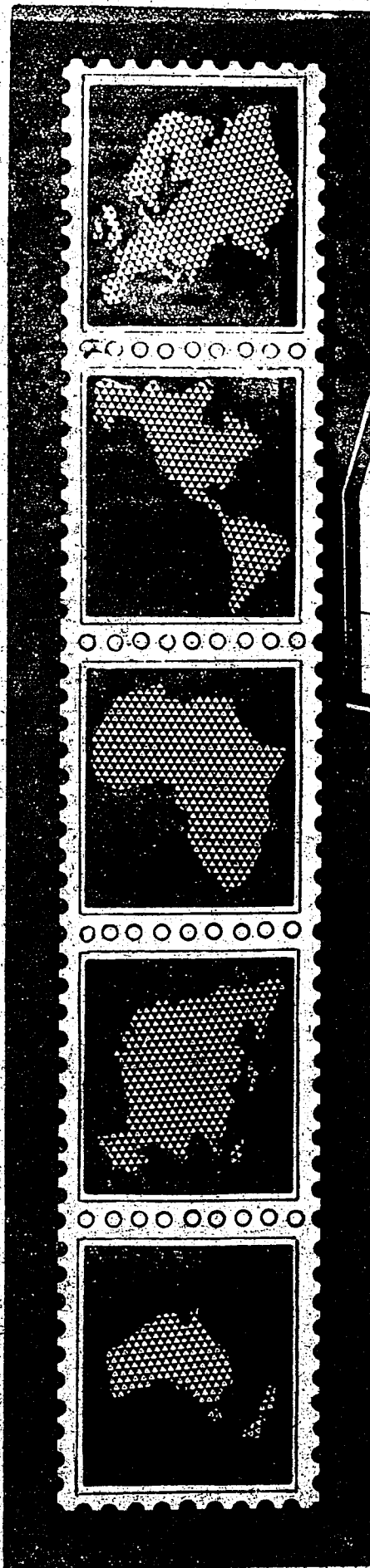
Obviously, Mr. Smith set out to answer his own question. This is what he does—clearly and concisely. He does not review the working class movement in the United States, nor does he expound doctrines of the Black Muslims. In the course of telling who killed Malcolm X and why he was killed he does present something of the plight and struggles of Afro-Americans.

Afro-American! This is a word which Mr. Allen would seem to avoid. I wonder why!

Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois.

MODERN ACCURATE! STURDY!

## RUMANIAN - MADE MACHINE TOOLS



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## GHANA IS RIGHT

Dear Editor,

THANK you for your letter. Thank you, too, for putting us on the mailing list for SPARK. Believe me we shall 'plug' SPARK.

The hatred for Ghana among the bourgeois prelates of the press here has to be seen to be believed. I have long learned to estimate my friends by the bitter hatred of my enemies. So, if the DAILY EXPRESS ever praises Ghana I will know you are going wrong!

Herewith a copy of Breakthru No. 20 our current issue. I will put SPARK on our list of magazines for poets to write to. Don't worry, I will instruct them to send J. R. C. so that you don't lose postage! I shall by the time you receive this, have sent you a poem or two by airletter in case they are of use to you.

All the very very best!  
Fraternally,  
Ken Geering,  
London.

## INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

No.	State	Area in 1,000s of sq. miles	Capital	Former Status	POPULATION IN 1,000s		Head of Government	Head of State	Date of Independence
					Total	Non-African			
1.	Algeria	855	Algiers	Former Overseas Province of Republic of France	10,930	1,250	Ben Bella	Ben Bella	July 1, 1962
2.	Burundi	7.2	Usumbura	Former Belgian ruled U.N. Trust Territory	2,300	3		Hwambutea IV	July 1, 1962
3.	Cameroun	183	Yaounde	Former French and British Trust Territories of Cameroun and Southern Cameroons	4,846	16	Charles Assala	Almadou Ahidjo	Jan. 1, 1962
4.	Central African Republic	238	Bangui	Former French Colony	1,185	6	David Dacko	David Dacko	August 13, 1960
5.	Chad	514	Fort Lamy	Former French Colony	2,730	5	Francois Tombalbaye	Francois Tombalbaye	August 11, 1960
6.	Congo (Bra.)	132	Brazzaville	Former French Colony	795	11	Alphonse Massamba Debat	Alphonse Massamba Debat	August 15, 1960
7.	Congo (Leo.)	905	Leopoldville	Former Belgian Colony	15,000	120	Moise Kapenda Tshombe	Joseph Kasarubu	June 30, 1960
8.	Dahomey	44	Port Novo	Former French Colony	2,000	5	Migan Apithy	Migan Apithy	August 1, 1960
9.	Egypt (U.A.R.)	363	Cairo	Ancient African Kingdom since 3000 B.C., and former British Protectorate	27,000	250	Camel Abdel Nasser	Camel Abdel Nasser	Feb. 28, 1922
10.	Ethiopia	400	ADDIS-ABABA	Ancient African Kingdom	21,800	40	Aklilou Hapte-Wolde	Haile Selassie I	1000 B.C.
11.	Gabon	102	Libreville	Former French Colony	421	5	Leon M'ba	Leon M'ba	August 17, 1960
12.	Ghana	92	Accra	Former British Colony	6,691	7	Kwame Nkrumah	Kwame Nkrumah	March 6, 1957
13.	Gambia	4	Bathurst	British Colony	420	5	David Jawara	Queen Elizabeth II	February, 18, 1965
14.	Guinea	95	Conakry	Former French Colony	3,000	9	Sekou Toure	Sekou Toure	October 2, 1958
15.	Ivory Coast	128	Abidjan	Former French Colony	3,200	25	Felix Houphouet Boigny	Felix Houphouet Boigny	August 7, 1960
16.	Liberia	43	Monrovia	Independent Republic Since 1847	2,500	1	W.V.S. Tubman	W.V.S. Tubman	July 26, 1847
17.	Libya	679	Tripoli	Former Italian Colony and British French Trust Territory	1,250	50	Mohamed Ben Othman	Idris El-Senussi I	Dec. 24, 1951
18.	Madagasy	228	Tananarive	Former French Colony	5,235	70	Philibert Tsiranana	Philibert Tsiranana	June 26, 1960
19.	Mali	465	Bamako	Former French Colony	4,900	7	Modibo Keita	Modibo Keita	June 20, 1960
20.	Mauritania	419	Nouakchott	Former French Colony	730	2	Moktar Ould Daddah	Moktar Ould Daddah	Nov. 28, 1960
21.	Malawi	40	Zomba	British Protectorate	2,863	23	Kamuzu Banda	Elizabeth II	June 7, 1964
22.	Morocco	170	Rabat	Former French Protectorate	11,598	350	Hassan II	Hassan II	March 2, 1956
23.	Niger	490	Niamey	Former French Colony	2,850	3	Hamani Diori	Hamani Diori	August 3, 1960
24.	Nigeria	373	Lagos	Former British Colony of Nigeria and British Trust Territory of N. Cameroons	55,000	17	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Dr. Asikiwo	October 1, 1960
25.	Rwanda	137	Kigali	Former Belgian ruled U.N. Trust Territory	2,700	7	Gregoire Kayibanda	Kigeri V	July 1, 1962
26.	Senegal	76	Dakar	Former French Territory	2,550	50	Leopold Sedar Senghor	Leopold Sedar Senghor	June 20, 1960
27.	Sierra Leone	28	Freetown	Former British Colony	2,500	2	Milton Margai	Elizabeth II	April 27, 1961
28.	Somali	266	Mogadishu	Former Italian Colony and British Protectorate	2,374	44	Abdi Baschid Ali Shermarke	Aden Abdullah Osman	July 1, 1960
29.	Sudan	968	Khartoum	Former Anglo-Egyptian Condominium	11,615	7	Sayed Serr El Khatim El Khalifa	Sayed Serr El Khatim El Khalifa	Jan. 1, 1956
30.	Tanganyika (Now Province of Tanzania)	362	Dar-Es-Salaam	Former British ruled Trust Territory	9,238	123	Julius Nyerere	Julius Nyerere	Dec. 9, 1961
31.	Republic of Togo	22	Lome	Former French ruled Trust Territory	1,642	2	Nicholas Grunisky	Nicholas Grunisky	April 27, 1960
32.	Tunisia	48	Tunis	Former French Protectorate	3,965	250	Habib Bourguiba	Habib Bourguiba	March 5, 1956
33.	Upper Volta	106	Ouagadougou	Former French Colony	4,000	6	Maurice Yameogo	Maurice Yameogo	August 5, 1960
34.	Uganda	94	Kampala	Former British Colony	6,682	92	Milton Obote	Elizabeth II	October 9, 1962
35.	Zambia	288	Lusaka	British Protectorate	2,480	85	Kenneth Kaunda	Kenneth Kaunda	October 10, 1964
36.	Zanzibar (Now Province of Tanzania)	1	Zanzibar	Sultanate under British Protectorate	577	20	Karume (Vice-President of Tanzania)	Karume (Vice-President of Tanzania)	April 27, 1964
37.	Kenya	255	Nairobi	British Protectorate	7,310	300	Jomo Kenyatta	Jomo Kenyatta	Dec. 12, 1963

Comment

(Continued from page 1)

It is curious that while the Labour Government is passing its Bill against racialism, it is not seeking to repeal the most spectacular piece of racist legislation ever to be placed on the British statute book, the Immigration Act.

The Repeal of this Act would re-inspire confidence in Labour's intention to begin a vigorous, positive campaign for racial equality and tolerance. Instead many Labour supporters were shocked to hear that the Government intends to operate the Act more stringently and clamp down on all evasions with yet more zeal than was shown by the Tory Government. The Immigration Act is not directed against immigration in general, it is not designed to stop anyone coming into Britain to live and work; it is not designed to stop men and women and children who are not white from coming into Britain. The Immigration Act is based on colour discrimination and the operation of it for one year betrays its real intentions.

Between July 1963 and July 1964 there was a net balance between immigration and emigration of 34,523. Twenty-five per cent of immigrants came from what are described as 'temperate' areas and they include Canadians, Australians, Cypriots, Maltese and Gibraltareans and New Zealanders, 48 per cent came from Asia, 10 per cent from Africa and 14 per cent from the Caribbean. The figures are in themselves interesting but the rate of increase compared with the first year of the operation of the Bill proves its discriminatory nature. The net inflow of immigrants in the second year compared with the first year shows how the rate of increase of those immigrants from the 'temperate' regions outstripped those whose skins were not white.

The rate of increase of immigrants who are white, is high in the second year because the Act operated against them, very rarely, while it was frequently used against coloured immigrants. Immigrants apply for employment vouchers. From June 1963 to June 1964 251,297 vouchers were applied for and 32,165 issued. The following are the percentages issued to immigrants who applied from different countries. Sixty-one per cent of the Canadians who applied for vouchers got them; 13 per cent of Nigerians, 6 per cent of Indians and 21 per cent of Jamaicans. (We are indebted to a memorandum by H. Pollins of Ruskin College, Oxford, for these statistics).

\* \* \*

These figures show without a shadow of doubt that the Immigration Act is designed to operate against coloured immigrants and not against white immigrants, and that a Government which is deeply concerned to combat racialism should not only operate it, but should repeal it immediately.

A month after Mr. Wilson's speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, Mr. Bottomley, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, was quoted as declaring, "Britain's standing and voice in the multi-racial Commonwealth is deeply affected by the state of race relations in Britain". He is quite right!

There seems to be a condition of schizophrenia among some British politicians, especially among Tories but also among some Labour leaders. They want the Commonwealth, this rather nebulous organisation whose name is breathed in tones of solemn awe as if it were some sacred institution whose origins are shrouded in glorious mystery, when it supports their flagging economy, when preference and trade protection helps British industry and banking.

The nations of the Commonwealth are sometimes sharply reminded of the "inestimable benefits" which they reap from their membership, though these are more frequently referred to than specified, and every year the Prime Ministers meet to give some kind of reality to the ideal.

When, however, United Kingdom politicians feel that the Commonwealth is not quite working in a one way direction for their exclusive benefit, they appear reluctant to invoke this indissoluble unity of the great Commonwealth of Nations. The privileges which coloured members of the Commonwealth are apparently allowed to claim are now being attacked and restricted.

British politicians want the Commonwealth only when they are reaping benefits, they reject it when they are called upon to fulfil any obligations.

The Labour Party will have to make up its mind and Bottomley's speech reflects the sense of its dilemma.

While we welcome all statements which oppose racialism we see the problem as more than a moral problem. It is true that racialism encourages degeneracy, anti-humanism, cruelty, violence, but racial discrimination does not arise from original sin. Racialism arises from the economic and political basis of society. How can the directors of the great monopolies who sat listening to Wilson, justify their brutal exploitation of the workers of the Commonwealth, of those who used to be their colonial subjects except in terms of racial, inferiority, except by trying to establish that the working peoples of the British Empire are only capable of doing the most menial tasks, only worth low wages, only fit to live under terrible social conditions.

Racialism is the ideology of super exploitation.

# IN UNITY LIES OUR STRENGTH

(Continued from page 1)

The formation of the Organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa in May, 1963 marked an important landmark in the struggle for the unity of Africa.

- Its purposes included:
- To promote the unity and solidarity of the African and Malagasy states;
  - To co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
  - To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
  - To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
  - To promote international co-operation, having due regard to the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Addis Ababa meeting not only defined the aim; it also outlined a

programme of action by which it could be achieved. The Charter of African Unity signed there, said Kwame Nkrumah, "must be regarded as the last but one step on the road to a Continental Union."

Imperialism was quick to recognise the threat. Once again it resorted to its policy of "divide and rule". Some African states which have learnt nothing from history are dancing to its tune.

It is making use of petty politicians who are guided not by the vision of an Africa united and strong, but by a short-sighted, narrow-minded parochialism and their own selfish ambitions.

With their help, an attempt is being made to transform the Organisation of African Unity, with its aim of eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa, into a mere talking shop.

This betrayal of the aims set down in the O.A.U.

Charter was demonstrated at the Nairobi meeting of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers which gave virtual recognition to the regime of Tshombe, the puppet of the U.S., Belgium and Britain.

But although thirteen countries, including Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville) and the United Arab Republic voted in favour, it proved impossible to secure the participation of the Congo Liberation Movement in the meeting.

A motion by the Cameroon that the O.A.U. send a peace-keeping force to the Congo was defeated—and by a wider margin than before; even a motion calling upon all states not to aggravate the situation failed to get sufficient support.

Tshombe arrogantly rejected the report of the Kenyatta Commission calling for the withdrawal of

the white mercenaries upon which his terrorist regime depends. He brazenly declared his readiness to admit a team of handpicked "observers" to "supervise" elections in the Congo—provided the Liberation Movement laid down its arms first.

The only agreement reached was that the Congo situation should be discussed by the O.A.U. Heads of State meeting in Accra in September. As the weekly *West Africa* (13.3.65) justly noted, "small wonder Senegalese Foreign Minister Doudou Thiam had bemoaned the O.A.U. as a forum of 'hollow verbalism and outdated phrases'."

But Africa does not want a "forum"; it wants an organisation that will take the lead in the struggle to eradicate colonialism from our continent and to build a new life in an Africa free, strong and

united. It is this which guided Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Modibo Keita of Mali, President Sekou Toure of Guinea and President Ben Bella of Algeria during their talks at Bamako earlier this month.

The four leaders were prompted by their desire to pave the way to the unity of our continent and to the eventual realisation of the aim of a Union Government of Africa.

The issue of unity will stand high on the agenda of the Accra Heads of Government meeting in September. The "divide and rule" tactics of the imperialists and neo-colonialists must be defeated.

In unity lies the guarantee of freedom and a richer, fuller life for the people of Africa, who have for too long been weakened by division sown by their enemies.

## Economic Progress in Ghana

(Continued from page 2)

through the G.N.T.C. This trend will grow.

Our export services have been built up. The Black Star Line in 1963 handled 587,400 tons of goods compared with 158,000 tons in 1958. The Ghana Airways has saved us much in foreign exchange. Even though these services are not as large nor as efficient as we would like, the fact remains that by contributing some £10 million a year to our earnings on invisible trade, they have cut our payments on services like shipping, air fares, insurance charges down to about £24 m. a year. In other words, we have paid for these services only £24m. (instead of about £36m.) a year thanks to Black Star Line and Ghana Airways. Much as we would not like to condone glaring inefficiency in the operation of these services, it would be wrong to lose sight of their positive contribution to our balance of payments situation.

Another evidence of economic progress is the operation of our banking system. Money supply has gone up from £51 million in 1958 to £86m. in 1963. The liquidity ratio of the commercial banks has changed from 64.9% in 1958 to 26.5% in 1963, reflecting a rapid growth in modern banking practice. And even though our reserves have fallen from £70m. to about £41m. our gold holdings have remained at £2m. while our dollar holdings have grown. Thus, despite the quantitative drop in our reserves, its qualitative disposition has improved.

A noteworthy aspect of our economic growth is that while striving to meet the consumer needs of today we are at the same time laying the foundation for a higher degree of industrialisation in the future. We have factories which would serve as the nuclei for heavy industries in the future. The Kwame Nkrumah Steel Works and the Aluminium Smelter could grow into the

props on which a machine tool industry could be built. The Oil Refinery could become the centre of a chemical industry supplying fertilizers, gas, tar, detergents and synthetics. And once we can construct iron and steel, machine building and chemical industries Ghana would have built a self-pruning industrial system.

The last evidence of economic growth I would like to touch on is increase in national output.

It is common knowledge that many of the consumer goods we once imported are now produced locally.

We are nearing self-sufficiency in fish production.

Cocoa output has risen from 225,000 long tons in the 1955/59 crop year to 422,000 long tons in the 1962/63 crop year. It is still growing. Ghana's cocoa output has risen from 29.6% of world output in 1956/57 to 32.9% of world output in 1963/64.

The value of our exports is now £115m. compared to £83 million eight years ago.

All these advances in our economy could not have taken place without sacrifices on our part both as a nation and as individual citizens. The rapid rate of economic and general development has reflected in growing budget deficits—from a budget surplus of £7.3m. in 1957/58 financial year to a deficit of £19.7m. in the 1963/64 financial year. Another reflection of this same phenomenon is the recurrent foreign trade deficits which, though present in one or two years before independence, have become a recurrent feature of the post-independence period. The situation has been aggravated by a steep and steady fall in world cocoa prices.

This is no cause for alarm. It is the inescapable consequence of a policy of rapid all-round development, by which I mean the rapid expansion of social services, the infrastructure, and direct production. We are expanding along all three fronts at the same time instead of on one or two fronts as many other African states do. And on all these fronts, we are maintaining a faster rate of growth than most sister African states. And the point to note is that these deficits have been financed largely from domestic sources.

Some say this line of action smacks of recklessness. We need not bother about what

these foreign critics say. After all, they have their own interests to protect. What matters to us is what the Ghanaian says. Could our Party and Government create expanding opportunities for so many Ghanaians if we were timid over accelerated development? Can Ghana hold her place in Africa and the world without a robust economy and a vast output of high level manpower?

This is not to say that there is no need for criticism. There certainly is. To finance our economic take off, we have to depend more and more on domestic sources of capital. We must pay more attention to capital formation here at home. And this reduces to a few simple norms of economic management.

### EXPAND SAVINGS

First, we must expand our savings potential by consuming less of the inessentials.

Secondly, we must give stricter scrutiny to projects to determine their viability and correlation with existing investments before they are undertaken.

Thirdly, we must mobilise domestic resources through an effective system of price control which will permit a real margin of income over expenditure to appear. This margin could then be tapped through savings drive, insurance schemes and provident funds.

Fourthly, we must make our public enterprises pay. As these enterprises become more efficient, so they contribute their profits to the nation's capital fund. At the moment, the state is investing about £25m. annually in direct production. If we can earn a 10% return on such investments, our public enterprises, by say 1975, could maintain this level of investments out of their profits. The result would be an expanded economic investment programme on the existing level of taxes, or the existing level of investment at a considerably reduced tax burden.

In this task of making our public enterprises more efficient, the public servant has a vital role to play. By general education and by experience in the old civil service, our public servant had little or nothing to do with direct economic production. Today, he is called upon to show proficiency in a field in which he

has little training and less experience.

The nation must be patient with him. While not condoning disruption from within, we must be slower in describing as sabotage and hostility to socialism what in many cases is insufficient grooming for the new and tougher tasks facing the public service.

On his part, the public servant must show a readiness to learn since he has now come to realise that his new functions have very little to do with his old training. He needs a knowledge of the ideology of our revolution. He needs a grounding in the technicalities of economic management.

Our revolution needs propagandists and organisers of the people. (These I call the party activists). But it also needs the technicians, executives and administrative experts. (These I call the technocrats). When the activists and the technocrats, yoked together by our ideology, pull together in perfect harmony, then our revolution will grind forward at a faster rate and grind forward more efficiently.

As our one-party system braces itself for an economic break-through, we can ill afford the existing dichotomy in effort between new and old cadres, between the activists and technocrats of our revolution. Our revolution has reached a stage where further advance demands the harmonious blending of political finesse with forensic skill. The old party activist must overcome the tendency to exclusiveness and the branding of whatever he does not understand as sabotage. The new technocrat on his part, must get over his tendency of returning into his shell. He must respect the fact that the endurance of the older activist set the stage for his know-how to shine. The technical skill of the new must blend with the accumulated experience of the old.

We need each other. The activist and the technocrat are the twin engines on which our revolution will increasingly depend. By each seeking to master the ideology of our revolution we shall soon discover our complementarity. Our socialist ideology, namely Nkrumahism, is the common denominator that builds the efforts of the activist and the technocrat into a massive national initiative that can move mountains.

(Continued on page 6)

It seeks to separate mankind on a racial basis to enhance its position to make vast profits from the labour of a particular under-privileged sector. Do the racialists think that workers from overseas come to Britain because it is a paradise? Any immigrants who believe it soon have their illusions shattered. Do men and women break up their families, leave their homes, travel thousands of miles to an unkind climate and a hostile environment simply to make life difficult for racialist minded politicians and hoodlums? They come because of the mess their countries have been left in by British rule.

Now that imperialism has bled their countries of their wealth British rule pulls out and leaves them to face the terrible economic and social consequences of dismantlement. Immigrants come to find a solution to the terrible problems of poverty and unemployment which face them at home and which has been brought about by the systematic looting of their countries for centuries by Britain.

Mr. Wilson in dealing with the problem from a moral point of view should remind his hearers of their moral responsibility for this. To compensate them for the suffering of their countries the red carpet should be put down for coloured immigrants and the best possible conditions provided as some small compensation. However, sensibly, they do not look for compensation or favours, they look for justice and equal treatment.

Mr. Frank Cousins, who is General Secretary of the largest Trade Union in Britain, made the very shrewd and practical remark, that without immigrants Britain's economy would be in an even worse mess than it is because so many vital jobs are filled by them.

# THE AFRICAN JOURNALIST

THE pen, it has been said, is mightier than the sword. Certainly, the pen wielded by freedom-loving African journalists has made a worthy contribution to the anti-colonialist struggle.

Today, it has a no-less worthy contribution to make the cause of African unity. As Kwame Nkrumah told delegates attending the Conference of the Education and Professional Training Commission of the Pan-African Union of Journalists, it is journalists and workers who hold the key to African unity.

"It is therefore the duty of the journalists and African workers to help unite the continent and draw a circle round it, a circle which the neo-colonialist would find it hard to penetrate", he declared. He urged African newsmen always to endeavour to emphasize the things which unite African states and to refrain from doing anything which might hamper the struggle for

## Help Unite Africa

the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. "The longer we stay divided the more havoc the neo-colonialists cause in Africa", Kwame Nkrumah—himself a former journalist and active trade unionist—told the delegates from eight African countries.

The theme of the journalists' responsibility in the struggle for the creation of a United Africa was taken up by the delegates themselves in a communique issued at the end of their four-day conference in Accra.

They called upon African journalists to exercise the greatest restraint in the handling of African affairs and to refuse to lend themselves to neo-colonialist intrigues and attempts to sow dissension among African states.

The conference advocated a bold new training scheme and called for a crash course and aid to countries struggling to set up their own press, radio and T.V. services.

Press, radio and T.V. have a key role to play in the fight against neo-colonialism. For neo-colonialism does not just mean that the withdrawing colonial power retains its grip over the former colony's economic life. This "empire building without the flag", as Kwame Nkrumah has so expressively termed it, also means that imperialism retains its grip over the minds of its former colonial subjects.

It leaves behind its ideas, its ways of thought, its ideology—ideas, ways of thought and ideologies which have little in common with the history, life and aspirations of the African peoples.

In many newly-independent states of Africa the withdrawing colonial power has been able to transfer power into the "safe" hands of semi-feudal rulers or well-to-do landowners, merchants and industrialists, with administrators, lawyers, teachers and journalists trained in its schools and imbued with its ideas.

Newspapers remain under the control of the giant British, French and American newspaper monopolies, or dependent upon Western news agencies for their material.

### U.S. DRIVE

The consequence of this were seen, for example, at the time of the Stanleyville operation. African countries dependent upon Western information services found themselves supplied not with the facts but with "managed" news reflecting only the U.S., Belgian and British position—a situation which led to protests by African statesmen.

Official governmental agencies in the neo-colonialist countries are stepping up their offensive against the minds of Africans. "The United States Information Agency has become an essential part of our Africa machinery", writes Professor Vernon McKay, Chairman of the U.S. State Department's Advisory Council on African Affairs.

In his *Africa in World Politics* published two years ago the Professor describes the gathering tempo of U.S. Information Agency activities in Africa.

"Its Africa operations were slow in gaining momentum. In 1955 only one USIA officer in Washington was assigned exclusively to the African area, although there were already seventeen USIA posts in twelve African countries, including Cairo and Alexandria under the Middle East section and Algeria under the European Division.

"The wind of change hit the USIA in 1957, however. Despite a budget cut which forced a retrenchment of its operations in other areas, it decided to expand in Africa. By the end of September there were four officers in the Africa

section handling nineteen posts in fourteen African countries.

"In 1960 the African section achieved the status of a separate division with fourteen officers. In addition, it had a research branch for Africa composed of four officers. The United States Information Services, the foreign services of USIA, hoped to have 133 American officers assisted by 476 local employees in forty-three information centres in thirty-one African countries by the end of fiscal 1962."

Professor McKay writes that by the fiscal year of 1962 USIA's planned spending in Africa had risen to a total of 11,200,000 dollars out of USIA's total of 122,700,000 dollars.

Of the USIA's press activities in Africa, Professor McKay writes that the USIA "publishes its own materials, and radioteletypes daily news in English and sometimes in French to Africa for the use of American officials and for release to local editors and others. Several African posts publish newspapers and magazines in the host countries..."

"In January, 1960, the Press Division of the USIA stepped up its Africa output by inaugurating a daily radioteletyped report especially prepared for about fifteen monitoring posts in Africa."

"This service," the Professor added, "to some extent supplements such commercial agencies as the Associated Press and United Press International."

### RADIO, T.V.

Professor McKay stresses importance of radio and T.V. He notes with satisfaction that T.V. viewers in Libya receive programmes from the U.S. air base at Wheelus Field, and that viewers in Ethiopia tune in to U.S. Armed Forces Asmara.

He also describes the build-up of U.S. radio propaganda beamed to African audiences, with broadcasts in English, French and African languages, the construction of a special Voice of America relay station near Monrovia (Liberia) and of a powerful transmitter beamed to the African continent at Greenville, North Carolina.

We cite the American example because it is the most outstanding, but similar ideological offensives are being waged by Britain and other neo-colonialist powers. The purpose of this campaign is to make the new Africa a tool of

West, to make Africa safe for Western military bases and Western investment.

A key aspect is the attempt to divide Africans not only among themselves, but also from their friends and allies in other continents, in particular in the Socialist countries of Europe and Asia—countries which have much to offer the newly independent countries not only through mutually beneficial economic co-operation, but also through the exchange of experience. These countries had to face many of the problems of economic development now confronting the developing countries of Africa. Their experience is of undoubted interest to Africa.

Above all, true to the tradition by which the burglar cries "Stop thief" to divert attention from his own crime, the neo-colonialists try to charge the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—which have no military bases in Africa, and where there are none who grow rich from the exploitation of the wealth of our continent—with "imperialism".

### BLOCK UNITY

In this way they hope to prevent the formation of a united front in the United Nations and elsewhere which would spell the doom of imperialism throughout the world.

Likewise as part of their campaign to keep Africa safe for Western Big Business, the neo-colonialist propagandists preach the virtues of capitalism and so-called "free enterprise".

But we very well remember that decades of capitalist investment and capitalist-style "development" in Africa brought only increased dependence, distorted economies and poverty and degradation for millions of African farmers and workers, and we see that the flood of Western capital investment in the Republic of South Africa has meant no alleviation of the lot of the African people there. It has served only to strengthen their oppressors.

Support for Western-style "democracy" represents another key aspect of the neo-colonialist ideological offensive being waged against Africa. In particular, Western propagandists argue that democracy is inconceivable without a multi-party system.

They thus seek to impose on Africa concepts of Western capitalist democracy which are completely alien to Africa his-

tory and experience—and which, incidentally, Western colonial authorities conspicuously failed to apply in their African colonies until forced to do so by the growing national liberation movement.

And Africans have little faith in neo-colonialist protestations of support for democracy when they read of the brutalities to which Afro-Americans wishing to exercise the most elementary democratic right of all—the right to vote—are subjected in America's Deep South.

As Professor McKay himself sadly observes in the work already quoted, "the racial discriminations to which American Negroes are still subjected are even harder to explain to Africans."

Likewise the people of Africa see that America, while stridently protesting its devotion to democratic ideals and trying desperately to cash in on the fact that unlike the older capitalist powers it had no colonies in Africa, supplied arms to the French in their war against the Algerian Freedom Fighters, and is today arming Tshombe's terror regime.

Advocacy of what is termed a "free press" is an important aspect of the neo-colonialist offensive. By this the neo-colonialists mean a press that is in the hands either of the foreign press monopolies or of local magnates who are themselves frequently dependent upon and politically subservient to foreign Big Business.

### AIDS STRUGGLES

But for us in Africa, a free press is a press that genuinely reflects the hopes and aspirations of the common people, and which aids them in their struggle to build a better life in a united Africa.

As Kwame Nkrumah pointed out in his address to the Second Congress of African Journalists in November, 1963, in a capitalist or neo-colonialist environment "every means both subtle and raw, are used to maintain sway over the minds of men, and and thus secure and hold their support in the continued exploitation and oppression of the oppressed. Oft-times they are led to concur in their own exploitation. They are enjoined against peace, they are manoeuvred against freedom and right.

"Unfortunately, some of these journals have made their way into our continent and are employing their influence to wean our people to ideas and ways of life that run counter to

our image and our hopes. We must be vigilant against their penetration and their incitement.

"We must be careful not to take their falsities as models either for our public or our journalists. For our African journalists have a different task, a higher responsibility, a greater objective, which demand a mould of quite another order."

Kwame Nkrumah went on to emphasize the importance of journalistic skill—a matter to which the recently concluded conference focussed attention. "We must", he said, "make our publications attractive to the eye and easy to handle and read.

"We cannot self-righteously or contemptuously dismiss the appeal or under-rate the seductiveness of the brightness in which imperialism clothes its journalistic offerings. Bright colours and gay forms are used to cover insidious suggestions.

"We have more genuine fare to offer, but we would be foolish to dismiss airily the blandishments that cover their frivolities and poisonous intentions. We should be deceiving ourselves if we were to under-rate their abilities and their determination to penetrate deeply into our midst and draw our people away from their own true interests....

"You will not beat the spurious and seductive output of Western journalism except by publications of high quality and popular appeal. The answer is not to copy them but to excel them—to educate the taste of the African reader to the point of rejecting the undesirable foreign wares."

"The African press," he went on, "has a vital part to play in the revolution which is now sweeping over the continent. Our newspapers, our broadcasting, our information services, our television must reach out to the masses of our people—to the workers, the farmers, the trade unionists and peasants, to the university students, the young and the old—to explain the meaning and purpose of the fight against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. It must explain the necessity for, and the meaning and purpose of, a union Government of Africa."

There can be no better definition of the role of the African journalist today. The neo-colonialist offensive against Africa must be countered by an African journalists' offensive for the freedom and unity of our continent.

## Comment

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Hundreds of thousands of sick people in Britain know that they have regained their health because nurses and doctors whose skins happen to be black gave their skills in curing them; in many other professions and trades, in building, engineering, transport, immigrants keep services going in a Britain which is short of labour both skilled and unskilled.

The problem may be a moral challenge, but the fight against racialism is not one of prayer and contemplation, it is one for direct and practical action. The British Labour Movement has a special responsibility to recruit to the ranks of the Trade Unions Movement, the Co-op. to all workers organisations, those who come from other countries and who want only equal treatment with other workers. Their involvement in struggles for wages, conditions, good terms of employment will become not only the responsibility of the immigrants themselves but the joint fight of immigrants and the powerful organised British working class.

The Tories are using the Immigration issue to try and force a new General Election and to defeat Labour on the basis of racial panic, artificially whipped up. Labour can only combat this by direct measures of explanation and campaigning. We are convinced that ordinary men and women in Britain are humane, are tolerant, are not degenerate racists, but they are at present left to the mercies of racist propaganda, they must more and more be exposed to the real humanist ideas of racial equality and fraternity.

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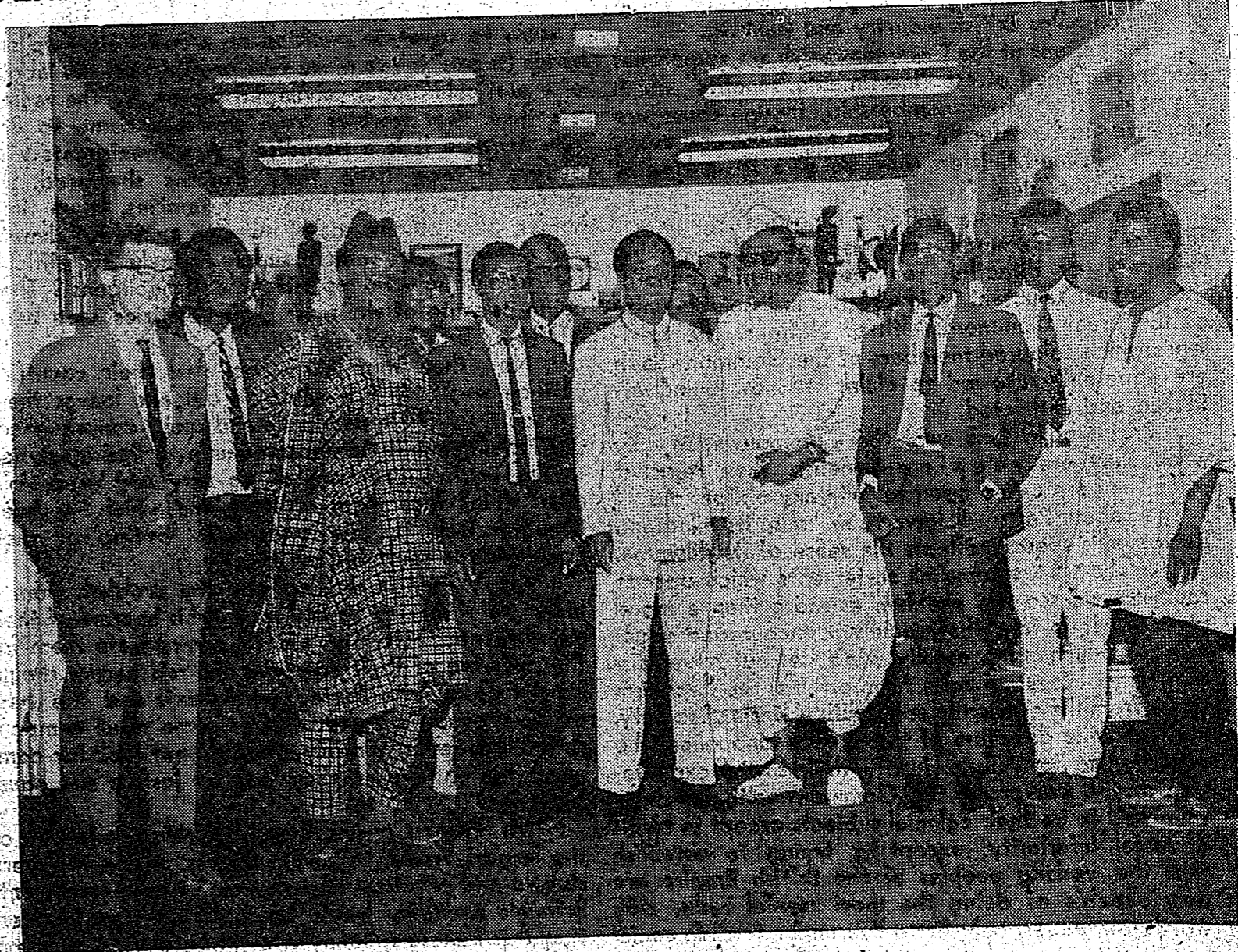
There are special problems for men and women coming to a new land. They need help with housing, with the language, with their health problems. It is surely not beyond the resources of one of the most advanced countries in the world to solve help them.

There are sections of the Tory Party who are alarmed at the racism of their leaders (Home recently voted for a Bill in Parliament which would have virtually stopped all coloured immigration, but which was defeated). To try and win on both policies, some Tories are appealing to the racist prejudices that exist, others are trying to appear as the reconcilers and anti-racist appealing to Labour to take the issue out of Party politics. They are active in forming a joint Parliamentary Committee to put forward some limited minor proposals. Labour should come out boldly and reject Tory manoeuvres from whatever side they come.

The Labour Prime Minister and Commonwealth Secretary hope to be in office in June this year when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers are due to meet. We suggest that they have therefore approximately three months in which to grasp the nettle and repeal the Immigration Act, take special measures on housing, health and education, open up Government jobs to qualified people, to assist immigrants, and launch a positive appeal to all the best in British traditions in favour of toleration and mutual trust.

Above all however, it should consider that its general policy on South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Malaysia, and its desire to fulfil a traditional imperialist role East of Suez is a powerful factor in strengthening imperialism materially and ideologically and a strong element in giving comfort to racists throughout the world. Racialism and imperialism are the two sides of the same medal. An all-out onslaught on both, launched with real conviction and vigour can stem this dangerous rising tide.

In June the Commonwealth Prime Ministers from Africa, Asia and the West Indies will want to know what has been done. If they are not satisfied, and they must make the most rigorous demands, then they must either declare the Commonwealth null and void or retain it but without Britain as a member. The record of the speeches of Mr. Wilson on this problem is there for all to see now, let us have some recorded, real, effective action.



African Journalists with Kwame Nkrumah.