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Speaks

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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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A Letter to the President and Reply to it

« CUI BONO »?

THE Latin tag "Cui bono"?—"Who profits by it"?—is much used by lawyers in their investigation of crime, for he who profits from a crime may well prove to be its instigator. The same principle can also serve as a useful guide in laying the hidden mainsprings of world events.

Who, for example, profits from the latest attacks which the President of Upper Volta, M. Maurice Yameogo, has been making on Ghana and on Ghana's President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah?

Only the enemies of Africa, only its exploiters. When they ruled Africa the enemies of African freedom, faced by the rising tide of the national liberation movement, played tribe against tribe, region against region, religion against religion, party against party in their efforts to divide the freedom movement and postpone the day of their departure.

Now, realising that African unity will spell the end of their new-style "colonialism without the flag", they are trying desperately to set the newly-independent African states at loggerheads.

Their efforts have taken on a new urgency with the approach of the Conference of the Organisation of African Unity to be held in Accra later this year. There can be no better testimony to the importance of this event.

Nor is it accidental that they have selected Ghana and its President as their Number One target.

During the eight years of its existence as an independent state Ghana under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah has been the foremost champion of African unity.

Ghana, too is setting an example for other African countries to follow, with its programme of planned industrial development along socialist lines to wipe out the legacy of colonialism and pave the way to a richer, fuller life.

By his attacks on Ghana, President Yameogo is allowing himself to be used as a tool in an imperialist campaign, the ultimate aim of which is not merely the isolation of Ghana, but the re-establishment of imperialist domination throughout Africa.

Ghana and the Upper Volta have their differences, but President Nkrumah has made clear his view that these can be settled in amity and in accordance with the spirit of African unity. Only two days before President Yameogo left for his visit to the United States a goodwill mission from Ghana visited Upper Volta to discuss these problems.

President Yameogo saw fit to echo allegations that Ghana has been sending subversive elements into neighbouring African countries. In fact, as President Nkrumah re-emphasised only last week, it has long been the policy of the Government of Ghana that political refugees can stay in Ghana only on the clear understanding that they do not undertake any subversive activities whatsoever against our sister states.

"The cause of the independent African states is our cause in Ghana and Ghana's cause is theirs", Kwame Nkrumah declared. "What does Ghana gain therefore from subverting any of the independent African States, when we have actively and effectively helped almost all of them in the safeguarding of their sovereignty?"

Instead of playing imperialism's game, those who echo stale charges against the champions of African unity and progress would do well to reflect that the real threat to Africa, the real subversion, comes from those who, in Kwame Nkrumah's words, "fear the example of our dedication to African Unity which they see as a threat to their vested interests".

Continued on back page

OUR REPLY

THE pivotal criticism we make of the letter is the author's under-evaluation of the ideological factor in the present stage of our revolution. This is reflected in his total disregard of the relevance of ideological perspective to the administration of public enterprises; in his conception of the nature of the C.P.P.; and in his view that "a socialist pattern of investment" is more important to our success than "a high level and generalised ideological consciousness" though the latter is considered a factor not to be left out of the reckoning.

SOCIALIST PATTERN

The author fails to see that ideology is basic even to a socialist pattern of investment. For only a thorough grasp of the aims and methods of the socialist revolution will permit the formulation and carrying through of an investment programme which is truly socialist. Does the author imagine for one moment that socialism could be built by non-socialists?

The Party is the greatest single instrument we have for socialist construction. If its structure is such as to render it ineffective, then this great stimulus is lost to our efforts for national reconstruction.

A party of the whole people, which is what the author of the letter advocates, is most certainly not a fighting organisation. And one cannot get over this fatal weakness by suggesting a vanguard within a party of the whole people. Such a formula merely introduces a hierarchy within an organisation which derives a good deal of its dynamism and popular appeal from its basically democratic character.

VANGUARD ROLE

Such a tiered party, in which the principle of differentiation is largely subjective ("relevant ability"), will inevitably lead to the demise of democracy within the Party and hence within the nation, given our one-party system.

In considering the vanguard role of the Party, it should not be forgotten that it is the Party as a whole, and not just individual members of it, that give leadership to the entire people.

The way out seems clear. The Party must be made up of the best elements in the nation and these are discovered through their activities in the integral wings of the Party, in the public service and in various organisations of the people.

In addition the Party must be closely linked to the people in all spheres of their daily lives, by establishing its branches in all enterprises and offices and in all the organisations of the people. Membership will be open to everybody; but it is only those who make the grade (active support for the ideology, programme and constitution of the Party) who in fact gain admission as members.

HARD WORK

The leading members of the Party will sort themselves out through their devotion, their hard work and their high level of political consciousness; and such leading elements are picked out by a meticulous application of the principle of democratic centralism.

The author's relegation of ideological work to a place of secondary importance finds expression in the suggestions put forward for the improvement in the management of the public sector of the national economy. He thinks full reportage by the Press on all public enterprises (an exercise that should make the people more emotionally attached to these enterprises) will do the trick in promoting efficient economic administration.

The writer fails to bring out the fact that many of our economic executives in the public sector lack the technical know-how of industrial management; and some lack even the faith in a socialist path of development. You cannot put up a sustained fight for a cause in which you do not passionately believe.

As regards consumer manufactures produced at home, the writer seems to see only the problem of 'quality'. This, no doubt, is a point worthy of consideration. But his failure to apply an ideological searchlight to our productive sector robs the writer of the chance of seeing that

See page 8 for the letter

some inflated costs, especially in foreign-run industries, can be due to a desire either to favour imports of these goods or to make excess profits at the expense of this country.

For example, the same expatriate firm manufactures soap both locally and in factories situated thousands of miles away from Ghana. But the prices in Ghana of soap from these two sources, run by the same firm, are the same. Surely, this can be no case of different levels of technical efficiency.

IMPROVED QUALITY

It is a deliberate attempt to inflate the price of the local product. Such inflated prices permit effective competition by the imported brand.

On the other hand, if the imported brand is kept out as a result of government policy, then the local brand sells at the same high price bringing in abnormal profits to the firm concerned. In both cases,

the nation is the loser.

The other factor mentioned by the writer in connection with improved quality of consumer manufacture is a government laboratory for testing industrial products and checking on standards. This we already have, though there is room for improvement in the organisation and coverage of its work.

FOREIGN CREDITS

The existing practice of tying foreign credits to the purchase of goods from the creditor country is forced upon developing economies by their relatively weak position vis-a-vis the advanced economies. But no one, least of all someone from the developing countries, should look on this as "entirely reasonable".

The plea for the non-specification of goods in the credits agreement looks helpful. But it will be difficult to give effect in practice.

PLANNED ECONOMIES

The planned economies which decide on production targets well in advance must necessarily know what goods would be needed, in what quantities and at what times. There should be no difficulty here for the recipient economy if its economy is planned, and its planning machinery works efficiently.

But the writer's apparent desire to eliminate the windfall gains that accrue to the creditor countries at the expense of the debtor countries—these come about "in a hidden way by inflating the prices at which the goods are supplied"—needs very close and careful attention. It seems to us that the answer lies in making use of the price level at the time the credit agreement is signed; for the supply of goods throughout the period covered by the agreement. This can be done easily by employing the official retail or wholesale price index. The rule should also be applied by the debtor country when the time comes

for repayment of the credits.

The author's suggestions regarding the universities are welcome. He rightly stresses the need for "proper guidance, balanced and channelled" from the Vice-Chancellorship through Deans, Heads of Departments, Masters, Senior Tutors and other "eschelons" to the students. He however stops short of boldly suggesting the need for appointing to teaching and administrative posts in the universities persons who are themselves in sympathy with our socialist revolution.

NATIONAL IDEOLOGY

In universities and institutions of higher learning generally, the national ideology (i.e. the body of ideals to which the nation is committed) is not always taught the direct way by drawing up a syllabus of ideological studies and finding room for such instructions on the lecture time table. Experience has shown the indirect approach to be the more effective in the long-run.

Now the oblique approach to this vital issue of inculcating an ideological perspective is reflected in two techniques. The one is through the philosophical perspective behind the various disciplines taught in the university. The "school of thought" of each member of the teaching staff is here important.

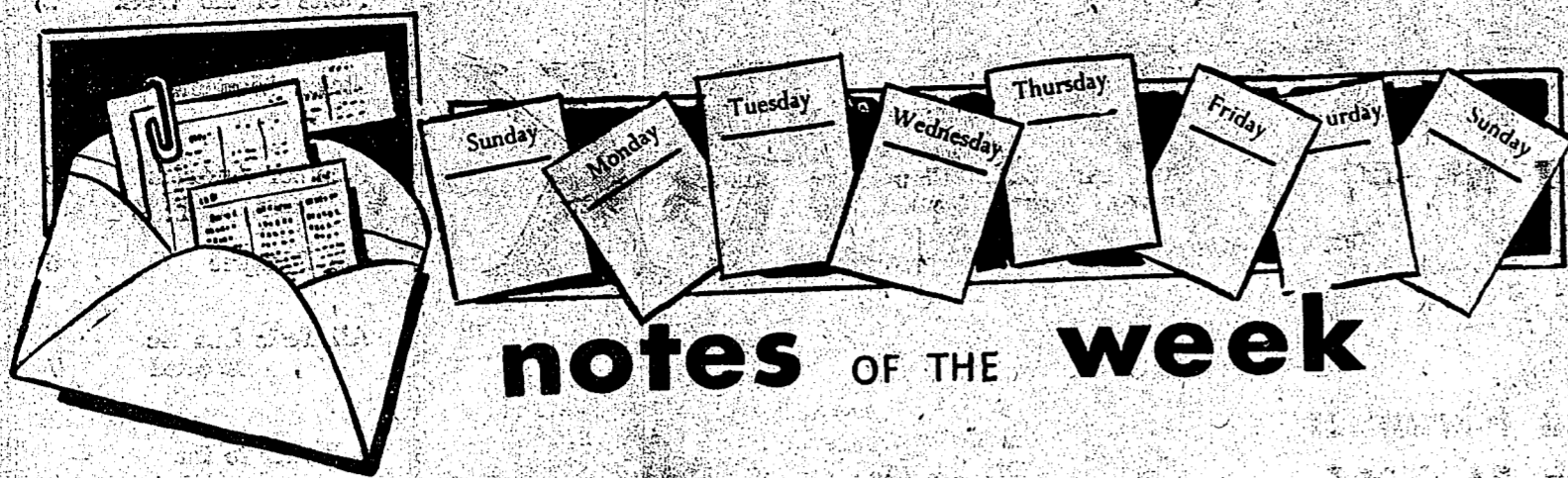
RATIONAL SUPPORT

The other is the building up of active sympathy and rational support for the national perspective among the students. Here the general viewpoint (a complex element made up of ideology, comportment, sense of values, reactions to home and foreign affairs etc.) of both academic and administrative staff is crucial.

The character and outlook of the students will owe much to the impact made on the student body by the staff through their extra curricula attitudes,

(Continued on page 2)

We Apologise for late Publication of this issue due to circumstances beyond our control.



notes OF THE week

The U.S. Beleaguered

IN his address to Parliament last week The President, Kwame Nkrumah, announced the remission of the death sentences recently passed on ten conspirators, to 20 years imprisonment.

We are aware, as the President so aptly pointed out, that the British Press is not basically concerned with problems of justice or civil liberties, but will seize on any pretext to try and discredit our Government and its aims.

As the President said "Let me bring to light the central meaning of the attacks on me and Ghana. It is not out of any concern for civil liberty that they attack us.

"When they attack us it is because we threaten their interests in Ghana and Africa. All the rest of their pretensions are hogwash."

The immediate pretence which the British *Daily Express* employed to attack Ghana was its allegation that conditions in Ghana's prisons were inhuman and brutal.

FULL PUBLICITY

Perhaps the paper might look a little nearer home and give full publicity to a recent U.N. statement that British prisons are below the level of most North American, most European and even many Latin American prisons.

Professor Manuel Lopez-Ray, U.N. adviser on prisons, has once again drawn attention to the scandalous conditions of those in Britain.

It is well known that most of them are over a century old, that prisoners are crowded together three in a cell in many cases, and that modern sanitary facilities are very rare. Prisoners complain of the filth

and the dirt in which they spend their imprisonment, the overcrowding, the coarse language, the lack of work or training for a better future when they leave.

Perhaps if *The Daily Express* is so concerned about conditions in gaols in general, they will now turn the searchlight of their indignation on the state of prisons in their own country.

SHORT MEMORY

The President however, has decided to spike their guns, and his announcement that the prisons are to be thrown open to the inspection of the representatives of the religious bodies in Ghana and the Ghana Red Cross will demonstrate that our conscience is clear.

The *London Times* has chosen to comment on the remission of the sentences with this somewhat patronising claim that world public opinion has forced this move. Perhaps *The Times* has a short memory but the clemency of The President of Ghana in respect of those who have threatened his life, is quite well known.

No death sentence has ever been carried out in the Republic of Ghana. Britain is passing through an acute political crisis on this issue with the Tory Party which *The Times* generally supports, trying to put a brake on progressive proposals to abolish the death penalty.

We do not need lectures on humanity from the newspaper which is the outstanding representative of City and imperialist interest in Britain. Well may our President, declare 'Physician Heal Thyself'.

Electoral Farce

WHAT is one to think of a 'Government' which cannot even organise elections efficiently; even rigged ones?

If it were not so tragic, the spectacle of the 'elections' at present taking place in the Congo would be an unlimited source of amusement and derision. We had the spectacle last week, of even the President of the Congo, Kasavubu, being turned away from a polling booth in Leopoldville, refused permission to cast his vote because the whole business was in organisational chaos.

THE SCANDAL

From March 18th to April 3rd the Congo elections are being dragged on through tragedy to farce. It has not come as a shock to hear that Tshombe can announce victory in six areas out of eight in North Katanga: we rather think that is the aim of the whole exercise.

The scandal and the tragedy is that these 'elections' will be used to present Tshombe as the legal Prime Minister of the Congo. This despicable tool of imperialism will then parade himself as the legitimate leader of the Congo and continue his cynical betrayal of the Congolese people and of Africa in general.

How is it possible for electors, even apart from the obvious corruption, force and intimidation, to vote rationally in a system which allows, indeed encourages, a position

where 315 candidates stand for 13 seats? How is an elector to vote when faced with such massive lists and a complicated system of slips, rejections and then finally votes?

The Ghana Government has rightly rejected any invitation to take part in observing the elections on the grounds that the invitation did not come through the Organisation of African Unity. Tshombe is one of the main divisive elements in Africa today and he is being used as the rock on which the imperialists hope to see the O.A.U. founder. To reject any such invitations from him is a principled upholding of the influence and political potential of the Organisation. To recognise Tshombe or encourage him in any way is to betray our aspirations for real independence and Continental Unity.

DEMOCRATIC ZEALOTS

The elections will make sure that Tshombe is returned irrespective of the will of the people. We don't expect to hear all those zealots of democracy in the west raise their voices in protest, (they are probably saving their breath to attack our forthcoming elections) but we shall not be deceived neither will all true Congolese nationalists who will continue their struggle for real freedom and real independence as the true representatives of the interests of the Congolese people.

AS protests sweep through the world against the U.S. war in Vietnam the American States Department increasingly jettisons the claim to be protecting the people of South Vietnam from Communist aggression.

Our previous articles have shown how widespread is the support of the population of the South for the Viet Cong. The Americans in trying to smoke out and destroy the Viet Cong troops are ruthlessly attacking villages and civilians. The world has expressed horror at their use of gas and 'polite names' such as 'riot control agencies' will not reduce the wave of revulsion which its use has provoked.

Not only is disabling gas being used but napalm and 'lazy dogs' another euphemism for a devilish bomb which scatters pieces of stainless steel inflicting terrible injuries and death.

DEADLY PELLETS

The United States forces are more and more beleaguered as the struggle of the people of the South grows and strikes deeper and deeper roots among the people. The recent explosion of the bomb at the U.S. embassy shows how frail and tenuous is the hold of the Americans even on Saigon, coming after the explosion in the American Officers' Club.

Even the American press unwittingly reveals the kind of besieged atmosphere in which American personnel lives. An account appeared a few days ago of how they have been killed by their own weapons. An "American Forces Special Team" runs a military camp of locally recruited troops, the cordon of mines which runs around it was triggered off by lightning-killing 14 and wounding seventy-four.

The United States press reported that "lightning activated 40 electrically operated 'Claymore' mines on the inner perimeter of the camp, 240 miles northeast of Saigon. Each of the mines spewed an arc of deadly pellets away from the inner defence line tearing through the homes of the camp garrison.

Most of such camps are protected by the deadly Claymore mines. The boomerang shaped devices are fixed on trees and fence posts around the camps. They fire an arc of pellets when an electrical switch is

A Tribute and Our Thanks

THE SPARK was proud and delighted to receive the Soviet Ambassador to Ghana Mr. Rodionov at its Editorial Offices. Mr. Rodionov is presenting our Library with a most valuable collection of books ranging from the works of the founders of Scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels, to the writings of Lenin and more recent authors.

ORIGIN OF SPARK

Subjects cover economics, sociology, and politics. The cultural achievements of the Soviet people are also reflected in this generous gift which includes novels and stories for old and young.

Mr. Rodionov recalled the origins of the name of our paper. We are proud to use

activated"

The Viet Cong clearly encouraged by the protests of the people in all countries, and expressions of support, have now made the call for all possible forms of assistance. Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev, has indicated that Soviet citizens are coming forward to volunteer their help in large numbers and there is talk of Soviet ground to air missiles being sent to North Vietnam to protect her against U.S. aggression bombing raids.

Perhaps the American forces will have to experience the effects of this which will hardly be as easy as bombing defenceless villages in the South and schoolchildren in North Vietnam.

Now they face full retaliation and they will soon find out what war is really like unless their Government can be prevailed on to stop their ruthless and brutal headlong career towards disaster.

The British Press seems slightly bewildered that the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to their country was apparently fruitless. The visit foundered because of the feeble trailing after American policies of Wilson's Government.

ELECTORS' FEELING

The Soviet Government demanded that as co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference Britain should join with her in condemning U.S. aggression against the North, a principled action which this cipher of a Labour Government refuses to take.

Fourteen British Members of Parliament however, reflected the real feeling of their electors when they lobbied the U.S. Embassy in London with a protest against the use of gas and their action has been supported by 70 other M.P.'s in a motion in Parliament.

These really speak for Britain and it is time the Government awoke to the shame that its feebleness on Vietnam is bringing to Britain.

In Ghana we have repeatedly exposed this pretence that North Vietnam is responsible for aggression. More and more, world opinion is supporting this view. As the protests and support mount, the people of Vietnam move steadily towards their goal of freedom.

The name *The Spark* which was the name given by Lenin to the early newspaper of the Bolshevik Party in Russia. As our guest reminded us Lenin said *The Spark* will kindle a flame in relation to his own paper and country.

VALUABLE COLLECTION

The spark nurtured by our newspaper will likewise kindle the flame of freedom and social progress in the African continent. The principles of scientific socialism embodied in this valuable collection will be our inspiration and our guide in all our work.

The books will be a symbol of the friendship and assistance of the Soviet people to the people of Ghana.

Our Reply

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

activities, responses and reactions.

A University can neither create nor sustain the congenial atmosphere (intellectual climate in harmony with national aspirations) if the bulk of its academic and administrative staff, individually or collectively, upholds a view of life fundamentally at variance

with the national perspective.

For us, the crux of the university problem remains the need for teaching and administrative personnel in general sympathy with our socialist revolution.

We have made these observations in order to further underline the fact, brought out in the Presi-

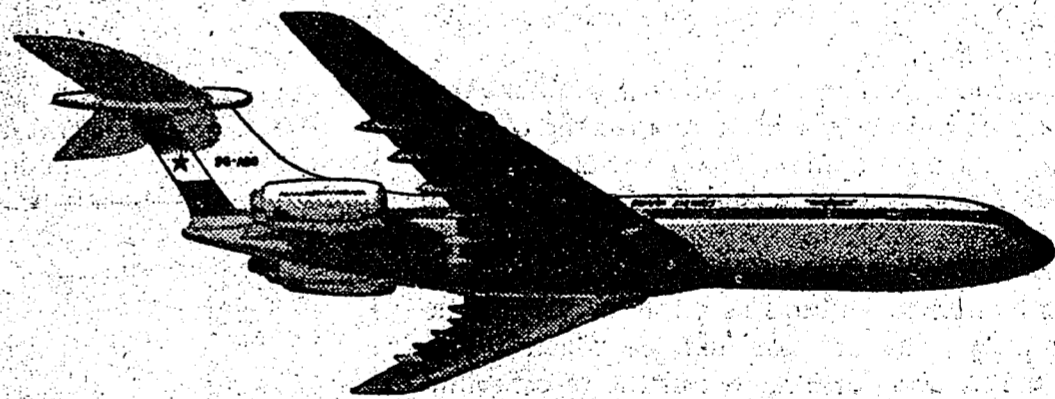
dent's eve of National Day broadcast; that our revolution has entered a stage where the greatest need in all walks of life is for cadres who combine technical know-how with ideological perspective. Without this, some of our ability could be misdirected.

—EDITOR.

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		TUE.	THUR.	SAT.
ACCRA	DEP.	09.00	09.00	09.00
ROME	ARR.		15.15	
	DEP.		16.05	
ZURICH	ARR.		17.25	
	DEP.		18.15	
LONDON	ARR.	15.25	16.40	15.25

FLY Ghana Airways VC10

THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

CHALLENGE TO OUR SURVIVAL

MR. Speaker, Members and Comrades of the National Assembly, four days ago, I addressed this House on the grave dangers facing Africa and exposed the crimes against the people of our continent, particularly in the Congo. I also spoke on our international relations with our sister Independent African States.

To-day I have come to address you on certain matters affecting the security and safety of our Nation, and the progress and welfare of our people.

FIVE GUILTY

As you know, five persons have recently been found guilty by the Courts of the offence of treason. They have been proved to have taken part in a conspiracy to overthrow by unlawful means the established Constitution of the country. After hearing the full evidence in Court, a jury of twelve Ghanaian citizens returned against them a unanimous verdict of "guilty".

In consequence a sentence of death was passed upon them.

Prior to this, a sentence of death had been passed on five other persons by a Special Court presided over by three judges of the Supreme Court. In accordance with these verdicts, the following ten persons, namely: Teiko Tagoe, Anum Yemoh, Joseph Adotei Addo, Malam Mama Tula, Joseph Quaye Mensah, Robert Benjamin Otcere, Joseph Yaw Manu, Tawia Adamafio, Ako Adjei, H. H. Cofie Crabbe, are due to be hanged.

Mr. Speaker, I need not remind the House of the series of criminal attempts and conspiracies which have been made against my life and against the security of our State since

The full text of a speech by Kwame Nkrumah to the National Assembly on March 26, 1965.

1953. It is sufficient only to mention:

- (a) The Bomb incident at my residence in Accra New Town in 1953.
- (b) The Alavanyo Training Camp incident in 1957.
- (c) The secret attempt made in 1958 by certain Ghanaians to purchase one thousand tons of hand grenades through a European, Dr. Opparvar.
- (d) The "T" Junction Plot involving ex-Captain Awhaity, R. R. Ampomah, M. K. Apaloo and others in 1958.
- (e) The Gbedemah Conspiracy and the 1961 strike in the Sekondi-Takoradi area.
- (f) The 1962 Kulungugu bomb incident, followed by a series of bomb outrages in Accra.
- (g) The 1964 Flagstaff House shooting incident.

Mr. Speaker, since the eve of our Independence the imperialists and neo-colonialists have sought persistently to destroy us and the things for which we stand.

In truth, therefore, there has been one conspiracy. The hand that threw the bomb in 1953 is historically the same as the one that threw the Kulungugu bomb in 1962, and did the shooting at Flagstaff House in 1964 which caused the death of a senior security officer, Salifu Dagarti. It is the same hand behind the forgery of photographs, anonymous letters of threats to kill and destroy and the dissemination of naked lies without even the

pretence of evidence.

They have failed to destroy us with their violence. They now resort to a sustained campaign of slander and calumny in a vain attempt to distort our image.

But why is their hue and cry so strident against us now?

Let me bring to light the central meaning of the attacks on me and Ghana. It is not out of any concern for civil liberty that they attack us. When they attack us it is because we threaten their interests in Ghana and Africa. All the rest of their pretensions are hogwash. What is it of which they complain about Ghana? That we oppose their control over our continent and that we wish to develop for our own well-being and not for their enrichment.

OUR CRIME

That is our only crime in their eyes. They see that Africa is on the threshold of a new life: they know that the success of the O.A.U. Conference at Accra this year will be a significant turning point in African history. By attacking us the neo-colonialists and imperialists are in fact aiming at the prevention of our unity in Africa.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly, many of you may have seen the photograph reproduced recently by the London Daily Express purporting to depict the horror and misery suffered by Ghanaians in our prisons. My first comment on being shown this picture was: "What a healthy

well-fed bunch of men! But who are they?" They did not look like Ghanaians to me and I certainly didn't recognise any of them as Kofi this or Kojo that.

SCURRILOUS

When I read the caption and the scurrilous article went with it, I was amazed. Then I wondered: "Whose side is the Express on, anyhow? For whose benefit, and in whose interest, do they forge such a photograph?"



CONDEMNED

Tawia Adamafio, found guilty of conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution of the country.

On the one hand they go to great pains to write about the appalling treatment meted out to our detainees, whilst on the other, they produce a photograph of a group of healthy, strapping men, their eyes bright and alert, skin shiny, faces free from lines of care or worry, bodies firm and well fed, free from scars or wounds, lounging calmly and relaxed, taking infinite care, it seems, not to put too much pressure on those flimsy anklets and that fine string of best Wool worth metal chain in case they break them before the photographer has finished his job. In any event, it would have been interesting if the Daily Express had named the men in the photograph, if they were not after mischief.

All I can say is that if the men in this picture are hard-ship cases, a lot of us wouldn't mind changing places with them.

PHONEY PICTURE

This phoney picture does more than merely disprove, on the face of it, the story the Daily Express has tried to put over. It exposes and highlights exactly what we in Ghana know such stories to be, namely, the wicked invention, the evil imaginings and demoralized ravings of those who, in their desperation to salvage the remnants of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, will stop at nothing to bring discredit on Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana.

Fed by journalists and editors who have sold not only their minds but their spirit and souls, and supported by traitors, reactionaries and cheap sensationalists, this type of gutter press believes that if it can destroy the image of Kwame Nkrumah it will make a valuable contribution towards his downfall. Do they know where they are heading? After Kwame Nkrumah, what then? Let them know that whatever they do, Africa will never be the same for them again.

To those who appear to be concerned about conditions in our prisons to the extent of even forging photographs

about them, we offer a challenge. The Government of Ghana has decided to invite representatives of the Christian Council, the Archbishop of the Catholic Church of Ghana, Bishop R. R. Roseveare of the Anglican Church of Ghana, Bishop Bowers, the Catholic Bishop of Accra, representatives of the Muslim Council and the Red Cross of Ghana to inspect the conditions in our prisons and to let the world know the truth.

After experiencing these attempts by the neo-colonialist press to distort the truth of what is happening in Ghana, it is interesting to note the impressions of someone who recently visited this country to see Ghana for himself. In the London Times of 25th February, 1965, Mr. James Johnson, a British Member of Parliament, on his return from Ghana, is reported to have said that Ghana "was buzzing like a hive with new development schemes".

LOOSE TALK

There was a lot of loose talk about Ghana in the press, but he believed that Ghana was an example to Africa in economic development. Whatever people outside Africa might say about President Nkrumah, he had done a great deal for his people. "If I was a Ghanaian", he said, "I would support him".

Mr. Speaker, the treason trials have made clear to all who can see, to all who are not inspired by malice towards us, to all who can understand, what pressures are brought to bear upon a militant State fighting for independence and the well-being of Africa. Plots against Ghana and against my life were put into action. They have been foiled. Those who have so dishonoured themselves are in custody.

Many think that these criminals should be obliged to pay the full penalty for treat-



GUILTY

Ako Adjei, another plotter found guilty by the 12-man jury.

son. Public feeling in Ghana is aroused and united in its condemnation of those who would have destroyed our achievements to serve their ambition and the evil purposes of those who use them. I understand the feelings of my people and I am moved by their support for me and their indignation against the traitors of Ghana.

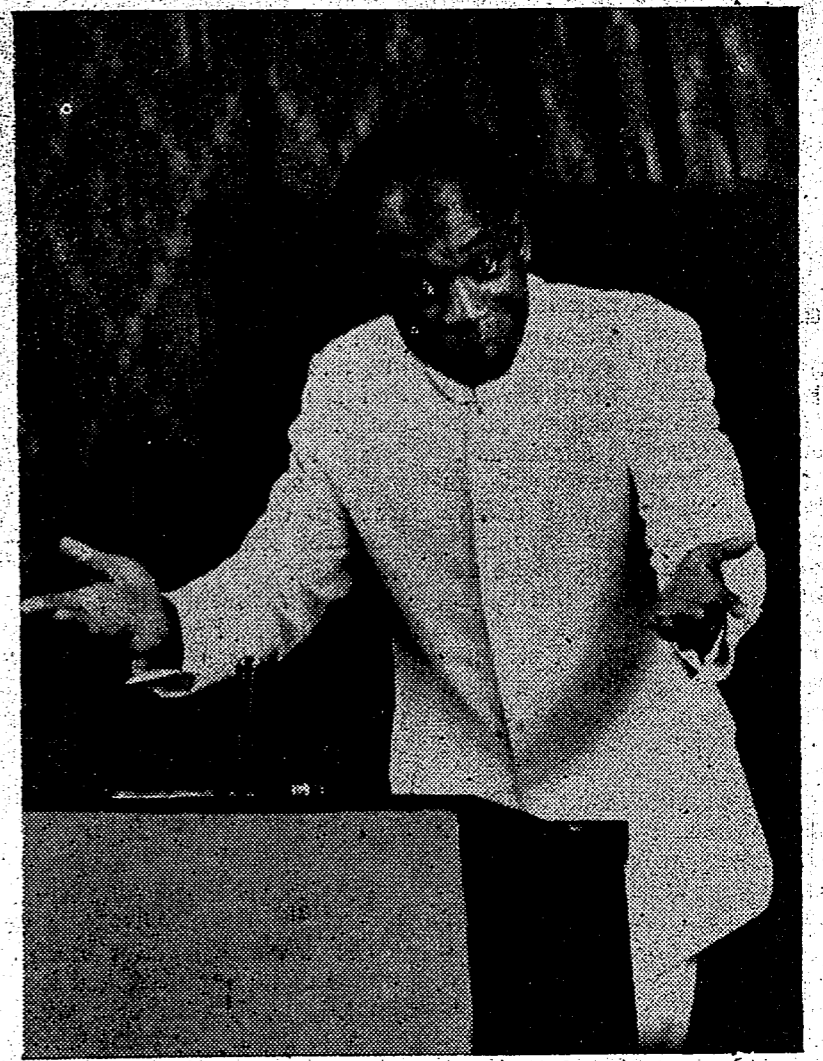
CONFIDENT

Ghana is a confident nation. We know the plots against us. We know who masterminds them and who is used on behalf of conspiracy.

Our answer to those who conspire to destroy us, who attack us when we discover their perfidy and who condemn us when we arraign their agents and stooges, is to demonstrate our confidence in ourselves and the unity and solidarity of our people.

Mr. Speaker, ours is a nation dedicated to the emancipation of man from exploitation and cruelty and the unending cycle of oppression. The imperialists and neo-colonialists, sick in mind and vicious in their behaviour, might well emulate the magnanimity of their would-be victims. To them, I say: Physician heal thyself!

I repeat again our offer to present our further evidence



KWAME NKRUMAH SPEAKS

"It is not out of any concern for civil liberty that they attack us, when they attack us it is because we threaten their interest in Ghana and Africa. All the rest of their pretensions are hogwash."

against Busia, Gbedemah, Kow Richardson, Taylor and their evil and criminal associates, evidence which is conclusive against these traitors who spread lies about Ghana. Our offer to invite the United Nations to appoint a tribunal to try them faces them and their newspaper supporters with a test they must meet.

CHALLENGE

If they are frightened to come to Accra let the Tribunal hear our evidence in a sister African State. This challenge is directed as well to those in the world who malign us. Let them take note of Ghana's stand. Let them come to Ghana and see for themselves. We are a nation on the move.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly, I know the public feeling in this matter, but, after long nights of serious and careful reflection, I have decided to commute the death sentences passed by the Courts on the ten persons convicted of treason against the State, to sentences of twenty years' imprisonment each.

It is an expression of our confidence in our people and of our respect for life that we do not stoop to emulate the imperialists, neo-colonialists and their agents, or those traitors who have served them. A nation dedicated to the advance of its people needs no other safeguard than their devotion, their militance and willingness to defend their achievements, their President and their country.

A REVIEW

As you know, in consequence of the series of subversive activities and bomb outrages in this country to which I have referred already, a number of persons are under preventive detention. These people sought to serve our enemies. Here again, after serious consideration, I have caused a review of these cases to be made and I shall grant an amnesty to those in detention whose release will not directly endanger the security of the State.

Mr. Speaker, let no one mistake our clemency as a sign of weakness. On the contrary, it should be taken as a warning and assurance that our security forces will be even more vigilant and ever ready to deal swiftly and effectively with any anti-State activities. Let those who continue to plot inside and outside this country against our people, whether they call themselves the

"United Party in Exile" or the "Atomic Wing of the Party", be warned that we shall no longer tolerate their diabolical and senseless activities which in the past have cost this nation many precious lives.

In some countries in Africa persons accused of plotting against the State have been summarily dealt with and executed. The neo-colonialists and imperialists are mute about this. But this should not be an example for us to follow, because whatever we do in Ghana is of significance beyond our boundaries. The performance of Ghana is viewed as a yardstick with which to measure everything African.

All our efforts and aspirations at home must be geared to one purpose and one grand objective. We believe that by one mighty continental effort, the African States can generate a united force that can brave any imperialist storm, and break its way through the obstacles of neo-colonialist obstruction. In this task all of us, parliamentarians, politicians, academicians, journalists, workers, farmers—all sections of our population—have a part to play.

UNITED AFRICA

We have the blessing of the wealth of our vast resources, the power of our talents and the potentialities of our people. Let us grasp now the opportunities before us and meet the challenge to our survival.

Mr. Speaker, as I have always emphasised, Africa cannot co-exist with imperialism. We cannot co-exist with colonialism or neo-colonialism. There can never be co-existence between poverty and plenty, between developing countries and the forces that militate against their progress and development. We must be prepared at all times to fight and conquer these anachronisms of the twentieth century and rid our Continent of them.

We look forward to the early establishment of a Continental Union Government of Africa which will throw the whole weight and might of a united Africa to the support of world peace and prosperity.

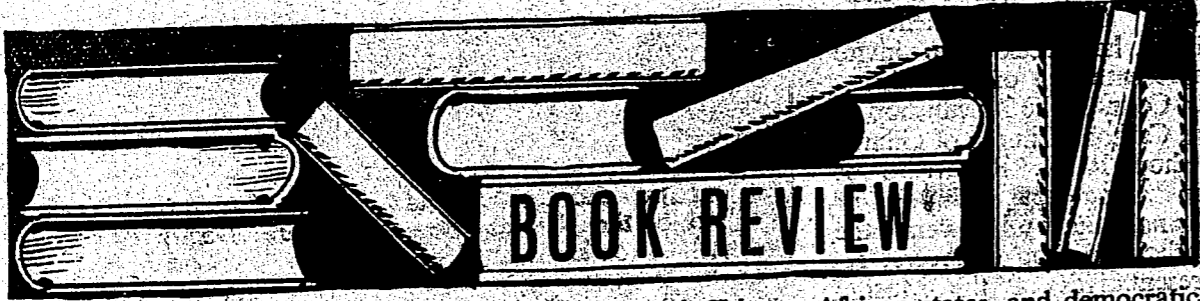
There is a battle to be fought, there are obstacles to be overcome. There is a world struggle for human dignity to be won. Let us address ourselves seriously to the supreme tasks that lie ahead. To accomplish these aims, Africa must unite.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly, I leave you to your deliberations and may you be guided by Providence in the supreme interest of the nation.



THE VICTIMS OF THE PLOTTERS

These sections of the British press which assail Ghana and its President have not uttered a single word of condemnation of those whose actions led to the maiming of innocent children.



ON SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WEST

THE basic argument of Colin and Margaret Legum in their book "South Africa: Crisis for the West" is set out in the chapter headed "The Case for Sanctions".

"The forces engaged (in South Africa) cannot resolve their deadlock unaided: both sides are too strong to be defeated, and neither will voluntarily surrender to the other. White leadership is a prisoner in the hands of a frightened and narrow electorate which fears for its own security and privileges."

"Inescapable result of large-scale violence is a race war. Passions aroused by this encounter have already internationalised the South African question both in the United Nations and through active intervention from outside, especially from the rest of Africa. This situation not only presents South Africa with appalling dangers, but constitutes an active threat to world peace."

PRESSURES

The Legums propose collective action through the United Nations as the only acceptable solution to the problem. But their reasons for doing so in effect invalidate the argument set out above.

They foresee the possibility that if the United Nations does not intervene effectively, "the non-White underground in the Republic will increase their economic and military support for the underground, while at the same time intensifying their pressures on the West in support of international action."

Much of the effective military and financial aid will

come from Russia and China, each pursuing its own separate interests... When the situation reaches the point where the black underground can begin to operate effectively, the chances of arranging a truce to discuss a reasonable basis for settlement will have been lost.

The African military leadership's demand for 'all or nothing' will be irresistible. There would be little chance of a peaceful settlement in which the country's 3 million whites could rebuild their lives in a non-racial society.

ACCURATE CASUALTIES

The West will have been robbed of its initiative, and its standing in African eyes will have been irretrievably damaged. The struggle in South Africa will have whipped up a new revolutionary spirit throughout the continent.

"Africa's dry tinder will be set on fire by a race war. It is difficult to say who will be the victors after the flames will have died down; but one can mark down the casualties with accuracy."

"First the white community in South Africa; second, the non-revolutionary leaders of African states; third, the West; and fourth, the United Nations."

If this forecast is accurate, then the Legums concede that the deadlock in South Africa can be solved—but they are alarmed that it will be solved on terms disadvantageous to the Whites and to the West. Clearly the victors are likely to be the Africans, the revolutionary leaders of other

African states, and democratic mankind.

By repeatedly under-scoring this danger, the Legums appeal to the self-interest of the whites and the West and suggest that United Nations intervention is the only means whereby their future can be safeguarded.

The argument of the Legums' book is thus directed, not towards the non-Whites of South Africa, the revolutionary leaders of the other African states or democratically-minded people, but to the Western powers.

The revolutionary camp, with victory in sight, will not favour a solution designed to benefit their enemies; while on the other hand the Whites and the West (as the Legums are very well aware) are too blinded by their short-term interests to be able to make the sacrifices which are required immediately if, for example, an effective programme of sanctions is to be enforced.

Part 2 of the book, entitled "International Power and South Africa" contains a host of brilliant arguments in favour of sanctions. The section dealing with "The Lobby Against Intervention" in Britain and the United States is especially valuable, containing detailed factual material on those who whitewash apartheid in both countries, and analysing their stake in the huge field of foreign investment in South Africa.

ON THE A.N.C. AND P.A.C.

The first part of the book headed "Power in Society" provides a comprehensive, somewhat compressed, survey

of the South African scene.

The Legums have presented the section of their book headed "Political Movements" in the most confusing and inaccurate manner. They have disregarded the logical sequence of events in developments of the relations between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. The Legums also infuse a strong anti-communist bias in their remarks on the A.N.C. and its allies.

TWO STRANDS

In the part headed "Strands of Nationalism" the Legums state that "from its birth in 1912 two strands have dominated the thinking of African Nationalism in South Africa. The dominant strand favoured moderate, conciliatory and constitutional tactics to persuade whites... the second, the radical strand, favoured a more assertive challenge."

This is gross misrepresentation calculated to justify the emergence of the P.A.C. and

to present it as being "radical" compared to the "moderate" A.N.C. A further error which is basic to the whole concept of African Nationalism as understood by the Legums is that when the A.N.C. was formed in 1912 there were two trends in it from its inception.

The history of the A.N.C. disproves this and exposes the authors. The A.N.C. long before there could be any talk of splits or disagreements in its ranks led militant positive actions against the white minority government using forms and methods of struggle that suited the given historical period.

On the question of Mr. Patrick Duncan's admission as a member of the P.A.C. the Legums not only contradict their own statements on the P.A.C. but significantly comment adversely on the A.N.C. "The P.A.C. has also changed its tactics by admitting Mr. Patrick Duncan as its first white member—in this respect going even further than the A.N.C."

Earlier the Legums had stated the basis of the P.A.C. breakaway was as follows: "When the P.A.C. broke away from the A.N.C. in 1958 it claimed that the latter was dominated by non-Africans in other congresses... The Legums note that "rejection of co-operation" with South Africans of all races is the basis of the quarrel with the A.N.C., yet when the P.A.C. abandons its erroneous stand on this issue, the Legums deem it as "going further than the A.N.C."

CONSIDERATION

There is a good deal of inconsistent, illogical and woolly talk about "doctrinal and tactical considerations" being the root cause of the split. But a history has already shown, the P.A.C. has had to revise its views on the role of non-Africans in the South African liberation struggle.

As regards doctrinal considerations there never were any within the A.N.C. nor its allies. Chief Albert J. Lutuli has dealt with this

matter in his book "Let my My People Go" and out of literary decency the Legums should have quoted the attitude of the A.N.C. on communism and communists.

The activities of the P.A.C. expose the incorrectness of the Legums when they state "today they (A.N.C. and P.A.C.) agree not only on objectives but on tactics as well: the major remaining conflict is over the entanglement with the Congress Alliance and the communists. The admission of Patrick Duncan into the P.A.C. invalidates their former views against the Congress Alliance and as for "communists" one has only to ask from what countries the P.A.C. solicits assistance."

The Legums have also made the mistake of writing that "Nelson Mandela's call for a stay-at-home demonstration was in 1962." This was in May 1961. These inaccuracies of fact and statement are so persistent in the book that the final result is to depict the A.N.C. in a bad light.

"South Africa: Crisis for the West", by Colin and Margaret Legum. Pall Mall Press 35s. paperback 12/6d. (London prices.) Culled from "Freedom News".

Stolen Mandate

by Kay Beauchamp

AT the International Court of Justice at the Hague, South Africa is being called on to answer charges, laid by the Governments of Liberia and Ethiopia, that in every important respect, she has violated the conditions of her mandate over South-West Africa.

The full story of South-West Africa is told by Ruth First, South African journalist, now in exile, in her book in the Penguin African Library. The simple facts about South-West Africa, she says, have been endlessly repeated in the World Court and in many committees of the United Nations.

FIENDISH ABUSE

She quotes an editorial in *The Times* (September 1960):

"It was a German possession fiendishly abused. It was placed under the mandate system of the League of Nations in order that its wretched tribesmen might be given a new deal in the light of decent world opinion. Instead of fulfilling this obligation of honour, the South African Government, quibbling barefacedly about the succession from the League of Nations, has swallowed South-West Africa into its vile schemes of apartheid. There is only one verdict possible in this sorry business. A mandate has been stolen and the thieves are vainly protesting their innocence."

The latest document of the U.N. on South-West Africa shows what the thieves have stolen and who has been sharing in the spoils. It is the Report of the nine-nation Subcommittee set up to examine the activities of the mining

and other international companies operating in South-West Africa.

South-West Africa is a huge reservoir of mineral wealth containing huge deposits of diamonds, concentrates of lead, copper, zinc and other minerals.

ENORMOUS PROFITS

Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa Ltd., established in 1920 by the Anglo-American Corporation with the financial support of J. P. Morgan, accounted for 98 per cent of the territory's diamond sales in 1962.

Consolidated Diamonds is controlled by de Beers, whose share capital is owned 44 per cent by South Africans, 25 per cent by British interests and 27 per cent by West European firms.

Profits are enormous, and the net profits of Consolidated Diamond Mines Ltd., after taxation, amounted to £10,644,102 in 1962. The rate of annual dividend on ordinary shares to de Beers and other shareholders rose from 40 per cent, plus a 20 per cent bonus, in 1950 to 225 per cent in 1962.

The second most important concern in South-West Africa is the *Tsumeb Corporation Ltd.*, engaged in the production of lead, copper, zinc and tin. This company was formed by the *American Metal Company* which later became the *American Metal Climax*.

The *Tsumeb Corporation Ltd.* not only has big American interests in it but also British and South African interests. The board of directors consists of officers of the controlling companies which include the *American Metal Climax*, the *O'Keefe Copper Co.*, the *Newmont Mining*

Corporation, the Selection Trust Ltd. and Union Corporation Ltd. Four directors are American, one British and two South African.

There is profit in base metals as in precious ones. Sales of metals by the *Tsumeb Corporation Ltd.* amounted to £11.4 million in 1963 and net profit after taxation and after allowing £1 million for depreciation was £2,604,921.

Diamonds, controlled by de Beers, account for 68 per cent of South-West Africa's exports and other mineral exports, dominated by *Tsumeb*, account for 24 per cent. Thus, these two foreign monopoly concerns between them control and draw profit from 92 per cent of South-West Africa's exports.

AVERAGE WAGES

A feverish search for oil is being conducted, also by international concerns, backed by Canadian and American capital.

The discovery of oil deposits would strengthen South Africa enormously as it would remove the danger from an embargo on oil imports from other countries.

In 1956, a South-West African Commission of Enquiry reported that average monthly wages of farmworkers were £5. 8s. 9d., of domestic workers £5. 10s. 8d. and other urban workers £8. 6s. 0d. per month.

Another commission gave the following figures for wages in mining per annum in 1962: Europeans £1,225; Africans £101.

Africans are specifically excluded from the provisions relating to the registration of trade unions and the settlement of disputes by conciliation and arbitration set out in

(Continued on page 6)



Letters to the editor

SOUTHERN Rhodesia is seething with discontent emanating from unjustified taxation, racial discrimination, exploitation and the suppression of the African majority by the white minority government of Ian Smith.

After 41 years of injustice perpetrated by the settlers against the African population, there seemed to be grounds for new hope after the results of the British general election were announced. For the Labour Party's Manifesto contained numerous promises for Africans who were and are still struggling for emancipation.

Before their election, Labour had vehemently criticised the Conservative Government's attitudes especially towards the Southern Rhodesian political crisis and the apartheid South African Republic.

* * *

The proposed fraudulent constitution of Southern Rhodesia which gives 50 out of 65 seats to the settler population of 280,000 and only 15 seats to the African population of 3½ million, met strong criticisms from the Labour Members in the Parliament.

They were critical, too, when the Conservative Government decided to supply arms to Verwoerd's apartheid regime to suppress the upsurge of African nationalism.

Labour gave a lot of promises to the dependent countries that if they were elected they would help them to real independence. They spoke of One Man One Vote, Majority Rule, etc.

But to the disappointment of Africans the British Labour Government is now committing similar (if not worse) crimes against the Africans' struggle for freedom and independence.

Examples are—
(1) the sanctioning of continued supply of arms to the

Verwoerd regime which Labour members once strongly criticised. (They had promised to cut off the supply if they came to power);

(2) the use of Ascension Island by U.S. and Belgium as a base for operations in the Congo.

* * *

But the greatest consternation arose when Mr. Bottomley, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was alleged to have said after his "fact finding" tour of Southern Rhodesia with Lord Gardiner that "Britain cannot impose majority rule on Southern Rhodesia".

Is this the brand of democracy of which Britain claims to be the mother? A clear definition of democracy is demanded from the British Labour Government.

Are the Labour government confused because of £800 million deficit they inherited from their predecessors?

Or was Ian Smith able to fool Mr. Bottomley into a sense of false security by giving him the dangerous impression that the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia will last for ever?

If the former, then Africans may pardon them. But if the latter is the cause, Africans thank them for revealing the real aims of the British towards Africa.

But they should not forget that with the formation of African Continental Union Government, which is eminent, Africa will soon be in a position to defend her own cause without relying on any outsider. Those who play the part of enemy will have only themselves to blame.

It is therefore up to the present British Government to either fulfil or eschew their promises.

S. A. Nti,
Accra.

FORWARD GHANA

IN 1961, a press war developed between the Nigeria and the Ghana press.

Ghana today is going through a revolution which when complete will be an example to the working class of many other African countries. The imperialists, realising that the success of the Ghana revolution is the success of the African revolution, are working tooth and nail to ensure its failure.

They are using their propaganda machinery including press and radio and those African countries dominated by neo-colonialism.

In Nigeria, this vicious propaganda campaign has been carried on mainly by the imperialists and their reactionary press, and also by the national and comprador bourgeoisie and their hangers-on. We have only to find out who are the owners of these papers, in order to see whom they really represent.

* * *

The first is the semi-official *Morning Post*. This paper only represents the national and comprador bourgeoisie and is not popular with the masses.

The second is the national daily, owned by a foreign monopoly with a few shares given to Nigerians in order to deceive people into believing that the paper is jointly owned. This paper is the main vehicle of imperialist propaganda in the country.

The other two papers were formerly somewhat progressive but as the tide of events changed, they fell into line to the reactionary objectives of the first two.

One which was formerly jointly owned by a foreign monopoly and a Nigerian political party was completely taken over by the foreign company when the party put forward progressive policies in 1962.

The last national daily which is the oldest newspaper in the country and was also the chief champion of Nigerian freedom from colonialism, was regarded as progressive.

But since the last constitutional crisis it too has been advocating reactionary policies. Most of the regional or lo-

cal papers are either owned by the regional governments or have private owners. But some show some progressive tendencies and sometimes reflect the feelings of the masses, especially the young people.

The campaign against Ghana in the Nigerian press may have succeeded temporarily in deceiving some sections of the public, but the ordinary people will be very hard to deceive because, as the Ghana revolution advances step by step, they will realise how their Ghana counterparts are benefiting from it.

For example, Ghanaian children can now enjoy free education from primary to university level, many Ghanaians are now exempted from income tax and furthermore, unemployment which is at its lowest ebb there now, may be abolished within two to three years.

Dr. Danquah's death recently provided another pretext for a campaign against Ghana.

A high-placed Nigerian used his high office to attack a friendly country. For this person to talk of Ghana's Preventive Detention Act as a contravention of Human Rights while he himself did nothing when Nigeria's own Government was trying to impose such an Act in 1962 is to me hypocritical.

A Preventive Detention Act was recently adopted in Malawi. Because this particular Act served their interests, the imperialists made no hue and cry about it.

The Nigerian press reported the fact—but there were no editorials or articles attacking it. Even the Western imperialist press and radio was content with simply reporting the fact, without any comment.

It is not surprising that Ghana should be the main target for the attacks of the imperialists and their mouthpieces. Though Ghana's revolution is still in its early stages, the imperialists are already scared stiff.

Ghana's revolution will succeed, and it will usher in the African revolution throughout the whole continent.

Chuba Achebe
Lagos, Nigeria.

'YES, THERE IS ANOTHER AMERICA'

says James Jackson
(Editor-in-Chief "New York Worker")

It is a great joy to be in Ghana and to feel the pulse and surge of the new life which the revolution has released and continues to inspire. Already, just passing through the streets in the few hours since I have been here, I have viewed with wonder the modern constructions and the commercial energy and industry of your capital.

Above all, what strikes the eye of the stranger is the prideful appearance of Ghana's people—sharp of eye, sprightly of step, in bearing confident, in mood vital and enthusiastic.

Ghana, thanks to the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, was the first nation to break the bonds of imperialism in the continent. It carried the banner of anti-colonial revolution in the first postwar upsurge of the unfree peoples.

IN FOREFRONT

Today it still stands in the forefront of the great African Revolution for national independence, for economic and social development, for democracy, for cultural renaissance, for the development of society along non-exploitative lines, along the pathway to socialism.

The nobility of the work being performed by the people of Ghana to develop their

country, to place it in the great rank of the nations in terms of the production and distribution of material and spiritual values, should certainly inspire every visitor to wish to extend a helping hand.

But there are strangers who come to Ghana (and to other newly-emancipated countries in Asia and Africa) and what they see only inspires in them envy and hatred.

The former colonial masters

and the would-be neo-imperialists, the U.S. neo-colonialists, claim to see some kind of threat in Ghana's bold steps forward toward a society of material plenty, cultural richness and a socialist system.

The United States ruling circles and monopolists have assumed the role of world policeman to preserve the rotting and historically doomed imperialist system.

This system has amassed

great fortunes for a handful of robber barons of the Western states out of the poverty, exploitation, anguish and blood of the millions of human beings in the countries which they had seized by brute force. But with the October Re-

the napalm and poison gas bombers of the Vietnam people and the children and women-beaters, the officers of the law and Alabama soldiers who are spilling the blood of Negro Americans in the United States itself.

I am proud to be visiting Ghana at this time as a representative of the vanguard force of that other America.

The brutal, the savage policy of armed military aggression of the Government of Lyndon Johnson against the

The great struggle which the Southern Negro citizens are making takes the form of mass sit-ins, squatting in the heart of the towns stopping traffic; mass marches, like the 50-mile march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama; by city-wide work stoppages and work-holidays; by the mass mobilization of great crowds in front of the White House of the President in Washington, D.C.

Everywhere in the United States the two struggles—to

African Journalist and the Revolution

COMRADES, it gives me great pleasure to take the place of our comrade Minister of Information and Party Propaganda Secretary, now out of Ghana on official duty, in launching "the African Journalist" at this historic Institution, which is at once a pride to Ghana and all Africa, and the "el drague" to the unconscionable and menacing groups known as imperialists, colonialists, and neo-colonialists.

The value of the African Journalist has been succinctly enshrined on its frontage cover, thus:

"A companion of all who are in the field of Journalism in Africa. This booklet meets the Ideological needs of all Newspaper, News Agency, Radio, Television and other workers engaged in the transmission of news in Africa."

The importance of the role of the modern African Journalist, that is, the active journalist confronted with the colossal problems of modern Africa, could not be over-emphasised. To grapple correctly, soberly, and effectively with that role the modern African Journalist must arm himself with the necessary and vital tools, chief of which is the ideology for de-colonisation in Africa and the economic and social reconstruction of the Continent on sound, scientific basis.

CAPITALIST MIRROR

It is necessary to draw attention here to one or two points worth noting. In the past few decades, an inestimable number of books on journalism, has been written and inflicted on journalists the world over. In recent times, the tempo of production of such books has increased.

By and large, these books portray journalism through the capitalist mirror. In view of the fact that we in Africa have clearly and irrevocably opted for socialism, it is incumbent on us to reject this cheap poison, and seek salvation through the didactic writings and teachings of our own leaders, intellectuals, and tried and trusted friends and sympathisers.

The African journalist—whether just setting out on the road to professional qualification, or already in the field of battle—would find all the essential guide-lines in the monumental address delivered

The full text of an address by Mr. Cecil Forde, Chairman of Ghana Radio and Television Corporation given on the occasion of the launching of the "African Journalist", at Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, on Saturday March 20, 1965.

by Kwame Nkrumah, on the occasion of the opening of the Second Conference of African Journalists, on the 11th November, 1963.

I should like to draw attention to four very vital passages of that remarkable speech. Comparing the capitalist type of journalist as well as journalist soaked through and through in corruption and moral depravity with the new type of journalist necessary for Africa, Kwame Nkrumah said this:

"The true African journalist, abjuring imperialist blandishments and bribes, can certainly call his soul his own. His work may be more difficult because of deficiencies in the technical means of gathering information and the daily harassments that confront him: his remuneration may not be great and expense accounts non-existent.

HONEST JOB

But he has other, more satisfying rewards. He draws contentment from an honest job honestly done. His satisfaction is in his integrity, in work performed for the betterment of his fellows and the society of which he is a worthy member."

Adverting to the question of honesty of purpose, and the need for acquiring skills, Kwame Nkrumah advised as follows:

"Truth, we say, must be the watchword of our African journalist and facts must be his guide. These tenets, however, must not excuse dullness in our newspapers and our journals. They must not be used as a cover for shoddy writing and ambiguous intentions.

"The African journalist is not only expected to communicate the facts and aims of our African Revolution, but to do so compellingly and without fear. He must continually and fearlessly expose neo-colonialist subterfuge. He must attain a proper understanding of the African Revolution, its purpose and its travails. He must acquire technical proficiency and literary skill."

There are other essential factors which contribute to the making of Africa's new type of journalist. There is, for example, our understanding of the African Revolution, and the method by which we prosecute the struggle through

mass communication media, for the achievement of our goals and the success of the African Revolution. On this score Kwame Nkrumah had this to say:

"You must know what spirit we have to impart, what kind of society we are seeking, what nature of men and women we hope to fashion. The facts you gather must manifest that Revolution, foster its plan and depict truthfully its progress, its pitfalls and obstacles. They must encourage our people and not deceive them with false hopes or false achievements.

"You have the duty to express the views which will move our Revolution forward. For all of this, the ordinary professional education of a journalist is not enough. You must understand the relationship between the press and our society and you must understand our society in relation to the rest of the world."

Our work as journalists in modern Africa, which is largely free and partly enslaved, and which is buffeted by the wiles and manoeuvres of colonialism and neo-colonialism, must be consistent and continuous. The magnitude and gravity of the task should neither frighten or cower us nor tempt us to throw up the sponge.

We must press on and forward, replenishing our strength after every successful encounter with the enemy who is highly resilient, and whose capacity for evil and treachery passes belief.

HAVE DUTY

The struggle for men's minds is both important and enormous. The colonialists and neo-colonialists are at present seriously engaged in this struggle. They want to win the minds of our people, to confound their thinking, and create a congenial climate for their continued oppression and exploitation.

African journalists must throw themselves into this struggle with might and main. But these constitute only part of the weapons for success in this immense exercise. Skill is of supreme importance hence Kwame Nkrumah's admonition, in these words:

"You, by your calling, have the responsibility to work unceasingly for the unity of Africa, the single means by which we can promote the

prosperity of this continent and defend it against the machinations of our enemies. By reason of your chosen work, you men and women of the press are in that most vital of positions where you can persuade men's minds, inform their opinions and point the way to go.

"Unless you see it for good, you betray your calling, you mislead those who look to you for truth, who expect from you an interpretation of that truth in their cases."

This last of the four passages I have quoted, I very strongly commend to all journalists to mark and learn well, and digest inwardly.

We may, indeed, have all the revolutionary fervour. We may be very qualified professionally and highly inducted in the art of journalism. All this is good. It is marvellous. But it is not enough.

It is very possible that we could ruin a good cause not because of any lack of educational or professional qualification, but because of applying the wrong method: because our approach is bad, and our style objectionable; or because our attitude is repulsive.

IDEOLOGY

This is where ideology comes in, and where it is absolutely important. With the right ideological orientation we should not go wrong. Indeed, we must not. No one has any excuse for lack of ideology. "Consciencism" is with us, and it has come to stay. It is the philosophy that directs us.

In applying "Consciencism", we work as Nkrumais. In a sense, therefore, Nkrumaism could be the practical application of "Consciencism". This makes it obligatory on the part of all African journalists, especially Africa's novel type, not only to grasp the philosophy of "Consciencism", but to strive hard and constantly to apply it as faithfully as possible in their work, and daily lives.

"The African journalist" contains professional and qualitative material that is vital and germane to the work of our journalists in their various operational theatres. It contains a valuable key which, correctly placed and manipulated, could open the "golden" gates of a new Africa, completely free and independent, marching confidently and proudly to unpredictable heights of technological, economic, and social development under a Union Government of Africa.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I launch "The African Journalist".



'THE MOST IMPORTANT STRUGGLE OF ALL'

The most important struggle of all in America is the mass upsurge of the Afro-Americans, the 22 million Afro-Americans who have opened a Second Front against U.S. imperialism through the daring confrontations with the racist reactionary southern states governments in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, writes James Jackson. This movement, he goes on, has rallied tens of millions of white Americans to the cause of the struggle for freedom and peace against racism and imperialism. This other America is the America that will win.

volution in Russia in 1917, led by Lenin, the first socialist state of the workers and peasants was established.

Since that time, the struggle between the exploiters and the exploited, the workers and the capitalists, has also expressed itself in terms of the competition between the two social systems, socialist and capitalist.

In the world community of the nations, the existence of a powerful fraternity of socialist countries is a source of great support to the emergent and developing new nations in standing up against the camp of the imperialists which is dominated by the United States of America.

BROKEN AWAY

Since World War II, more and more countries and nations have broken away from the prison house of imperialism and taken the road to genuine independence and socialism.

Ghana was the first country in Africa to link its destiny to socialism, the inevitable historic future of mankind.

Every capitalist country likewise reflects the contradictions and divisions illustrated by the existence of the two competitive and diametrically opposed systems.

America itself is no monolith. It is a warring camp held together by police terror and mob violence, and less dramatic devices of monopoly controls of public information, suppression of freedom of political expression, etc.

Yes, there is another America—an America opposed to

people of Vietnam is meeting with ever growing and militant resistance in the United States itself.

Recently the press reported that six Congressmen had called upon the President to withdraw American armed forces from Vietnam. The past two months has seen over 100 large demonstrations in some thirty cities against the war in Vietnam.

Such papers as the New York Times—the most authoritative of the American papers—the New York and Washington Post, the Detroit Free Press, the St. Louis Post Dispatch have all come out editorially for an end to the war in Vietnam. These papers have also carried advertisements from intellectuals, trade union leaders, civil rights leaders, artists, writers, scientists and teachers calling for a withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

MOST IMPORTANT

But the most important struggle of all in America, the greatest contribution to the world front of anti-imperialist action against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and economic, political and armed intrigue in Congo is the mass upsurge of the Afro-Americans, the 22 million Negro Americans who have opened a Second Front against U.S. imperialism through the daring confrontations with the racist reactionary southern states governments in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina.

end U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and to secure the equal rights and freedom of Negro citizens at home are being linked.

COMMON SLOGAN

On all picket-lines, from the end of the country to the other, the common slogan is emblazoned on placards and banners: "LBJ, Get U.S. Army out of Vietnam where they are killing innocent people; LBJ, Send the U.S. Army to Alabama to save the lives and rights of Negro citizens!"

The movement of Negroes, Afro-Americans for their freedom has rallied tens of millions of white Americans to the cause of the struggle for freedom and peace, against racism and imperialism.

WILL WIN

This "other America" is the America that will win in the end. It fights shoulder to shoulder with the people and Government of Ghana; with the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; with the revolutionary forces of liberation in the Congo and against the Tshombe government of treason and African betrayal.

Long live friendship and solidarity between the people and anti-imperialist forces of America and Ghana! Warm fraternal greetings to the Convention People's Party, the writers and readers of The Spark and the General Secretary and Editor in Chief Kwame Nkrumah.

WE DISAGREE WITH DRUM

THE magazine, **THE DRUM** has taken upon itself to meddle in academic matters and from the wide range of its experience, offers us advice on how the University of Ghana should be run.

The article is more noteworthy for muddle, confusion and internal contradictions than for any originality but there are one or two items which we might usefully mention and challenge.

The paper is noted for trying to ride two horses at once and perhaps this explains why it is possible for the article to be so confusing and contradictory.

It opens with the fairly evident point that administrators are powerful people, that they can be decisive in the fate of a nation if they are left with the responsibility of operating policies decided by Governments and the general 'tone' of their work can decide success or failure.

This is true in many coun-

tries of course, but it must be an important function of the Convention People's Party as our state and socialist democracy develop to ensure that we are never at the mercy of the bureaucrats and administrators.

Only in those states where formal democracy exists, operating every five years only at the ballot box, do the administrators wield decisive power. In Ghana one of our most outstanding tasks is to see that popular pressure and the mobilising power of the Party takes us beyond such a limited state of formal democracy.

It is true, however, that those Civil Servants and administrators who understand the aims of the Government, in our case its socialist aims, will be a positive factor in our national life; and this is what we want.

The author of the article recognises this influence wielded by administrators but ignores the vital corollary, that states construct the civil service apparatus that responds to their needs and aims.

The article ignores the most important factor, that the

debate about which road of social development Ghana is to take is decided. We are not in the stage of debate any longer, the 1964 referendum was the decisive signal that that stage is over and the decision is made. . . we are for socialism to be built on scientific socialist principles.

Those who debate, apparently endlessly, back and forth about the future of the University of Ghana seem to overlook this basic fact. *The Drum* shares this misconception.

All our national institutions are now being transformed into the instrument of the people's determination to build socialism. There are no exemptions from this and intellectuals cannot opt out.

We do not believe that most of them want to. We are sure that most of the students and the staff want to place their skills and training at the service of Ghana. They have everything to gain by socialism, their interests are not in conflict with those of the mass of the people.

We are also sure that some are not a little weary of arti-

ficially created crises which distract them from their work. Certainly there are vital problems to be solved by the staff.

The scientists are concerned with the shortage of students, the sociologists with problems of adapting their techniques to a different society, the arts faculties with research and the encouragement of Ghanaian culture as well as the all important examination of traditional learning in the light of Ghana's socialist aims and philosophy.

The tasks before the University are manifold and there must be many who are beginning to feel frustrated at the eruption of storms which shatter the atmosphere needed for creative and useful work.

The University of Ghana is changing but too slowly. The view that a University is a place where independent thinking and research are important pre-occupations is of course true, but they are not only that.

Ideas, thought, techniques, powers of critical, forms of logic are all developed in University education, but these lead to actions, events, policies, ways of life.

Hitherto the University of Ghana has carried almost unchallenged the stamp of its origins. This is not the fault of the students or even their teachers, they have been the victims of the colonial origins of the University. This is why the overwhelming majority of the library books and those offered for sale support capitalism, support the philosophies which have developed capitalist modes of thought and why anti-socialist and anti-Marxist books prevail.

Those who claim an interest in Academic Freedom should surely have tried to make sure that books in equal numbers, for and against, at least were available.

Now the picture is changing a little. Socialist books are appearing, more of the lecturers are themselves socialists, but as soon as this happens and the trend is recognised the cry of attacks on academic freedom is raised.

The University of Ghana was given autonomy. That is good but it presupposes a sense of unity and purpose shared by the Government, the people, the Party and the University.

Autonomy carries duties as well as rights.

It assumes a community of like minded people, agreed on the broad general aims of Ghana's socialist advance and prepared to sink their subjective resentments in the common interests.

The Drum seems to think that intellectual tradition calls for 'agreeing to differ'. This view could only be put forward by someone who entertains only contempt for ideas. Ideas are powerful and they must be challenged or asserted. They determine actions, they shape the course of society, just as social conditions help to condition them.

One can never agree to differ on the basic question of what kind of society we are to build in Ghana. The real life of the people, their need for education, health, housing, food, culture, all cry out for a sense of urgency in all aspects of our national life, in intellectual life no less than anywhere else. It cannot wait for endless debate and for the assertion of sectional privileges.

The article extends its sympathies to Dr. O'Brien, the Vice-Chancellor as if he has been rather misunderstood. It is true that he came with a reputation for anti-imperialism but experience has shown that his anti-imperialist views while perhaps rather startling and advanced for countries like England and the United States, lag behind the political levels of Ghanaian society.

Article in the *New Statesman* by him will perhaps advance the level of the readership of the journal, who in general are behind the level of Ghana, which is tackling political problems which the people of Britain for all their apparent political sophistication are not yet facing up to, namely the ending of imperialist exploitation and the construction of socialism.

Dr. O'Brien was invited here to do a job. That job was precisely to get rid of the features of the University which had been imposed by the old colonial regime. It was expected that he would carry out basic dynamic reforms and lead the University to take its place as an active force in our new society.

Unfortunately he has chosen to decide to preserve the University for those Ghanaians who are the privileged product of the colonial regime and want nothing to change.

It is a pity that this subjective attitudes have cut him off from the forward looking section of the University staff and students and have led him into the trap set by the old guard. Of course as they share the same type of education per-

haps this should have been anticipated.

Dr. O'Brien's term of office is drawing to a close and the urgent questions for the University now come forward again because his successor must be a man who is aware of the very complex and subtle correlation between intellectual and practical life, the relations between thought and action, the necessity of building socialism in our country as the only guarantee of our independent future from imperialism and from poverty and want.

The greatest academics have been those who understanding the essential features of the times in which they live have recognised in all humility that they have something to learn from the masses, that they have to dedicate their gifts, to the service of humanity.

The University of Legon is part of our nation, we have seen efforts made by many of its members to respond to the call of the Government and the Party to play their full part in our historic and noble task, there are those, many of them who rise above the limitations of their previous education and social circumstances who genuinely wish to get on with the job free from artificially created storms in teacups.

We are confident they will be able to do this, they will dedicate their gifts and abilities to reconstructing our nation in the way the people have decided.

Testimonial for Conor Cruise O'Brien

DR. CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN has worked as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana for the past three years in which time I came into contact with his methods of work and formed impressions of his ego and the nature of his relationship with his fellow men and the people who employed him.

People who know him at close quarters, in his administrative capacity, marvel at his capacity to turn out so many letters in so short a time. The question is whether such a trait is mere verbosity or an output of quality. In this connection let us look at the recommendation of the Head of the Irish Delegation at the U.N. to Dag Hammarskjöld quoted and commented on by Dr. O'Brien himself in his book *'O Katanga and Back'*.

The Irish U.N. head of mission, comparing Dr. O'Brien with another man of the same delegation commented on O'Brien's originality. On this point Dr. O'Brien said that he was not likely to land the job since he believed that people at the top always wanted to be obeyed. How far was Dr. O'Brien original in his work at this University?

What contribution did he make to the store of the Legon tradition? In particular what did he do to implement sec. 2 sub (h) of the University of Ghana Act, 1961 which reads:

(h) "that the University should develop close relationships with the people of Ghana and with other cultural institutions, whether within or outside."

Dr. O'Brien will leave Legon after three years without anything of substance or any lasting impact on the Legon he found. He can pat himself on his demagogic appeal to a section of the students and certain senior members but he never fooled the rest of the people. I revert to his demagoguery later.

and others equally hate academic freedom. He also mentioned that it was absolutely necessary and desirable for the University to identify itself with the community in which it existed and from which it derived its support.

KWAME SAMPENEY,
On Behalf of the Student Committee, University of Ghana, Legon.

The debate between this University and the community culminated in the demonstration of the people against this University. This demonstration showed that the people's patience had been tried long enough that they wanted something concrete to show

taught to students in their first year, and thus ought to consist of elements of logic, the theory of knowledge, dialectical materialism and the scientific method of investigation.

Apart from the physical sciences where students are taught these methods in secondary schools none of the few others have any knowledge of these methods of investigation. It is quite plain that despite his wild claims and insistence on this section students are not being taught methods of critical and independent thought.

However, this point cannot be left at sheer dogmatism and unyieldability. There are other subtle and vicious intentions believing this insistence. It did not take Dr. O'Brien very long to detect that a large majority of the students were not exactly sympathetic to the ideals of socialism. He played on this to win the confidence of the students.

CRYPTIC INTENTION

This is his first charge of demagoguery. This cryptic intention has been shown several times in his speeches with his well known method of playing to the crowd. Thus in his last address at the congregation he clearly appealed to the African lecturers and the rising class of administrators to rebel against their government. This is part of his general strategy which has made him the greatest agent of neo-colonialism in Africa today.

He deliberately opened the case of the demonstration, gave a few instances of speeches and writing by a public figure and a newspaper and this was immediately taken up by the imperialist press and Ghana had a thorough whipping.

To revert to the main trend of the argument, what O'Brien ought to have done in the circumstances of the conflict between the Party and the University was to attempt to make a realistic analysis and within the framework of the University Act to find a golden mean between the opposing views and to create new institutions for carrying out the work he is paid to do.

Here Dr. O'Brien showed a great lack of originality and comprehension of the situation. The result is that he only made a fleeting impression in his University. The Revolution has been set back for three years.

Profile of a Failure

WE publish here extracts from 'A Testimonial For Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien'. The past week has seen the resurgence of another phase of the struggle led by Dr. O'Brien to try to prevent the Government of Ghana creating a University which will really serve the needs of our developing society.

It is true that THE SPARK has played a role in drawing attention to the problem of the transformation of the University from being an institution, established by the British, with the special role to play of creating an intellectual elite, dedicated to the ideas and philosophy of Western capitalist civilisation, at best, at worst, full of the reactionary and backward looking nonsense of imperialist education.

The process of change may be long and difficult but it will come and the University will play its part in the transformation of Ghana out of superstition and economic and social under-development into a modern scientific and cultured society in which all men and women will have full access to the finest education that our society can devise.

The University Congregation called last Saturday was supposed to hear about 'The State of The University of Ghana'. The major part of the Vice-Chancellor's report merely reiterated his already well known views on Academic Freedom.

What about the real problems of development, of the founding of vigorous post graduate schools, of the role of the students in our social, economic and cultural life, of the problems of expansion and research?

These, too, are aspects of the state of the University which need thoughtful consideration and which we hope, will very soon receive the attention that is due to them.

The main point is that Dr. O'Brien's views as expressed in the debate changed radically as a result of a series of articles by *The Spark*. This is not a scholarly or an academic attitude to criticism. This is a crucial character trait. This shows that Dr. O'Brien has ossified notions and ideals which he cannot adapt to new situations.

The basic point here is that he has always been in support of the cloistered existence or the concept of Ivory Towers as far as institutions of higher learning are concerned. He only took the stand he took against the late Dr. Danquah because he had to. From now on, all he wrote and said about academic freedom was to enhance its egocentrism and his demagogic appeal to the student body.

that this University existed to serve the interest of the community.

Only a fool will believe that it was necessary to conduct a statistical research into the social background of students in order to reveal that most students come from poor homes. The argument from the government and the people was not that the under-graduates came from privileged aristocratic homes.

The argument was that under-graduates enjoyed a lot of privileges due to the sacrifices of the large mass of the people. The people sacrifice for the students because the government which represent the people asked them to sacrifice. For example there is a government in Nigeria but not all Nigerians of university

Specifically they want this University to produce students who will reject colonialism, and neo-colonialism, who will embrace an ideology working for the ideal that "the condition for the development of the whole shall be the condition for the development of the individual".

This ideology rejects individualism and hence capitalism and seeks to erect socialism. Therefore it is the duty of this university to create the conditions which will negate capitalist tendencies and enthrone socialism. Did O'Brien as the employee of the government do anything towards this end?

In what way could critical and independent thought be achieved? It does not need a lot of genius to find out that methodology is what should be

Rothman Cigarette

THE Rembrandt Tobacco Company of South Africa, is controlled by a foremost member of Verwoerd's Nationalist Party, Mr. Anton Rupert. He has acquired the controlling interest in a number of overseas firms and is now one of the biggest cigarette firms in the world. Its cigarettes include Rembrandt, Von Rhijn, Masters, Consulate, Rothmans, Peter Stuyvesant and Lexington and a number of others. Rupert is also one of the big names in the liquor world in South Africa. His assets (or those of his various companies) total more than \$55 million. And so, **ROTHMANS IS A SOUTH AFRICA CIGARETTE. DON'T SMOKE IT.**

STOLEN MANDATE

(Continued from page 4)

the Wage and Industry Conciliation Ordinances, 1952.

The report of the U.N. Sub-Committee states that:

"The work which the Africans perform for mining and other companies is basically forced labour and therefore the African population lives as though in slavery."

Here are some of the main conclusions the U.N. Sub-Committee came to after examining the present position in South-West Africa:

- foreign capital controls the main sectors of production;
- foreign companies have no interest in developing a balanced economy; and most Africans have to exist on a barely subsistence level;
- discriminatory laws exclude Africans from any direct participation in the mining industry and guarantee a

permanent supply of cheap, unskilled, migrant labour. — 86 per cent of the population get little benefit from the revenue from taxation as this is mainly used to assist European farmers and for services for Europeans.

— the policy of apartheid, imposed by South Africa, enables foreign companies and European farmers to reap high profits.

— the Africans are denied all political rights.

The U.N. Sub-Committee found that South Africa has abused its mandate and instead of promoting the interests of the people has subjected them to the most ruthless exploitation by foreign companies.

The conclusion from the findings of the U.N. Sub-Committee is inescapable. The sooner South Africa's mandate is ended and South-West Africa becomes independent the better.

All Tests can be Detected

Western Scientist belated admission

by A Spark Correspondent

THERE are signs that at long last the West is coming to see reason. It looks as though it will shortly acknowledge what Soviet scientists and test-ban negotiators have been saying for years—that underground tests can be detected and distinguished from earthquakes, and that on-site inspections are not essential.

For years the basic obstacle to a complete test-ban agreement covering tests in the atmosphere, in space, underwater and underground has been the West's refusal to acknowledge that all tests, including those underground, can be detected.

ONLY PARTIAL

Because of this the Moscow Test-Ban Agreement signed in 1963 was only partial, prohibiting tests in the atmosphere, in space and underwater, but not those underground.

Underground tests were excluded because United States and British negotiators claimed that they could not be reliably detected by existing nationally owned means of detection or distinguished from natural earth tremors. So they demanded at least seven on-site inspections a year.

Soviet scientists and negotiators took the view that all tests could be detected by existing means and that a nuclear test agreement could be adequately monitored without inspection.

Even *The Times* (11. 6. 63) was obliged to concede that "the Russians have most of the scientists on their side when they say that inspections are not vital."

Experience has indeed shown the Soviet view to be correct: underground tests in the United States have been detected as far away as Sweden and the Soviet Union, while underground tests conducted in the Soviet Union (including one specially designed to demonstrate that such tests could in fact be detected) have been detected by the United States.

NUCLEAR BLAST

On October 22nd. last year the United States Atomic Energy Commission conducted an underground nuclear test equivalent to 5,000 tons of T.N.T. deep in South Mississippi's Tatum salt dome.

The blast, said the *New York Times* (23. 10. 64), "was set off to test detection devices for underground nuclear shots... A.E.C. engineers selected the Tatum dome because of its ability to contain and muffle the physical effects of a nuclear detonation."

Nevertheless, the paper reported that "a worldwide network of seismographic stations recorded the explosion" (emphasis ours-Ed.).

Underground testing has for some time been one of the United States' main means of developing nuclear weapons. It has conducted more than forty underground tests since the signing of the test-ban agreement.

This intensified underground nuclear test programme has, according to the Washington correspondent of *The Times* (30. 1. 65), quoting the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's annual report, "yielded increasingly important advanced data on both the design and the effect of nuclear weapons... The restrictions imposed

by the nuclear test ban treaty have evidently led to a considerable effort to widen the scope of underground testing", the correspondent went on.

"The A.E.C. said that techniques new to the United States and others had made it possible for miners to excavate huge rooms at the bottom of vertical shafts. Some of these were as big as 900 cubic yards, the report said."

IMPROVE WEAPONS

The Atomic Energy Commission, the correspondent went on, "has completed the addition of 166 square miles of land to the testing ground in Nevada, and expansion which will permit the digging of even deeper holes for the conduct of even larger underground explosion."

As a result, the United States had been able, despite the nuclear test ban, to conduct further research designed to improve the effectiveness of its nuclear weapons.

There is in fact evidence to suggest that American policy-makers deliberately concealed their ability to detect tests and deliberately exaggerated the difficulties of distinguishing earthquakes from tests to block a complete ban in order to continue the development of nuclear weapons through underground testing.

BETTER

Giving evidence before the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Commission on March 11th, 1963, five months before the signing of the partial test-ban treaty, when Western negotiators were insisting that underground tests could not be reliably detected, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk admitted that U.S. ability to detect violations of a test-ban treaty was "better than can be fully disclosed."

And four days earlier the man who was then a Senator and who is now U.S. Vice-President, Mr. Hubert Humphrey, had told the Senate:

"Our detection capability is much greater than the press has led us to believe on the basis of the information it has received from the U.S. Government... "Tell the American people of our detection system. Tell them what we have. We are always telling them what a big bomb we have. Tell them what a good detection system we have."

Likewise on the question of distinguishing underground tests from earthquakes. In 1959 the U.S. delegation at the test-ban talks used figures which over-estimated the number of earthquakes in Soviet territory (which, they claimed, might be confused with underground tests) by 2.5 times as a pretext for going back on an agreement on a control system which they had signed together with Soviet representatives the year before.

NEW ATTEMPT

Soviet representatives told the U.S. experts that their figures were wrong. The Americans refused to listen. Subsequently they had to admit the Soviet experts were right.

But still the American negotiators, echoed by their British colleagues, went on refusing to acknowledge the fact recognised by scientists all over the world and demonstrated by experience—that all tests, including those underground, could be detected by existing means.

In December 1962, Mr.

Khrushchov, in a new attempt to meet the West half-way, said that the Soviet Union was ready to agree to two to three on-site inspections a year. This was a figure originally proposed by United States representatives.

Only two months before, in October, U.S. negotiator Arthur Dean had told Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov that two to four inspections would suffice.

And that same month Dr. Jerome Weisner, then chief scientific adviser to President Kennedy, had told Soviet Academician Fyodorov at two meetings in New York and

Science can be applied for good ends, for the betterment of the human race, or for bad ends, for the making of weapons of destruction. In no field of science is the contrast between these two aspects so great as it is in atomic energy. The hydrogen bomb, that instrument of mass destruction which we all fear and dread so much, is based on the same source of power. Scientists hope that, in the near future, thermo-nuclear reaction will release unlimited resources of power for industrial use.

If the world can survive the threat of annihilation posed by the hydrogen bomb, and other agents of mass destruction, then the peaceful application for thermo-nuclear energy which is at present predominantly turned to warlike purposes, will bring about an unprecedented release of the human race from drudgery and fear, starvation and poverty, which is now the lot of so many.

—KWAME NKRUMAH.
24/11/64.

Washington that two to three inspections were enough.

The British delegates to the Geneva talks, Mr. Godber and Sir Michael Wright, were at the same time urging the Soviet delegation to agree to the number of inspections which it had regarded as acceptable during earlier talks—in other words, three.

But when the Soviet Union declared its acceptance of the principle of three annual on-site inspections, the western Powers immediately stepped up their demand. They at the same time stepped up their demands on the nature and scope of the inspection.

Even *The Times* had to admit that "to continue to reject the offer of three inspections is to fly in the face of military and scientific logic."

This was not the first time that the West had during disarmament negotiations made a much-publicised "offer" to the Soviet Union—only to withdraw it when the Soviet Union accepted it.

The story of the test-ban negotiations, in particular as regards the detection of underground tests, has been one of Western chicanery and double-dealing.

As a result of these delaying tactics the United States has been enabled to continue its intensive series of underground tests and thus improve its nuclear arsenal.

FUTILITY

But more and more voices are being heard pointing out the futility of this nuclear build-up when both the United States and the Soviet Union already have more than enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other.

Writing in last November's *Scientific American*, Dr. Weisner and another of America's most respected scientists, Dr. Herbert York, warned that defence against thermonuclear attack is impossible and that the clearly predictable course of the present arms race is a steady spiral downwards into oblivion.

The two scientists went on to demonstrate that the continuance of underground tests served no useful purpose and

could make no contribution to the security of the United States, despite the claims of those who call for their continuance.

On January 31st of this year significant reports appeared in two usually well-informed London newspapers, *The Observer* and *The Sunday Times*.

"A new technical brief on detecting underground nuclear tests is being worked out between British and American scientists for the Governments. It is intended to provide a basis for a new initiative at the Geneva disarmament talks when they re-open", wrote John Davy, Scientific Correspondent of *The Observer* while Bryan Silcock of *The Sunday Times* wrote that:

"New techniques developed by Atomic Energy Authority scientists may solve the problem of on-site inspection for distinguishing

between earthquakes and underground tests which have so far kept underground explosions out of the test ban treaty. Scientific experts are convinced that the time has come for a new look at the treaty."

The Western scientists are, in words, obliged to acknowledge that Soviet scientists were right when they said that underground tests can be detected and distinguished from earthquakes.

The admission is no less welcome for being belated, especially if it brings a complete test ban nearer. This would mark another significant step in the direction of general disarmament and towards the relaxation of international tension.

SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES

THE nations of the world are spending over £43,000 million on armaments every year. This is equivalent to about eight or nine per cent of the world's annual output of all goods and services. According to some estimates it is equal to the entire national incomes of all the developing countries put together.

About 85 per cent of the world's military expenditure is accounted for by seven countries: Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, People's China, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States.

Arms spending in the United Kingdom, for example,

employed on military contracts.

The aircraft industry is largely dependent upon military contracts for research.

In the electronics industry, about 20 per cent of the total labour force are on arms work, four per cent in the electrical industry, three per cent in mechanical engineering and two per cent in the motor industry.

But although the bulk of the world's arms spending is accounted for by the major powers, the arms spending which the developing countries are obliged to undertake represents a serious burden which they can ill afford.

MILITARY SPENDING

Disarmament would be bound to have favourable effects for the developing countries. It would mean that there would be more resources available for the promotion of economic and social development.

An important proportion of military spending, for example, absorbs the output of heavy industry and of the engineering and construction industries. The output of these branches could make a valuable contribution to the industrialisation of the less developed areas.

The large amounts of transportation and communications equipment at present used for military purposes could likewise be put to good use by the developing countries.

RADIO RECEIVERS

UNESCO has stated that in the struggle against illiteracy, a minimum of 400 million radio receivers are needed. They could be made by the electronics factories that are at present engaged on the production of guided missile systems.

The developing countries need millions of simple, durable tractors which could transform their agricultures; they need millions of small motors of the kind used to operate the flaps of bombers for use in thousands of different spheres to make life easier.

The end of this part of the World...

A 20-MEGATON (one megaton equals a million tons—Ed.) exploded over any city on earth would destroy it completely and kill most of the people in it.

It would produce a crater of twenty kilometres (approx. 12 miles—Ed.) in diameter; it would set off fires 50 to 100 kilometres away approx. 30-60 miles—Ed.), producing a tremendous fire storm and would damage people by the immediate high energy radiation and by the radioactive fall out. Even people 300 kilometres away (approx. 180 miles—Ed.) would be killed.

During the Second World War there were some great bombing raids on German cities. In one such raid, on one night, 1,000 aeroplanes each carrying four tremendous one-ton blockbusters destroyed much of the city of Hamburg and killed an estimated 75,000 people. If there were to be one such raid on, say, Paris today and another such 1,000 plane raid tomorrow, and

then another the next day and so on day after day for 14 years, the explosives delivered would have the power of one 20-megaton bomb.

My estimate is that the stock piles of the world comprise about 16,000 of these 20-megaton bombs or the equivalent of them. Now, there aren't 16,000 large cities in the world and one might well ask why this irrationally great amount of explosive material has been produced....

SIXTY DAYS

320,000 megatons is my estimate of the size of the world's present nuclear stockpiles. If ten per cent of the stockpile (32,000 megatons) were to be used in a nuclear war with the bombs exploded on the average within 150 kilometres (approx. 90 miles—Ed.) of the targets (you don't have to hit the target in

order to get the result) then sixty days after the day on which the war was fought—and we assume that it would cover Europe as a whole, all the Soviet Union and the United States—of the 800 million people living in these regions, 720 million would be dead, 60 million severely injured, and there would be 20 million survivors with only minor injuries, but having to cope with the problems of complete destruction of all cities, metropolitan districts, and means of communication and transportation, complete disruption of society, death of all livestock and gross radioactive contamination of all growing foods. This would be the end of this part of the world, and how great the damage would be to the rest of the world no one has been able to estimate in a reliable way.

LINUS PAULING
Nobel Peace Prize 1962
Nobel Prize for Chemistry 1954

They need cheap workhorse aircraft and helicopters, pipelines, simple machine tools, all of which could be provided if arms were reduced and money and resources made available.

What is more, the reduction of armaments and the relaxation of world tension which would inevitably accompany it would provide a sound basis for the expansion of international trade, and for the more effective use of the world's resources.

Landmarks in Soviet Fight

HERE are some of the landmarks in nearly twenty years of Soviet efforts to secure the banning of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of all nuclear tests:

June, 1946: Proposed complete banning of atomic weapons, destruction of existing stocks, an International Control Organisation to investigate illegal production of fissile materials to be set up under the Security Council.

October, 1946: Disarmament resolution submitted to U.N. General Assembly including "banning of manufacture of atomic weapons and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only". Resolution adopted but thanks to Western opposition atomic clause EXCLUDED.

June, 1947: Submitted detailed plan in case of ban for inspection of all enterprises connected with manufacture of nuclear raw materials, and of all stocks and production of atomic weapons.

October, 1948: Proposed simultaneous signature of two conventions one banning A-weapons, the other establishing inspection machinery.

March, 1952: Repeated earlier proposals and called for International Disarmament Conference.

January, 1954: Proposed that four Great Powers (Britain, France, U.S.A. U.S.S.R.) press UNO for a World Conference on the general reduction of armaments.

February, 1955: Called on all States solemnly to undertake not to use nuclear weapons and to destroy stocks.

March, 1955: Arms reduction to proceed by half-yearly or yearly stages. Nuclear weapons to be banned after first stage. Permanent Control Officers to be stationed in all countries.

May, 1955: Proposed ending of tests and ending of nuclear weapons production by 1957.

November, 1956: Again proposed end to tests and ban on nuclear weapons "within a specified period".

April, 1957: Proposed suspension of tests for two or three years. Control posts on territory of four Big Powers.

March, 1958: Soviet Union unilaterally ended own tests U.S.A. and Britain responded with unprecedented series of explosions.

September, 1959: End to tests as part of plan for general and complete disarmament within four years.

June, 1961: Soviet memorandum declared: "The Soviet Government is willing unconditionally to accept any Western Control Proposals if the Western Powers accept the proposals for general and complete disarmament."

Letter to the President

OSAGYEFO, permit me to make the following remarks in all humility. They concern certain matters arising from our social and economic development. The two are for us inseparable, for economic development is not an end in itself to us, but a means of accelerated social development.

The latter has to be paid for, and it is through economic development that we are able to amass the surpluses wherewith we can pay for our social advance. To ensure however that economic development is really made an instrument of the GENERAL social advance as distinct from the social increase of some PARTICULAR SECTION of the community, it is necessary that the economic surpluses are available to the State.

SELF-RELIANCE

This, I believe, is one of the many reasons which compel us to public ownership of the major means of production, and public management of general distribution.

This, if I may say so, does not mean that the State should attempt to do everything. Nothing must be done to destroy the self-reliance and initiative of the people. The State must ensure that the necessities of life as defined by itself are available without restrictions to everyone, and that everyone has equal opportunities of self-

government. The definition of minimum standard of life is however relative to the productive capacities and basis of distribution of wealth in any given society. This is why the State must itself, from time to time, define and re-define a minimum standard of living within its boundaries.

I shall with your permission, Sir, take up this point again. The point I am anxious to make is that our social advance is at the moment well ahead of that of many countries with our economic level. Our educational legislation, our health legislation, our social insurance legislation etc. are all highly advanced and are entirely praiseworthy in relation to our real economic output.

And this, Sir, is as it should be. The great economies of the world are tragic structures. They have been built upon the blood and ruin of their people, and of other enslaved and subjected colonial peoples.

The French, the British, the Americans have all fully alienated man, subjected him, brutalised him, dehumanised him, exploited, tortured and killed him in order to build their highly industrialised and complex economies.

In "Consciencism", you yourself refer to the mass executions, the public squares, the dying lumpen proletariat, victims of starvation as of cold.

Surely, Sir, one of the positive contributions which the African personality can make to mankind is to point the way to a strategy and technique of development in which the maximum development is obtained without the people ever being brutalised and destroyed in order that they should, like the mythical

phoenix, arise afresh from their own ashes. To achieve this, a number of conditions are necessary. Included among them are a high level and generalised ideological consciousness and a socialist pattern of investment.

But of first importance is a socialist pattern of investment, for unless investment is socialist the economic effort of the people cannot be said to be aimed at social development, but at maximising the profits of capitalist owners. Capitalism is by definition based upon exploitation.

NEWSPAPERS

In Ghana, by dint of your vision and courage, we have made incredible strides in laying the economic infrastructure which will support our economic edifice. We the people of Ghana have gladly made the necessary sacrifices, not because we are all kept informed of the economic miracles which are taking place everyday, but because we believe in you and accept you fully as our leader.

I think that our national papers will do a good service to our cause if they focus attention on all our economic enterprises, for example one corporation a week. They could give us full information on the structure, composition, purpose, achievement, problems of each corporation.

In this way, we the people of Ghana will become emotionally attached to them as our corporations, and thus generate a psychological impetus to protect and patronise them. They could also describe the improvements in communications, the growth in education, health, etc. facili-

ties, with periodic revisions. Our papers must feed us constantly with exciting stories of our development. This will be an effective way of countering our malicious detractors, who in whispering campaigns give the impression that our money has merely disappeared.

You, Sir, have made the start by pointing out that we have had to pay for our development. It is up to the rest of us to follow up the account. Besides, Sir, if we are constantly provided with reports of developments in all parts of the country, this will assist in fostering in us a sense of the complete oneness of our historic country.

Further, if Africans elsewhere can follow the story of our development, this will assist them to appreciate the correctness of our policies and the noble ideals which they are designed to serve. They would begin to understand the ends which we serve and the urges which drive us so.

Investment in Ghana has been following a socialist pattern. We have invested heavily in the production of food. The State Farms Corporation are the largest single group in the production of food. When they have reached a high level of efficiency and development, Kwame Nkrumah's Government will have ensured that the provision of food will never be in jeopardy.

PRICES

At the moment, however, they cannot be said to have reached the desired levels. There are no doubt reasons why food prices are still high in Ghana. Some of the prices can, one hopes, be brought down in the near future. Where this cannot be done, Sir, the genuine difficulties may be made known so that the sympathy rather than the anxiety of consumers can be gained.

We have also invested heavily in the production of consumer commodities which cost us a lot in foreign exchange thereby freeing foreign currency for essential imports. Some of these commodities which we produce can be exported easily in Africa, if we attend a little more to quality.

RESEARCH

"Club Beer" is perfect, and indeed gained the second prize in a Commonwealth Beer competition a few years ago. But spirits in general need some chemical study at the moment to bring them to exportable quality. Some of them are rather good, though. It is usual for such industries to maintain a research outfit to study constantly the methods of improvement of quality. We in Ghana, if we wish can make our industries retain such an outfit, or we may prefer to encourage them to commission, say, the Academy of Sciences to carry out the necessary research for them and make recommendations.

There would seem to be much merit in the second alternative, as the Corporations would be enabled to save on the large overheads involved in the maintenance and running of research laboratories, which may be too high in relation to current output.

Another advantage will lie in a co-ordinated post-graduate training scheme, enabling the same persons to contribute to the solution of a variety of problems.

Efficiency is connected with quality. It is also connected with production costs. And unless we take special steps to supervise costs, a great deal of inefficiency can be covered up under high selling prices.

This, Sir, has a further significance from the point of view of state revenue; for the higher the prices quoted by suppliers,

the lower will be the taxes chargeable by Government, for after a point, high charges merely kill a market and do not bring in any important revenue.

In our investment we have had to rely upon foreign credits and direct foreign participation. Foreign credits as such are very useful, Sir, the only problem being one of terms. The best terms would seem to be a combination of a low interest rate and a long period.

First, the longer the period, the less will be the strain on the industry which has absorbed the credits, and though interest will accumulate over a long period, this is offset by its lowness and the inevitable depreciation in money.

Foreign credits are also admirable if one considers that it will only be necessary to export the original capital plus interest which runs at less than exportable profits, if the interest is suitably low.

When the interest is high, the effect of this is that yearly a return on capital is exported, which is as if profits were exported without tax, and without the risks and effort involved before profits can be made.

Osagyefo, very often foreign credits are tied to the importation of goods from the country making the credits available. This is entirely reasonable especially from the point of view of the country offering the credits.

In any case, we may have no choice in this matter. But we could insist on a choice of type of goods and the suppliers. Besides, we can pay part of our proportion of the initial capital in services and structure. We can even indemnify the concern by paying part or all of the salaries and wages over a specified period and this need not involve foreign exchange, but only local currency. Of course, the details would have to be worked out, and could be quite complex. But the main thing is whether it can be done and with good advantage to ourselves.

CREDITS

In order that the choice should be effective, it should not be made before-hand, that is, no types of goods or particular supplier need be specified in the agreement covering the credits. In this way, we can still get good terms for the goods supplied. In this way, we can prevent the suppliers or creditors improving their terms in a hidden way by inflating the prices at which the goods are supplied.

Osagyefo, as you know, bulk suppliers need not even offer the same goods of the same prices to different customers. The prices are always subject to negotiation in spite of what they say.

All the same, Sir, foreign credits seem better than unlimited direct foreign participation. The Nigerians will be in dire straits in a few years. At the moment, there is no doubt that they have enjoyed greater direct foreign investment than has Ghana, and that in the short run, this puts them at an advantage over us. But societies do not exist in the short run.

They should be self-perpetuating, and must always look to the long run.

I myself have argued with many business men whom I meet sometimes on Ghana Airways flights. There is one particular argument which appears to make a deep impression on them. I point out to them that there is a fallacy in basing their foreign investment policy on population, for what matters is not the number of heads, but the purchasing power of the people, and in any case they could not hope to sell to the entire population.

We have an educational policy, a unitary Government, excellent communications etc. which are bound to increase our purchasing power and capacity to absorb, and at the same time cut down overheads.

In Nigeria, there is bound to be an economic crisis of the first water in a few years because of the consequences of the Nigerian economy being foreign owned. They will soon find there that their development will be stunted; and

what development there is cannot really be made an instrument of social advance, for the economy does not belong to the nation.

Their development will be stunted because the willingness of foreign investors to put their money in Nigeria will depend on their ability to export a proportion of the profits made. Export of profits however means the loss of foreign exchange.

Not merely that, Sir, for the exported profits will usually be in terms of the foreign exchange which has been independently earned by Nigerians. This means that to that extent foreign exchange which the Nigerians can use for importing what they really want will be reduced.

I am not sure to what extent his situation is really alleviated by export earnings in cases where a foreign owned and foreign operated industry exports some of its products. I am not sure whether the export earnings are credited to the industry or to national bank. But even in the latter case, the alleviation available is bound to be minor.

It is evident, Sir, that if we insist on State partnership in capital with intended foreign investors, we reduce the exportable proportion of the profits made on any single operation, and thereby conserve foreign exchange.

If necessary and possible, we can finance State participation through foreign credits.

Foreign credits will always be repaid over a limited number of years, but profits will always be exported as long as ownership of the industry remains the same. And it is not always convenient or even well-advised to buy the ownership.

Besides, we can pay part of our proportion of the initial capital in services and structure. We can even indemnify the concern by paying part or all of the salaries and wages over a specified period and this need not involve foreign exchange, but only local currency. Of course, the details would have to be worked out, and could be quite complex. But the main thing is whether it can be done and with good advantage to ourselves.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Osagyefo can even set up a state body to be responsible for the joint participation with foreign investors. I suspect that they will prefer this to involvement with civil servants who are not in business and may not always be sure of the extent of their powers and freedom of operation. At the same time, this will give Government freedom of action.

Osagyefo, as you yourself often say, the best plans remain but plans unless people are loyally committed to them. In Ghana, through Osagyefo's efforts we are possessed of a fine instrument which is equipped to commit the people, to commit us, to the policies which will bring about our rapid development.

This is none other than the Convention People's Party, the Party created by Osagyefo for the people, for us. If the Party remains a mass party, open to all, membership in itself, will not be a mark of distinction, but rather it is the ideological level of consciousness, discipline, and readiness to serve which will distinguish people.

It is the people themselves who must master all the forms of struggle, and as you said in your National Day broadcast, we must pay attention to the ideological education of the people in order that they should master the forms of struggle.

There will always be people, however, whose ideological awareness is greater than that of their neighbours. Such persons can form a vanguard, if you wish, Sir, of the Party Membership of the Central

Committee can be drawn from such a vanguard, to whom also may fall the positions of responsibility and trust, if they show relevant ability.

Such a vanguard must be responsible for regional, district and local organisations. In this way, undoubtedly the ideological tone of the Party will be maintained. There will thus also be in every integral wing of the Party, nuclei from which ideological control and effectiveness radiates.

The individuals who form such a vanguard must have certain personal qualities in order to be effective. Apart from certain obvious ones like honesty, dedication etc., they must be meek, essentially friendly and approachable. In this way, people will come up to us and talk to us; we shall know what is really going on in their minds. They will be honest, frank with us; and we can really assist and help them.

This personal approach will also yield dividends, for it is in this way that the real difficulties of people can be overcome. In this way, we gain not only converts, but people who are themselves prepared to proselytize for the cause.

INSTITUTIONS

In all of this, the role of the Universities cannot be overstressed. We expect our Universities to produce creative men. That is to say, we expect them to provide us not with men who have mastered rules of thumb or mere technicians, but people who are eager and cannot wait to serve Ghana.

This requires not merely that students should be given an academic and professional training, but that they should also be educated in the reasons why our Government is investing in them, and the attitudes which will make the investment profitable.

Vice-Chancellors, Registrars, Deans and Heads of Departments, Masters of Halls and Senior Tutors have an inescapable role to play here. It should be the duty of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, not simply to co-ordinate academic policies of various faculties which have been independently formed, but to ensure that the University itself has an internally co-ordinated comprehensive academic policy which ensures that students can be given adequate training in the disciplines concerned for the purposes of the nation as expressed in directives, announcements, and the Seven-Year Plan.

It should also be the responsibility of Vice-Chancellors and Principals to recommend to Government scholarship proposals which can ensure that students are available for the right disciplines in the right numbers.

It will then become the responsibility of Deans and Heads of Departments who are responsible for execution to give instruction with the right emphases in the light of the guide lines. In this way, students will come to realise that they are acquiring education not merely as a mental ornament, but to free their powers and energies and enable them to contribute more successfully to the wealth of our nation.

Education will thus acquire a serious purpose. This too can help in reducing student irresponsibility. It is evident however that unless they receive proper guidance, balanced and channelled through the Vice-Chancellorship through Deans, Heads of Departments, Masters, Senior Tutors and other echelons, their will be a vacuum among students which could have been taken by a worthy social purpose.

Forgive me, Sir, for writing at such length but I have been thinking about many matters, and I was encouraged by your trust to sketch few of them on paper.

Hated African Identity

MALCOLM X's speech at the London School of Economics the week before his death in Harlem.

"ONCE we in the West were made to hate Africa, it made us end up hating ourselves. You can't hate your origin without ending up hating yourself. This is a very serious problem because it stems from what the Western Powers did to the image of the African.

We hated our African identity, our features, so much that those of us in the West hated the colour of our skin. This was a reaction to the image they produced. Uncle Sam is a master hate-teacher. He thinks he is teaching love but when you make someone hate himself, you really are the master hate-teacher.

"The black man in the West was not separated from the black man on the American continent. There were invisible ties and this enabled the Black Muslim movement to grow quickly. Black Muslim forced the civil rights groups to be more militant than they wanted to be. The whites should thank God for Martin Luther King.

"Look, Martin Luther King went to drink an integrated cup of coffee—this was in 1963 when the world thought we would be celebrating 100

years after the ending of slavery—and he ended up in prison. The year ended with the assassination of John F. Kennedy, it all came from the same problem.

I am not saying this to advocate violence, I am saying this after a careful analysis of the sociological dynamite that exists in every country.

"Compare the situation with China. Whenever you see a Chinese person now he is respected. Americans used to have a saying 'you haven't got a Chinaman's chance'—but they don't use it any more. The black man himself will only be respected when Africa is united, is respected, is strong. Therefore it is in the interests of us in America and the Caribbean to see that the African continent is strong and able to back us up when needed."

Do you support the idea of a separate state in the USA for black people?

"No. The black Muslim movement headed by Elijah Muhammed split last year—I made a pilgrimage to Mecca and regrouped into a Muslim movement based on the teachings of Islam. This totally disavows any form of separatism

"discrimination." But why is it so necessary for you to stress where your distant ancestors came from?

"We have 100 million or more blacks who have absolutely no cultural ties with the African continent only because the system of slavery destroyed all cultural links with the African Continent. The reason you are having a problem with West Indians now is that they hate their origin and are running around trying to find an identity, they want to be Englishmen instead of being what they are.

"You can't deny that the powers of oppression are white. Your forefathers have committed that crime that have come down on your head. Most of the so-called liberals are that way because they realise there is a problem 'on earth which they realise to be colonialism'. This was done by Europeans, they must therefore put in more effort to uncover the basic causes of this thing. All I say to the students, both black and white, is that I am not responsible for the defects that are in my generation, the scars that are left behind."

But don't you advocate violence... what about civil rights workers murdered?

"Enough of this pink-toed approach, telling people to go into Mississippi unarmed, send someone with them who knows how to protect them (applause). To the same degree that white liberals get involved in the struggle, that struggle becomes non-violent, peaceful, negotiating. It's like coffee which is strong and hot until you add cream and then it gets cooler and cooler until you don't have any coffee."

What would you do in Smethwick?

"I wouldn't wait for them to set up the gas ovens."

Editorial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

They would do well to reflect that by joining in the imperialist-inspired smear campaign against Ghana and its President they are playing into the hands of the enemies of African freedom and progress.

They are playing into the hands of those in Washington, London, Brussels, Paris and Bonn who want to see an Africa divided because an Africa divided is an easy prey.

African statesmen should consider well whose interests they are serving—those of the people of their own countries and Africa as a whole, or those of Africa's exploiters.