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CAN THEY BE FED?

Two Schools of Thought

WE, the entire world, are now half-way through the United Nations' Development Decade. And what is the score? According to a Report recently prepared for the U.N. Secretary-General, "developing world" is facing "progressive misery" which "threatens to grow worse." This is not encouraging.

Moreover, the present situation was foreseen some time ago. But, alas, the world is divided between two basically different social systems. Each system has its own ideology, and each system has its own approach to what is called the "War on Want".

"Unless action is taken to alter present trends the agricultural surplus

many low-income countries"

Thus wrote the *London Times* on May 3, 1962, and it commented editorially:

"Current trends, according to the FAO, point to growing surpluses of foodstuffs in the developed countries while hunger and malnutrition persist, if they do not increase, in the less developed"

In the above words *The Times* summed up the state of the "war on want" in mid-1962. Since then cocoa has suffered the anticipated "surplus". It is the traditional picture: surpluses on the one hand, starvation on the other.

by Pat Sloan

problem may become even more acute by 1970, according to a study to be presented by the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations...

"Wheat, coarse grains, butter and coffee are already in surplus. Surpluses of other commodities, cocoa and sugar, could also appear in the 1960s. "Meanwhile, malnutrition will remain widespread in

It is a repetition, in the garb of the 1960s, of the picture of the 1930s, when grain was burnt in locomotives while there were soup chickens in New York; oranges were thrown into the sea at Liverpool, while queues of unemployed stood outside the Labour Exchanges of Britain.

In essence, nothing has change.

And it should be clear to all who are concerned with



the "War on want" that one of the first tasks to be tackled is the ending of that simultaneous existence of surpluses and starvation which characterise the non-socialist world today. Yet this is still often not realised.

Hence the sharp division of world opinion today into rival schools. Their approaches are profoundly different. On the other hand, there are the proponents, even to-day, of population growth. These include the Jehovahs, the Roman Catholics and the Communists.

Jehovah ordered Noah and his sons: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth" (Gen. 9.1).

BELIEF

In a literal fulfilment of this command of the ancient God of Israel, the Roman Catholics ban birth control to this day.

And the Communists, too, believe in simultaneously increasing the number of hands to work and mouths to be fed, on the ground that the productivity of human hands (aided by brains, machines and science) can grow at several times the rate of the consuming capacity of the human body.

"This will be an entire epoch in the world history of science and technology, providing man with inexhaustible resources of

energy and making him the true master of nature", said Khrushchov in October, 1961 in the U.S.S.R.

In Britain the keenest proponents of this view are Lord Boyd Orr and Professor J. D. Bernal, neither of them communists, but both adhering closely to this same view.

The opposing view dates back traditionally in Britain to the Rev. Thomas Malthus in the last century, who gained wide publicity for it, though it had been expressed previously.

It has been repeated in its most extreme form in the post-war U.S.A. by William Vogt, and in Britain today is voiced, among others, by Sir Julian Huxley, to whom

"population-increase is already destroying or eroding many of the world's resources, both those for material subsistence and those—equally essential but often neglected—for human enjoyment and fulfilment. Early in man's history the injunction to increase and multiply was right. Today it is wrong, and to obey it will be disastrous."

In contrasting the two schools of thought concerning the War on Want today, no two quotations illustrate the difference of approach more sharply than the above words of N. S. Khrushchov and Sir Julian Huxley.

OPPOSING IDEAS

As far as Khrushchov was concerned, there was not the slightest suggestion of fear that population-growth would catch up with nature's "inexhaustible resources". So the main problem was simply to develop those resources to the full.

To Huxley the primary menace was population growth, and therefore he was not only concerned with restricting the rate of growth, but "in the long run" with bringing about a "decrease in the absolute number of people in the world, including our own countries" (Ibid.).

Thus we have the line up: On the one side, Jehovah, the Roman Catholics, the Marxists, Lord Boyd Orr and J. D. Bernal. On the other, Malthus, Vogt, Sir Julian Huxley.

The one camp, holding state power in the Communist countries, stresses overwhelmingly the importance of production and its increase, although in China—as a temporary measure—birth control is recognised as a useful subsidiary factor.

In the other camp we have the economic situation as outlined in *The Times*, coupled with propaganda for birth control as the only ultimate solution.

It is proposed here to sketch the development of the two rival schools.

TO BOTTOMLEY

In view of his arrival in Ghana this weekend, we publish an Open Letter to Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

DEAR Mr. Bottomley,

Welcome to Ghana. This is not your first visit to our country—you were, if memory serves aright, here as a member of Parliamentary delegation in 1959.

We hope you will have the opportunity to see something of what we have been doing to build up a modern industrialised society based on Socialist principles.

We hope, for example, that you will have time to see the Akosombo Dam, the new port at Tema, and the new factories there and elsewhere.

All this has been achieved despite the disastrous drop in the price of cocoa, upon the export of which we, thanks to the legacy bequeathed by British imperialism, are as yet forced in the main to rely to pay for these things.

We have had the assistance of Britain and other countries. But we would point out that these credits are not, as some of your compatriots complacently think, charity. They are commercial transactions, subject to commercial rates of interest.

We should have less need of them if we were able to obtain a fair and stable price for our cocoa in a market still largely dominated by Bri-

tish companies, and also if the industrialised countries, while forcing down the price of the goods they buy from us, had not forced up the price of the industrial goods we must buy from them.

These matters have frequently been discussed at Commonwealth conferences, but no action has been taken. They were discussed at the last Commonwealth Conference. We trust that this time something will be done.

We understand that during your West African tour you are also discussing Vietnam and Rhodesia.

On the former, you are quoted as having said "some people say the Americans can stop this war. That is just what they are trying to do" (*"Guardian"*, 12.7.65).

Yes, we are among those people who say the Americans can stop the war—after all, the people of Vietnam would long ago have decided their own future in accordance with the terms of the Geneva agreements were it not for U.S. obstruction of the fulfilment of these agreements, and in particular of the demand for the holding of democratic elections.

But your assertion that "that is just what they are trying to do" is, if you will pardon the term, sheer poppycock.

Only last week President Johnson ordered an increase in the U.S. forces in Vietnam from 75,000 to 125,000 and doubled the call-up of U.S. young men, saying "additional forces will be needed later and they will be sent."

These are not the actions of a man trying to stop a war, but of a man trying to extend a war. Mr. Johnson's talk of "negotiation" is reminis-

cent of a burglar who, having broken into a house, offers to talk about the terms on which he shall stay.

As for Rhodesia, we have made our position clear many times; we want an end to the racialist regime; we want no more legalistic quibbles about "constitutional conventions"; we want action to free our brothers.

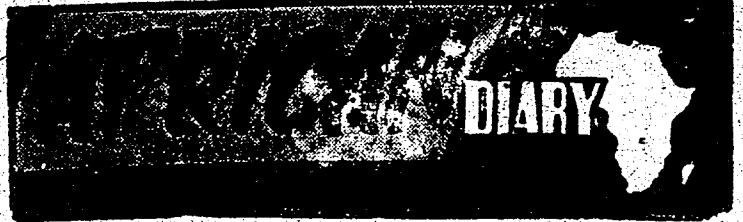
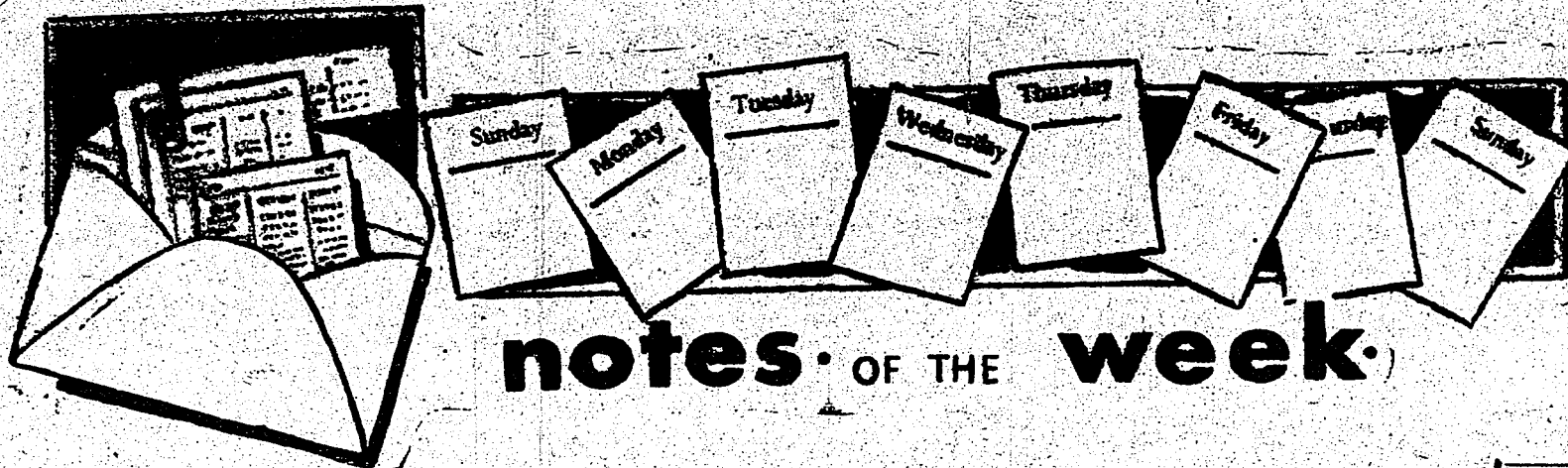
We notice with regret that neither Mr. Wilson nor yourself has repudiated the remarks of Prince Philip calling for "patience" on the part of the African majority.

We notice, too, that in the House of Commons just before you left London, when asked to pledge that there would be no constitutional change in Rhodesia "without the full consent of the majority of the people", you, studiously avoided the use of the word "majority", which is a mathematical term, with a hard and fast meaning. Instead you spoke in much vaguer terms of "a basis acceptable to the people as a whole"—whatever that may mean.

Let us be frank, Mr. Bottomley. The time for double talk—and double games—has gone. Either you are for majority rule in Rhodesia or you are in favour of the continuance of white domination. Which is it to be, Mr. Bottomley?

Yours faithfully,

THE Spark



THE new leader of Britain's Conservative Party, the 49-year-old Mr. Edward Heath, has a reputation even among the Conservatives themselves of being a man of intense personal ambition, writes a London correspondent.

The friendly chuckle and urbane charm only thinly disguise his ruthlessness. The smile keeps flashing, but the eyes remain cold, they say. "The smiler with the knife", they call him.

But his record as a pugnacious Parliamentarian and his performances on T.V. (in Britain a vital platform for politician) give the Conservatives hopes that he will be a personal match for Mr. Wilson, both in the House and in the country. Edward Heath, Conservative M.P. for the constituency of Bexley since 1950, was born at Broadstairs in 1916, the son of a master-builder. He was educated at a Ramsgate grammar school and at Oxford, where he became president of the University Conservative Association.

* * *

During the war he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and in 1946 joined the administrative Civil Service, resigning later to become a Conservative candidate.

What Conservative journalists now call his "meteoric rise" began at the time of British imperialism's attack on Suez when he became Government Chief Whip—the man who bears the responsibility for seeing his party's M.P.s toe the party line.

His behind-the-scenes job at that stage was to keep the Conservative ranks together and to further the interests of Mr. Harold MacMillan in the period leading to his taking office as Prime Minister after the resignation of Sir Anthony Eden, instigator of the Suez aggression.

Mr. Heath received his reward. After four years as Chief Whip, Mr. MacMil-

lan made him Minister of Labour soon after the 1959 General Election.

In 1960 he became Lord Privy Seal with Foreign Office responsibilities, a job he held till 1963 when he became President of the Board of Trade.

But it was when he became chief negotiator for Britain to join the Common Market—the West European neo-colonialists' club that now faces crisis as a result of France's boycott—that Mr. Heath's "meteoric rise" began to make some impact on the general public.

* * *

The Conservatives launched an intense campaign in an effort to sell the Common Market idea to the public, and Mr. Heath's comings and goings between London and the Common Market headquarters in Brussels were respectfully recorded on television until the final debacle came with the breakdown of the negotiations.

Mr. Heath is a firm advocate of capitalism and what he terms its "competitive economy" and "free enterprise". One of his jobs in recent months, following the defeat of the Conservatives in the last elections, has been to act as overlord of the policy groups set up by the Conservatives to work out the Conservative Party's new election programme.

The fantastic snobberies which still characterise Britain's ruling classes are revealed by the way in which some capitalist journals have described Mr. Heath as a man of almost humble origin.

They describe him thus because he went to a mere grammar school and did not start life with any large private fortune. Even now, they say, though he lives in plushy comfort, he has "only" a couple of directorships.

But the Conservatives know that they can rely on Mr. Edward Heath. As a representative of the ruling class, he will be as ruthless as they come.

The Biggest Beneficiary

WAR, it has been said, is terrible—and terribly profitable. The U.S. war in Vietnam, judging from the current issue of the American magazine "Newsweek", is no exception.

"In Trion, Ga., some 90 miles north of Atlanta, Reigel Textile Corp. employees were working around the clock on a new \$1.4 million government contract to produce cotton sateen, a medium-weight cloth that will find its way into fatigues worn by U.S. soldiers in Vietnam.

"In Madison, Wis., the food processing firm of Oscar Mayer was turning out 2.6 million canned hams worth \$1 million—for the armed forces.

"And in Chicago, the Ingersol Products Division

of Borg-Warner was revving up to begin shipments on a \$2.6 million order for more than 700,000 steel helmets, mostly for the Army, which hasn't bought any since 1958.

* * *

"With such ripples, the shock waves from the escalated war in Vietnam were spreading through U.S. business last week. By Pentagon estimates, the war in Southeast Asia has cost the U.S. about \$1.3 billion over the past twelve months—a cost that is rising steadily as American forces increase their support of the South Vietnamese", the magazine writes.

"Newsweek reports a bonanza for the helicopter manufacturers. Four years ago in 1961 the Pentagon bought only 280; during

the last five weeks alone it has placed contracts for more than five times that number.

One company won what the magazine terms "a multi-million-dollar order"; another got one worth \$100 million.

There is also a boom in rifle, ammunition, artillery shells and bombs. Says *Newsweek*: "shipments of shells and arms to Vietnam are running at 25,000 tons a month, other explosives at 15,000 to 20,000 tons a month."

So busy is the boom in the business of death that new orders have "been crackling out of the Pentagon, with requests sometimes going out by telephone and telegram—rather than mail—to speed up the process."

Newsweek reports with ill-concealed satisfaction that "with large price tags on many items the U.S. troops need, new orders add up to a sizable boost for industry. Pentagon analysts figure it cost \$7,625 a year to keep

a fighting man overseas. And if he happens to be a jet pilot, flying a \$2 million Phantom, the cost of equipping him can soar astronomically.

"Indeed the biggest beneficiary of larger-scale war in Vietnam will clearly be the \$21 billion aerospace industry."

"The biggest beneficiary...—the words are *Newsweek's* own. Out of its own mouth it condemns the capitalism it so zealously champions; a society in which there are "beneficiaries" from the large-scale slaughter of Asian peasants and the destruction of their hard-won achievements is not a society of which any decent man would want to be a member.

It was President Eisenhower who, in his farewell address as President, warned against the powerful and growing influence in U.S. policy-making circles of what he termed "the military-industrial complex".

It is not too difficult to detect its influence in the Vietnam affair.

Peace Appeal

WHILE in the U.S. the business of death booms and President Johnson threatens "death and desolation", from the South Vietnam National Liberation Front which has already freed some four-fifths of the country, comes a moving appeal to the American people to halt the aggressive war.

It came in a letter from President Nguyen Huu Tho of the National Liberation Front and was broadcast on the occasion of the eleventh anniversary of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam—the agreements which America once pledged not to overthrow by force, but whose implementation she has systematically obstructed ever since they were concluded.

In his appeal, the President thanked those Americans who have resisted the war in Vietnam and called upon them to demand the strict implementation of the Geneva agreements.

He appealed to them to stop the American Government sending American young men to South Vietnam to sacrifice their lives.

"By its aggressive policy the U.S. Government has besmirched the honour of the American people, a people which added glorious pages to history by its struggle for liberation against the British colonialists.

* * *

"It uses B-52 strategic bombers, napalm bombs and chemical weapons against the people of South Vietnam.

"U.S. ruling circles have unleashed and are now waging a most brutal war of aggression in South Vietnam. While calling for so-called negotiations 'without preliminary conditions', the Johnson administration has increased the strength of its

armed forces in South Vietnam to 75,000 and is planning to increase the American expeditionary corps to 150,000 in the near future."

Declared the President: "We appeal to you to join even more actively in the struggle to halt the aggressive war, to withdraw all American troops from South Vietnam, and to enable the South Vietnamese people to settle their problems themselves."

* * *

The Geneva agreements embodied the recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people—independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

In strict conformity with these agreements, the U.S. Government should withdraw its troops, military personnel and weapons, ammunition and war materials of all kinds from South Vietnam, dismantle the U.S. military bases there, abolish its military alliance with the South Vietnam administration and at the same time stop its policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam.

It should also stop its acts of war against North Vietnam.

Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided (largely because the U.S.-backed Ngo Dinh Diem regime blocked the country-wide elections called for by the Geneva Agreements) the military provisions of the Geneva agreements must be respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, there must be no foreign military bases, troops or military personnel in their respective territories.

The people of Vietnam must be allowed to determine their own affairs without any foreign intervention.

JULY 19
GHANA: A three-day delegates' conference of all youths organisation in Ghana will be opened at the University of Ghana, Legon on July 29.

ETHIOPIA-SUDAN: Ethiopia and Sudan are to improve their strained relations resulting from the withdrawal of Ethiopian envoy from Khartoum, it has been announced today. Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub, the Sudanese Prime Minister, will shortly visit Addis Ababa, at the head of a goodwill delegation to strengthen the bonds of friendship between Sudan and Ethiopia. The delegation will extend its visit to Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

KENYA: Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's External Affairs Minister, who was leading a delegation to Ethiopia, the Sudan, the UAR and Kuwait has returned home today.

ALGERIA: Lord Feuner Brockway, a British peer, in a letter to the *London Times* expressed concern over the lack of information about President Ben Bella of Algeria who was ousted last June in a military coup led by his Minister of Defence, Colonel Houari Boumediene, who is now the Prime Minister.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): President Joseph Kasavubu of the Congo (Leo) has named National security chief, Victor Nendaka as Interior Minister. Mr. Victor replaces Mr. G. Munonogo, Premier Tshombe's right hand man who held the post in addition to being a Governor of East Katanga.

UAR: Mr. Mohammed Fayek, Advisor on African Affairs to President Gamel Abdel Nasser on his last stage tour of West and Central African countries has arrived in Brazzaville.

SOUTH AFRICA: Forty-three women held for fighting for freedom and justice in South Africa were today rushed to hospital from jail in Capetown suffering from food poisoning.

JULY 20:

KENYA: Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity has arrived in Kenya today.

GHANA: Mr. Anane Agyei Brong-Ahafo Regional Commissioner, in his message read at the opening of an exhibition of "African contribution to Cuban Culture" organised jointly by the Institute of Art and Culture and the Cuban Embassy in Ghana at Sunyani today, praised the dynamism of the Cuban people which, he said had won them the admiration of all progressive forces of the world.

* There was an earth tremor lasting just about a second in Accra. In the early hours of this morning.

MALAWI: Malawi is to become a Republic within the Commonwealth on July 6, next year, it was announced by the Malawi Premier, Dr. Kamuzu Banda, in a nationwide broadcast in Blantyre today.

MOROCCO: The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio had talks with his Moroccan counterpart, Mr. M. Taieb Bernhima in Rabat today after he had made a stop-over on his way home after a tour of 15 African countries including Ghana.

KENYA: Representatives of Six African countries are meeting in Nairobi to smoo-

then out the differences between the two African parties in Southern Rhodesia.

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure today met members of the Indonesian delegation led by Dr. Subandrio, Indonesian Foreign Minister, currently visiting Guinea for a two day of talks.

SUDAN: Mr. Ibrahim El Mufu Finance Minister in the Sudanese coalition Government, resigned today on grounds of ill-health.

* The Sudan Government has urged former Chief Justice Saygid Mohammed Alou Rannat not to take part in the British sponsored constitution commission for the South Arabian Federation.

GHANA: Mr. Kwesi Armah, Ghana's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom and Minister of Foreign Trade has left London for Hanoi with a special message from President Nkrumah to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

JULY 21:

Mr. Diallo Telli, OAU Secretary-General has declared in Nairobi Kenya that the OAU is in very good health in all fields.

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah has sent a message of warmest greetings to the government and people of Poland on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of Polish People's Republic.

* The five-man delegation, led by M. Kwesi Armah Ghana High Commissioner to United Kingdom going to Hanoi, North Vietnam, to convey a special message from President Kwame Nkrumah to President Ho Chi Minh, unexpectedly changed its course today and flew back to Paris, France.

JULY 22:

GHANA: Mr. K. A. Amoah Awuah, Labour Minister receive a four-man Indonesian Labour delegation led by Mr. M. Sutomo, Indonesia Labour Minister who are on a four-day visit to Ghana at his office in Accra today.

SOMALI: President Aden Abdulla Osman of Somali has arrived in Peking on a visit at the invitation of Mr. Liu Shao-Chi, chairman of the People's Republic of China and Premier Chou En-Lai. President Osman will visit Rumania after his visit to China.

FRENCH-SOMALILAND:

The Secretary General of the French Somaliland Movement, Mr. Ahmed Bourhan has said in Addis Ababa Ethiopia today that France would be forced to leave Somaliland in the next two or three years, Reuter reports.

KENYA: A Kenyan newspaper, "East African Standard" in its editorial asked the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson to step down from the Commonwealth peace Mission on Vietnam.

* The OAU Secretary-General Mr. Diallo Telli has said in Nairobi, Kenya that the OAU sub-committee, in an attempt to solve differences between Rhodesian nationalist parties, is making progress in its talks with the parties.

UGANDA: The Uganda Foreign Office today denied that the Prime Minister Dr. Milton Obote, discussed the Commonwealth Peace Mission for Vietnam in his recent talks with the Chinese Leader Mr. Mao Tse Tung.

UAR: President Abdel Gamel Nasser addressing a mass rally in Cairo accused the United States of repeated political pressure to prevent Egypt from building up an armoury of modern weapons.

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia celebrates his 73rd birthday in Addis Ababa today.

UAR: The Editor of Influential Cairo daily "Akhabar" Mr. Mustapha Amin, was arrested as he was handing over documents containing military information on act considered harmful to the United Arab Republic to an American.

KENYA: The Kenya Government today served a deportation order on a Chinese journalist Mr. Wan Ta-ming and ordered him to leave the country within 24 hours.

* A meeting of the six-nation special commission appointed by the OAU to try and reconcile ZAPU and ZANU parties in Rhodesia ended today without settling their differences.

MAURITANIA: Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania, who was until recently the Chairman of the OCAM, speaking to reporters today on his arrival in Garoua, North Cameroon for talks with President Ahmadou Ahito said that his country's decision to quit the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM) was final.

GHANA: Dr. Kerima, Chairman of the National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO) a political party of South-West Africa is now in Accra as Africa's tour of African States. He later called on President Nkrumah at the Castle.

JULY 25:

GHANA: A memorial service was held at the Methodist Church Accra today for the late Mr. I. J. A. Wallace Johnson.

UAR: Mr. Mohammed Fayek Director for African Affairs in President Nasser's Office left Cairo today for Addis Ababa on the first leg of a two week tour of East African countries with messages from President Nasser.

CAMEROON: President Ahmadou Ahijo of Cameroon and President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania have re-affirmed that their countries will continue to work together for African Unity within the frame work of the Organisation of African Unity.

JULY 26:

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure of Guinea will today begin his seven-day official visit to the Soviet Union. Guinea Radio announced at the Week-end.

MAURITANIA: Mauritania and People's Republic of China have decided to establish diplomatic relations it was announced in Nouackott.

GHANA: The Ghana delegation carrying President Nkrumah's message to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam arrived in Hanoi today.

JULY 27:

UAR: Mr. Bruce Taylor Odell, United States Embassy official questioned in Cairo by the UAR Security Authorities in connection with the arrest of a Cairo newspaper editor has left for Washington.

TOGO: Togo has decided to open the side of its border with Ghana today, a Government statement has said in Lome.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Southern Rhodesia white minority settler leader Mr. Ian Smith, has said in Salisbury that independence from Britain, whether negotiated or not will be achieved without strings.

JULY 28:

GHANA: President Nkrumah, supreme Commander of the Ghana Armed Forces today

'A Service in Accordance With our National Aspiration'

I AM happy to be here with you today, to inaugurate Ghana's Television Service and to share with you and the people of Ghana, the sense of joy and expectancy on this important occasion. We are also here to inaugurate today the expansion of our Sound Broadcasting Service.

The idea of building a Television Service for the education and edification,

ject.

And may I say here how grateful we are to the overseas personnel who have assisted us in this trying and engaging venture. Some of them are still with us now, and others are no longer with us.

And here, I would like to thank the Canadian Government, who have been so

Kwame Nkrumah Inaugurates Ghana's Television on 31st July, 1965.



Kwame Nkrumah unveiling a plaque to declare Ghana T.V. open.

the enjoyment and entertainment of our people was conceived almost six years ago. At that time, the sceptics declared that the establishment of a truly indigenous Television Service, organised and staffed by Ghanaians was an impossible task.

Undaunted, we set up a Television Commission consisting of two experienced officers lent by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to make recommendations on the establishment of television in Ghana.

The report of this Commission was published in December, 1959, and accepted by the Government. Planning for Ghana television began in earnest, and during the last five years we, and I mean all of you who in one way or the other have contributed to what we see around us today, have worked patiently, diligently and with commendable zeal to build this pro-

generous to us in their assistance, in equipment and personnel, in connection with the establishment of Ghana's Television. We owe them a great debt of gratitude.

I accept the fine presentation which has just been made to me on behalf of the Marconi Company. The Company has assisted us in no small measure in the construction of our Television transmitters and studio complex. We are grateful to them.

ACCESS TO TV

It is the aim of the Government to ensure that all our people have access to Ghana Television. As a result of an agreement between the Government and the Sanyo Company and two other companies in Japan, we have established here the Ghana Sanyo Corporation for the production

of television sets in Ghana.

The Corporation is at present engaged in building a factory at Tema. It is expected that the construction of this factory will be completed by the end of this year and be ready to go into production in the New Year.

RELAY STATIONS

As I have said, the relay services for sound broadcasting will be greatly expanded by building new relay stations particularly in the rural areas. In addition, the Government has established the State Electronic Products Corporation which will produce more relay boxes, transistor sets and other electronic products for the country.

I want to say a special word of appreciation at this time, to the devoted and dedicated work which has been done behind the

scenes, by all the Ghanaians who have taken part in this great enterprise. There is no need for me to underline the part played by the Board of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation and its Chairman, Mr. Cecil Forde, the Director of Television, Mrs. Sirley Du Bois, and the Deputy Director, Mr. Alex Quarmyne.

But my commendation will be incomplete if I fail to mention the Chief Engineer, Mr. Oppong and his staff; the Assistant Chief Engineer, Mr. Dentu; the vivacious Head of Programmes, Miss Genevieve Marais, and her team of able and indefatigable producers; the Head of News, Mr. Shang-Simpson; the Acting Head of Film, Mr. Wilcox Amartey; and the Acting Head of Designs, Mr. Francis Adansi.

These keen and devoted officers and those working with them have been the key personnel in this important and trying operation. We are proud of them. May they continue to hold aloft the banner of Ghana Television.

And what can I yet say of the film cameramen, designers, newsmen, technicians and the producers, without whom Ghana's Television would not have become the reality it is today. To them all I say—Well done and Ayeekoo.

STAFF STRUCTURE

I have had the opportunity recently to learn something of the staff structure and conditions of service of the staff of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, and the efforts which had been made to improve these conditions. I have given directions in this matter, and the Board of the Corporation will very shortly announce promotions and changes in the conditions of

And now, I want to express a warm welcome to the group of Television Technicians who have come here from the Federal Republic of Germany to assist us in the production of Television programmes. These Technicians who have been sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a private organisation in the Federal Republic of Germany, will work in close co-operation with the staff of Ghana Television, and will concentrate mainly on

the production of technical educational television programmes.

These will include films on all aspects of science and technical training, agricultural techniques, and a special series of films for the teaching of vocational work and practical lessons for home and school.

These programmes will be made available to support the programmes produced by the regular staff of Ghana Television. In this way the quality and content of our Television Service, as a whole, will be improved and enhanced, in the playing of its full part in the life of our society.

Geared to our Needs

WE have deliberately postponed the opening of Ghana's Television until we could be absolutely sure that we were ready to provide a Service in accord with our national aspirations, and in conformity with our socialist objectives.

When I addressed Parliament in October, 1963, I stated then the basic purposes behind Ghana's Television. This is what I said:

"Ghana's Television will be used to supplement our educational programme and foster a lively interest in the world around us. It will not cater for cheap entertainment nor commercialism. Its paramount object will be education in the broadest and purest sense. Television must assist in the socialist transformation of Ghana."

new techniques, improving and designing new equipment and new ways to achieve a more effective use of our Television medium.

Now, a final word on Television.

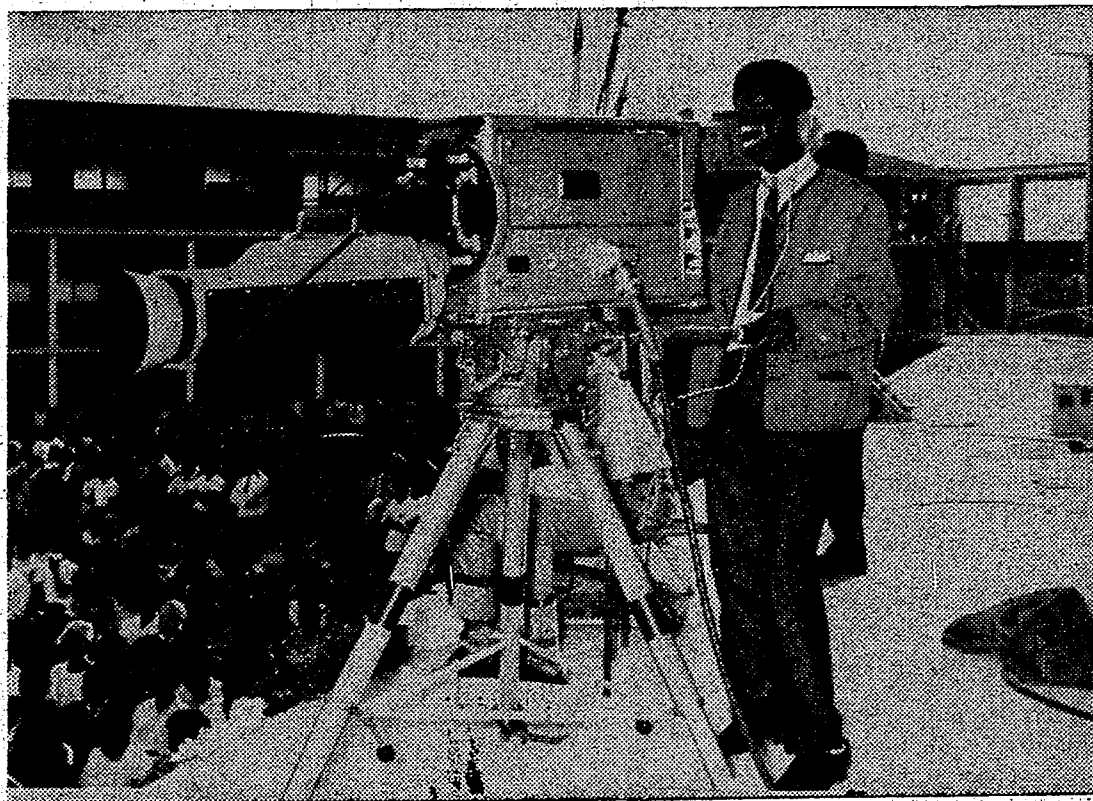
We must recognize the prime importance of the creative writer, whose skill and inventiveness are so essential and indispensable to Television. It is the Ghanaian writer who can adequately express the essence of the Party's ideology, the arts, music and drama, and culture of a growing and advancing nation, and the spirit and emotions of our people which must find expression in our Television.

Ghanaian writers must, therefore, be closely associated with the planning, development, and production of all our Television programmes. To this end, our writers and artists must be consulted in all discus-

For this same reason, Ghana Television must not be isolated from the life of the people and other aspects of our traditional art and culture. A Television drama or comedy should be a co-operative or co-ordinating effort between the script writer, the film producer, the technical expert, and the Television programme organiser.

It is to encourage this co-operative endeavour that we have established a Film Television and Broadcasting Training School here, in which instruction and guidance is provided, under one roof, for script writers as well as for cameramen, designers, newsmen and other film technicians.

The best artists in the theatre, film and literature must share their talents with Television, in order that all the Ghanaian arts may reach that communal outburst of creativity, which has



A cameraman of Ghana Television Service at work during the ceremony.

Ghana's Television, which we are inaugurating today, will be judged by the extent to which it fulfils these aims. Our Television Service should be African in its outlook; and in its content, even though it may express and reflect outside and foreign experiences, should remain geared to the needs of Ghana and Africa.

It must reflect and promote the highest national and social ideals of our ideology and society. In this endeavour, the Board of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, together with all the executives and staff of the Television Service are charged with a great and onerous responsibility.

It will be their duty to ensure that the professional standards attained by Ghana's Television are comparable to the best anywhere in the world.

It will also be their duty to think about and develop

sions of the content of their script, and the use to which the scripts will eventually be put in the preparation of programmes for Television.

It is to Ghanaian writers that Ghana must look for our future cultural progress, and Ghana's Television should offer them a wonderful opportunity and an effective medium through which they can reach the masses of the people. An idea of a movement achieves reality only when it reaches the masses.

marked the great periods of art in other parts of the world.

Ghana is on the threshold of the fulfilment of her long 'suppressed genius' and impulses, and it is only by a co-operative effort that we can bring all the talents of our nation to bear on the struggle for the socialist construction of Ghana.

But socialism is an epoch; it cannot be achieved in a day. It is only by sustained effort and determination that it can be realized.

Braze the Trail

WHAT I have said about Television applies equally well to Sound Broadcasting Service, whose extended programmes and expanded services I have also the great pleasure to in-

augurate today. May I at the outset congratulate the Director of Sound Broadcasting, Mr. Coleman, and his staff for their efforts in the arduous task of building

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A section of the distinguished gathering including Ministers, chiefs and members of the Diplomatic Corps watching Ghana's Television after the inaugural ceremony.



PARTY LIFE BY THE EDITOR

OUR Party grew up as the instrument of all sections of the people fighting for national independence. They were united into an irresistible force by the Party which led them in the fight against the imperialist occupiers of our country for political independence.

For some sections, that was enough. Some thought they could now enjoy the fruits of an imitation of the political life and institutions of the country which had once oppressed us—Britain.

They failed to see—or did not want to see—that without uprooting imperialism from its positions of economic power, our newly-won independence would become worthless.

The people did not get rid of the foreign oppressor merely to make way for a home-grown variety. Under the leadership of the C.P.P., those who wanted to stop our revolution halfway were defeated.

Today, the C.P.P. unites those who understand that economic as well as political aims must be achieved if independence is to be something more than just a word.

RECONSTRUCTION

More and more are coming to see the correctness of our policy. We are re-constructing our country, making good the deformities inflicted by decades of colonial rule, and utilising every possible means of expanding our economy without compromising our Socialist future.

Our present task demands even more devotion, even more skill, even more sacrifices than ever before. We have undertaken the most far-reaching programme of all—the transformation of our country and ourselves.

Only the foolish or complacent or the enemies of our progress would deny that the maintenance of our independence is a continuous task. Imperialism never gives up. It constantly seeks to re-establish its domination in a variety of ways. But all have one thing in common: the exploitation of the people of Ghana.

That is why the Seven-Year Plan is the logical continuation of our previous struggles for independence. Its success will be a new blow to the imperialist forces which cherish the hope of enslaving us in a new guise. It will be the guarantee of a richer, fuller life for every one of our citizens.

Today the Party has become the Party of National reconstruction and Socialism. It is now the Party of all those who, on the basis of political independence, want to build a new economic and social order for the benefit of the whole people.

This calls for a new style of work. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah,

"the Party is nothing but the vanguard of the people... the hard core of those who are so dedicated to its ideology and programme that they take their membership as the most serious business of their lives."

Membership is open to all—but it is an honour which has to be earned. The criteria include level of political awareness, devotion to the cause of Socialism, ability

to guide and influence the people around you in the direction of socialism, honesty and self-sacrifice.

DEDICATION

In this way the Party will become an organisation of activists, an army of dedicated men and women who in their various walks of life provide leadership and guidance to those around them.

But while the Party members must be drawn from all walks of life, a party made up mostly of white collar workers, civil servants and

middle-class intellectuals is not the best instrument for shaping the Socialist society of the future.

That work can best be done by the most revolutionary elements in our society—the most revolutionary because they alone have no vested interest in the continuation of the old order: the workers, peasants and revolutionary young people. It is these who must make up the bulk of the Party's membership.

The people are united by the Party for the achievement both of immediate

Your New Feature

aims and of long term aims. The people will achieve these aims only if they understand them fully.

That is why mere sloganeering and exhortation are not enough. Conviction is based on sound understanding and every Party member must be helped to learn about the scientific basis of our revolutionary theory.

Why are we sure that Socialism will triumph? What helps us to see the way ahead? Only a scientific understanding of how society can be changed gives this certainty, this clarity. Conviction can come only from a grasp of scientific socialism, of Nkrumahism which is Marxism as applied to the African situation.

Our Party must create a new type of intellectual, one who has mastered ideas and revolutionary philosophy in the service of the people's struggle for socialism.

But ideology alone cannot guarantee success. The organisational forms and methods of work which the Party adopts are no less important.

These methods must reflect the revolutionary aims of the Party and its role of mobilising the masses for action. Collective work is vital in revolutionary leadership, and one of its most powerful supports is criticism and self-criticism.

DIRECTION

This is necessary so that the Party constantly estimates its work and corrects its mistakes. From time to time every Party member, as well as every Party organisation, should make an objective estimate of the work being done and set about correcting mistakes.

We should be able to criticise ourselves as well as

others. We should be able to accept and learn from criticism—but this must be offered in a fraternal way, constructively, so that confidence is increased and a new sense of direction given.

A good Party member does not just pay lip service to the Party. He sets out to apply its policy in his day-to-day life; he works in a detailed practical way for the aims of the Party in whatever sphere he is engaged in. He strives for maximum efficiency in whatever work he is doing; he aims to produce more food, more goods and services of the highest quality.

He sets an example to his fellow-workers in the fulfilment of the Plan, encouraging them through example and explanation.

"This great Party is deeply rooted in the people. The masses swear by it. Its prestige is reflected in the confidence reposed in it not only by Ghanaians but also by Africans elsewhere." Kwame Nkrumah has said.

"The Party therefore has a duty and an obligation to stand by the people. Our performance must be first class. Our sincerity must be above suspicion and we must always have the courage of our convictions. "To achieve this we have periodically to examine ourselves critically and to establish a firm discipline. In future we shall be even more critical of our conduct and actions", he declared.

It is to cast such a critical eye over the life of our Party that we today launch this, a new regular feature of our paper.

In it we shall publicise examples that are worthy of imitation and pillory those who are obstructing our forward march.

Its effectiveness will in large measure depend upon the rank-and-file Party member, whose letters and contributions we invite.

This is in a special sense the Party members' column. Help to make it an effective weapon in our struggle..

Fight Against Hunger And Want

Continued from page 1

The Pessimists

THE Rev. T. R. Malthus was one of a family of eight who became a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1793, taking an oath of celibacy. Five years later he published the first edition of his "Essay on Population".

He was obsessed with the idea that population must increase more rapidly than food supply. His vehemence was somewhat modified in later years when, absolved from celibacy, he became a married man.

In furtherance of his desire to spread "moral restraint" and "prudence" Malthus came down wholeheartedly against the English Poor Law, writing that "we are bound in justice and honour formally to disclaim the right of the poor to support".

He urged that parish relief be refused to any man who chose to marry, "without a prospect of being able to support a family" so as to bring home to him that "he had no claim of right on society for the smallest portion of food, beyond that which his labour would fully purchase".

AID

There is an uncanny similarity between this view and the modern view that aid to underdeveloped countries should be dependent on their acceptance of mass measures of population control.

Uncanny, too, for a different reason, is the contrasting view of Khrushchov:

"Maintenance at public expense of children and the incapacitated is a high and humane undertaking, consistent with the high ideals of the new system. And we are proud, comrades, that we shall soon be capable of it."

While somewhat relaxing the rigidity of his earlier views, in later life Malthus wrote to Nassau Senior

"Whether population were actually increasing faster than food, or food faster than population, it was true that, except in new colonies, favourably circumstanced, population was always pressing against food, and was always ready to start off at a faster rate than that at

which the food was actually increasing". (Quotations from *The Malthus Controversy*, Kenneth Smith).

These views of Malthus have, to an increasing extent in recent years, become widely accepted doctrine in the West. Here are a few examples:

Sir Charles Darwin, in *The Next Million Years* (pp. 170 and 187), repeats the theory of Malthus that "Man, the wild animal, will obey the law of life and will tend to multiply until he is haunted by the means of subsistence". He sees the word as forever containing "a margin of starving humanity".

In his Presidential Address to the Royal Society in Britain in 1952 Professor A. V. Hill referred to advances in public health and declining death rates and concluded that the resulting increase in population

"will take so long to reverse that for many years to come the shortage of natural resources, particularly of food, is bound to provide increasing deprivation and disturbance".

In the London magazine *Discovery* for December, 1958 an editorial recognised the perennial persistence of the Malthusian theory, noted that world population is rising by about 50 million people a year, and doubted whether "man's social organisation could adapt itself sufficiently rapidly".

But of all the neo-Malthusians of the post-war period, the most thoroughgoing has been the American William Vogt whose *Road to Survival* of 1949 commented that the ghost of Malthus had only been temporarily laid by "the bounty from the New World cornucopia" and foresaw "famine once more stalking the streets of London".

It is true that Vogt denounced the capitalist system as "one of the most ruinous limiting factors", whose "methods of free competition and the application of the profit motive have been disastrous to the land".

But at the same time he blamed the medical profession for believing that "it has a duty to keep alive as many people as possible. Though medical care and improved sanitation they are responsible for more millions living more years in increasing misery."

He opted for population cuts as the solution and criticised FAO on the ground that it "should not ship food to keep alive ten million Indians and Chinese this year, so that fifty million may die five years hence."

Here we observe Malthus' attitude to Poor Relief applied to international relations. It is this approach which is condemned by Alex Comfort in his essay on "The Biology of Old Age" in *New Biology* (London, No. 18, 1955):

The Optimists

IN the optimistic camp, first of all, we have the command of Jehovah. This, of course, as the command of a tribal deity to his own tribe, has no relevance, as Huxley correctly points out, to the world of today.

And the Roman Catholic attitude, which is based on a dogmatic acceptance of Jehovah's recorded words to Noah, is in fact a survival that is in no way an attempt to cope with modern problems.

SENSATION

But this is not to say that Malthus was not opposed, on rational grounds, even in his own country.

In Volume I of *Capital*, Marx caustically dismissed Malthus' "Essay on Population" with these words:

"This work in its first form is nothing more than a schoolboyish, superficial plagiary of De For, Sir James Stewart, Townsend, Franklin, Wallace, etc., and it does not contain a single sentence thought out by himself. The great sensation this pamphlet caused, was due solely to party interest".

It "was greeted with jubilation by the English oligarchy as the great destroyer of all hankering after human development." (*Capital*, Kerr, New York, 1906 ed., pp. 675-6.)

And Frederick Engels, in *The Origin of the Family*, foresaw a human society in which

"the productivity of labour is developed more and more" as against Malthus' pessimistic forecast, in the animal kingdom, of "waste of seed, sickness and premature death. Among mankind, misery and vice."

Coming to the recent period in Britain, the famous worker for peace, Professor

"Medicine has always accepted the prolongation of active and healthy human life in time as one of its objectives, and this objective has only been seriously challenged in the past couple of decades by the growth of pathological forms of anti-liberalism... Today there are biologists who question the desirability of prolonging life, at least in cultures of which they themselves are not members." Such as Asia and Africa!

J. D. Bernal, in *World Without War*, admits that the Malthusian bogey is always "theoretically there", but in the world today

"the problem of food and population is not essentially a technical or even a biological problem but a social and political one... The Malthusian limitation of human population can, even with our present knowledge, be pushed back to an indefinite future. It is not and never has been the actual limitation to human population. Lack of knowledge in primitive times, economic greed in the recent past and the present, have been far more potent factors." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 64, 81).

In a controversy in the *British New Statesman & Nation* in 1959 Bernal referred to "checks on the production of food and other goods" and "not pressure of population" as the basic cause of poverty today. Accepting the figure of 5 billion for the world's population by the end of this century he estimated that it was

"unlikely to settle down, if ever, as much under ten billion. All these people can be fed properly from existing resources... The world could support a population hundreds of times what it is at present."

If the world already seems crowded, it is because the literate city people are condemned to live in less than a tenth of one per cent of its area." (14.3.59).

In a later letter, replying to an accusation by Huxley that he had not "troubled to think quantitatively" he replied that his judgements were based on FAO statistics and the World Economic Survey which provided such information as the following:

The 1957 gross cereal production was 900 million tons, or 2lb. or 2,400 calories per capita per day. But because of unequal distribu-

tion "hundreds of millions today get less than 1,900 calories. To get 3,000 calories—well above the nutritional minimum—would require an increase of 25 per cent, an estimate given by PEP in *World Population & Resources* (1955).

To do this in three years would require a rate of increase of 8 per cent per year, one which has often been exceeded in Britain and America, not to mention China.

But it could be done even sooner for, of the 220 million tons required, 75 million lie stocked in the United States and if challenged the American farmers alone could easily produce another 145 million from land at one time cultivated.

The cost of the operation would be of the order of \$15,000 million, a third of the present United States arms bill or 50 per cent more than what is being paid at present to American farmers not to grow crops.

VOGT CONDEMNED

From a different angle, a letter in the same issue from the editor of *Automation Progress*, Mr. E. G. Semler, suggested that

"the Malthusian argument can apply only to a society with limited resources; so far, the world's proved resources have expanded faster than population."

Another firm believer in the possibility of an age of plenty is Lord Boyd Orr, who with Mr. Lubbock in *The White Man's Dilemma* sharply condemned Vogt for a theory which could only be interpreted to mean that aid to underdeveloped countries

"should be stopped until disease and famine have reduced populations to the level these countries can support."

An American writer, A. G. Mezerik, in *The Pursuit of Plenty* published in 1950, wrote:

"Change the name from Malthus to William Vogt, and the story becomes as contemporary today. These ideas of Malthus are the very ones which today are applauded, espoused and propagandised by a whole group of neo-Malthusians."

"start with a profoundly true observation. Man has done damage to nature. By his abuses of the land and the water resources he is depriving himself of his ability to sustain a large population." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 9-10).

As against this pessimism, Mezerik asserts that "to the modern man, the most significant of all

developments of the turbulent decades through which we have lived is the recognition that Man himself is a resource, as valuable as the rivers and fields... Man creates new resources which never before existed... We create new things, we open up titanic sources of energy." (*Ibid.*, pp. 12-13)

Another writer, this time from South America, J. De Castro, in his *Geography of Hunger* says:

"The revival of the Malthusian theory has been possible because our period of history generates a collective receptiveness similar to that of Malthus' day. The English economist lived in a time of revolution—the industrial revolution—when people were nervous and doubtful about the future, a state of mind recurring, on a larger scale, in our social revolution. The present world situation involves such a radical transformation of social processes that it is quite impossible to foresee the future of the world... When the neo-Malthusians say that mankind is starving and condemned to perish in universal famine because of its inadequately controlled birthrate, they are simply blaming the hungry for the fact that there is hunger." (*Op. cit.*, p. 24)

One other American authority, Palmer Putnam, is worth quoting, as his views took the form of a report to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, published in 1954 under the title *Energy in the Future*.

Putnam estimated that the world's human population was probably around one million in 10,000 B.C., had reached 2,400 million by 1950, and had doubled in the past 100 years.

But, taking the 50 years up to 1914, despite population growth, economic crises and wars, per capita food supply had risen, with the possible exceptions of China and India.

"It is estimated that the supplies of food had been growing at about 1.5 per cent per year, while world population had been growing at about 0.8 per cent per year or a little less." (*Op. cit.*, p. 299)

Again, during the 1920s, food production rose slightly, and industrial production considerably, faster than population. But there then came the world economic crisis, with the cry of "surpluses" and the deliberate destruction of goods to keep up prices.

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Fight for Peace and National Independence Inseparable

THE World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament in Helsinki has finished its work. After six days of fruitful and sometimes hot debates the delegates from 98 countries approved important resolutions which lay down the guide lines for the friends of peace.

The Congress took as its slogan "Peace and National Freedom" for not only are many peace supporters at the same time fighters for national independence, but—which is the main thing—in the final analysis both these movements have the same enemy: the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction.

INDIVISIBLE

Peace is indivisible. The flash points of international conflicts are at the same time the places of colonial wars of imperialism.

In an attempt to perpetuate their domination, the imperialists resort to covert and overt methods against other peoples, as we are witnessing in Vietnam, the Congo, Dominica and other parts of the world.

These aggressive acts, which are being firmly resisted by the peoples, aggravate the international situation and increase the danger of world war.

So some bourgeois theorists allege that the struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence are incompatible. Representatives of the imperialist bourgeoisie, interested in preserving exploitation and coercion and the continued existence of colonialism, claim that because the socialist countries assist the liberation movement, it is impossible to maintain peaceful relations with them.

Some assert that the term "peaceful co-existence" is obscure or even it is a tactical slogan aimed at the establishment of world communist domination:

"Who could tell just what peaceful co-existence was intended to be as a policy goal?" John Hazard, professor of International Law of Columbia University has written (*The American Journal of International Law*, No. 1, 1965, p.60).

CO-EXISTENCE

It is very strange that the American professor should cast doubts on this concept, for it has been clearly defined in many international legal documents, including those of the United Nations and of the conferences of Bandung, Cairo and others. We cannot share the doubts of the American professor. The content of peaceful co-existence is very simple.

It implies the renunciation of war as a means of settling international disputes and the solution of disputes by negotiation; equality, mutual understanding and trust between states with differing social and political systems; non-interference in internal affairs; recognition of the right of every people to solve all the problems of their country by themselves; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries. Peaceful co-existence does not merely mean the ab-

sence of war. It means friendly co-operation between states on a rational, mutually advantageous basis. It is not a temporary, unstable armistice between two wars but the solid prolonged co-existence of two opposed social systems—socialist and capitalist.

INEVITABLE

The possibility of peaceful co-existence was first recognised by Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Union and one of the founders of scientific socialism, who discovered the law of the uneven political and economic development of the capitalist countries in the period of imperialism.

On the basis of this objective law, he came to the conclusion (corroborated by the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917) that the victory of the socialist revolution was possible, even inevitable, in the first instance in one country alone or in a few countries, and therefore there would be "the period of co-existence side by side of socialist and capitalist states."

In his instructions to the Soviet delegates to the Genoa Conference (1922) Lenin proposed "categorically to delete the words that our (Marxist-A. T.) conception of history unqualifyingly presupposes the inevitability of new world wars" (V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 45, p.63). It should be stressed that the Marxist theory of peaceful co-existence has nothing to do with the concept, now current in the West, that peaceful co-existence applies only to relations between the Great Powers: "We stand for an alliance with all countries without exception", Lenin emphasised (*On Peaceful Co-existence*, p. 80).

UNPRINCIPLED?

Tension in any part of the World invariably affects the entire international situation. That is why the principle of peaceful co-existence applies to all countries with different social systems, including small and developing ones.

Some claim that the struggle for peace fetters the national liberation movement, that the policy of peaceful co-existence is "unprincipled", that it allegedly constitutes a concession to imperialist aggressors.

These claims are in fact the reverse side of the doctrine that it is impossible to ensure international peace in our epoch.

Nothing could be more erroneous or harmful, from the view point of Marxism than to counterpose the struggle for peace to the national liberation struggle.

The policy of peaceful co-existence, as many delegates at the Helsinki Congress emphasised, is not a policy of appeasement, but a policy of struggle against imperialism and support for the national liberation movement. Otherwise, it would be connivance at aggression and new world war.

Marxists are not against concessions and compromises in general. Lenin taught that working classes must make concessions in the name of world peace and socialism. He warned socialist states against uncompromising attitudes.

An ultimatum may prove fatal to our whole cause. We cannot demand that, because some insig-

by Dr. A. N. TALALAYEV
University of Ghana, Legon.

nificant departure from our demands on the part of the imperialist governments will give them the opportunity of saying that it was impossible to enter into negotiations for peace owing to our irreconcilability." (*Selected Works* Vol. 2, p. 509).

At the same time Lenin emphasized that there are different kinds of concessions and compromises.

"One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise" (*Selected Works*, Vol 3 p. 389).

There are compromises that are permissible and those that are impermissible. The Munich deal was an example of an impermissible compromise, a product of the policy of appeasement which led straight to World War Two.

The Socialist countries of the time (the Soviet Union and People's Mongolia) had no hand in it—in fact, the Soviet Union was the only nation which declared its readiness to stand by Czechoslovakia.

NUCLEAR WAR

Today there are those who claim that one group of Socialist countries want a second Munich, or that another group want a world nuclear conflict. In fact no Socialist Power wants either a second Munich or a world nuclear war.

Indeed, the choice is not Munich or war, for, as experience showed, Munich meant war.

The point is how to halt imperialist aggression and at the same time prevent the outbreak of nuclear war.

Peaceful co-existence implies reciprocal concessions, the consideration of mutual interests without which normal relations among different states cannot develop.

But peaceful co-existence itself is a form of struggle then, but the characteristic feature of this struggle is that it confines itself to political, economic and ideological forms.

But that is not all.

When Marxists speak of peaceful co-existence, they mean peaceful relations between sovereign states with differing social and political systems, i.e. interstate relations. It does not concern domestic affairs of states and peoples, including class and national-liberation struggles.

STRUGGLE

Therefore peaceful co-existence does not in any way mean that there should be peaceful co-existence between oppressed peoples and their foreign enslavers, or that the peoples should discontinue the liberation struggle against colonialists.

On the contrary, peaceful co-existence presupposes the steady advance of the national-liberation movement, including armed struggle when the peoples are compelled to resort to it because of the refusal of imperialist powers to grant independence to colonial peoples (Angola, Mozambique and others) or because of armed intervention by imperialism (Vietnam, the Congo etc.).

These struggles are not initiated by Communists, as the U.S. Secretary of State re-

cently asserted. They are caused by internal factors, such as exploitation and the oppression of one people by another.

They become international conflicts only because of interventions, by foreign imperialists from without in the interests of counter-revolution and colonialism.

In themselves, without imperialist interventions, national liberation struggles cannot be an obstacle to strengthening international peace.

Imperialism is the only source of the war danger and the task of the peoples is to create such conditions under which imperialists would be compelled to live in peace with all the countries. Here one of the major factors in ensuring international peace and security is the national liberation movement.

UNITY

Indeed, the characteristic feature of the world revolutionary process is the unity, unbreakable and organic bonds between its three main component parts—the world system of socialism, the national-liberation movement, and the revolutionary struggle of working class of the capitalist countries.

Any action designed to split and isolate these component parts and set them in opposition to each other serves only the imperialists.

The national-liberation movement has long since ceased to be "local". Today it has merged with all those fighting imperialist reaction on the most varied fronts.

This close connection between different streams of the anti-imperialist struggle

is reciprocal. The national-liberation movement in the colonies and the socialist working class in the imperialist countries are allies in the struggle against imperialism and war, as events conclusively demonstrate.

We are witnessing how the tidal wave of the national-liberation revolutions is sweeping away the colonial system, undermining the mainstays of imperialism, weakening its forces.

POSTWAR PERIOD

On the other hand, peace between states is a most important condition for the further development and deepening of the national-liberation struggle. An atmosphere of general peace would create favourable internal conditions for the struggle for economic independence and social liberation.

It enables the peoples themselves to choose independently the road of their development. Experience has proved the correctness of this proposition. It is a fact that the peoples have achieved the greatest successes in the struggle for political independence in the postwar period, a period that has been marked by peaceful co-existence.

It was then the colonial system collapsed. It was in conditions of international peace that over fifty national states, including thirty-six African states, appeared on the political map.

Many leaders of the African liberation movement came forward at the beginning of 1960 with the slogan: "Independence in the lifetime of the present generation."

The colonialists were so sure of their strength that they insolently stated from the rostrum of the U.N.

General Assembly that the peoples of the non-self-governing territories would need scores of years before they would be "ripe for independence."

Such statements were made by the Belgian delegate to the 6th General Assembly in 1951. In 1956, the British delegate told the 11th General Assembly that claims that Tanganyika could attain self-government in less than twenty years were based on wrong assumptions about the capability of its people for development.

All these forecasts were upset. This is no accident. Under general peace exceptionally favourable conditions for liberation struggle were created.

LIVING STANDARD

While there is international peace there is a continuous change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism. The weakening of imperialist positions improves the prospects for the national-liberation struggle.

Peace also helps to rectify the grave consequences of colonialism, to advance the national economy, to strengthen political independence and to improve the living standards of the population.

Only in conditions of general peace can the socialist countries increase their economic co-operation with the young states.

Thus, the struggle for international peace and national liberation struggle do not contradict to each other. On the contrary, they supplement each other. This is why the real mass movement for international peace cannot ignore the problems of national liberation, and vice-versa.

The world peace movement has always regarded

it as one of its main tasks to support the peoples fighting colonialism. The Manifesto of the First World Peace Congress in Paris (1949) declared:

"We struggle for the national independence and the peaceful co-operation of all peoples, for the right of the peoples to self-determination, essential conditions for liberty and for peace."

The organic connection between the fight for peace and for national liberation has also been shown by the history of one of the mass movements of our time—the Afro-Asian solidarity movement.

The idea of the inseparability of the fight for peace and national independence was a keynote of the most important documents passed by the international conferences of Afro-Asian solidarity in Cairo in 1957, in Conakry in 1960, in Moshi in 1963, and in Acera in 1965.

INSEPARABILITY

Kwame Nkrumah, speaking in the National Assembly on the ratification of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, said:

"One of our great hopes in pursuing the goal of total African liberation and unity is the Vista of world peace that it opens up. For the culmination of that goal we envisage the end of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the twin offspring of imperialism, the cause of much of the world's rivalry and divisions."

The formation last month of a Ghanaian National Peace Committee re-affirms Ghana's dedication to the cause of world peace and disarmament and to the cause of national-liberation.

Our National Aspiration

Continue from page 3

the Ghana Broadcasting System.

In order to improve the standards of our national broadcasting services, the Government has recently taken certain decisions which are to be put into effect immediately. First, all the existing three national networks of the Broadcasting Service will be converted into one single network, and all our national transmitters will carry the same programmes throughout the country.

SINGLE NETWORK

Secondly, the number of hours during which Broadcasting programmes are heard on radio will be increased and the contents of the programmes will also be considerably augmented and improved. For this purpose, the new Broadcasting transmitters at Ejura will be used to reinforce those in Accra. They will, however, carry the same single network.

Thirdly, the Broadcasting relay service will be expanded by building new relay stations particularly in the rural areas and by increasing the coverage of the existing stations.

In support of our national services, the External Service of our Broadcasting

Corporation has been greatly expanded. As a result, the voice of Ghana will from now on be heard all over Africa and far around the world, carrying the message of African aspiration and progress, African emancipation and national unity.

Our Broadcasting Service should struggle ceaselessly to make itself the people's service. It should identify itself fully with the people's aspirations for a fuller life. It should continue to fight uncompromisingly against the forces militating against our progress.

It will be its task to expose and unmask imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and support our endeavours for the political unification of our Continent.

'OKYEAME'

It must blaze the trail of socialism, it must be the 'Okyeame' of Ghana's development, and its economic and industrial advancement. It should, above all, strive to enlighten and uplift our people and keep before them the torch of Ghana's advancement.

All who are employed in our Television Service and our Sound Broadcasting Service have a unique opportunity, therefore, to play a vital role in the develop-

ment of Ghana and in our struggle to eradicate from our society superstition, ignorance and illiteracy, and create in the minds of our people, through television and broadcasting, an awareness of the benefits to Ghana of modern science and technology.

DEVOTION

I am confident that you will all bring to this task the highest sense of dedication and devotion. Let us hope that as a result of these new Services, the growth of socialist consciousness among the people will be hastened through our Television and Sound

Broadcasting, and that fresh vistas on the world will be opened to them.

We also expect that through your programmes, the struggle for the African liberation movement, for freedom and independence, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the ever-continuing efforts for the attainment of peace and security throughout the world, will ever be maintained.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating Ghana's Television Service, and the expansion of our National and External Broadcasting Services. I wish those who work here happiness and success.

African Dairy

Continued from page 2

accepted the retirement of Major-General S. J. A. Otu Chief of Defence Staff and Major-General J. A. Ankrh Deputy Chief of Defence Staff from the Ghana Armed Forces.

* President Nkrumah's special envoy to North Vietnam, Mr. Kwesi Armah today had talks with President Ho Chi Minh and Vice-Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Duy Frinh in Hanoi.

NIGERIA: Alhaji Nuku Ba-

mali, Nigerian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs arrived in Moronvia, Liberia today with a message for President Tubman from Nigerian Premier Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. Michael Frances, editor of the South African monthly "contact" has been served with a banning order by the gascist Pretoria regime Mr. Michael is the fifth editor of the "Contact" to be banned since the magazine was founded in 1958.

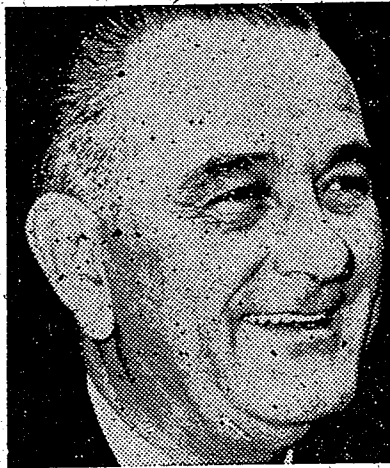
President Johnson: 'Leader of the Western World'?

Ex-President Truman: "In my historical memory, no President has made such an impression in the early part of his Administration as you have."

President Johnson: "We are deeply in debt to Mr. Truman for his vision."

APART from their deep admiration for each other, the 33rd and 36th Presidents of the United States have two things in common which merit some consideration.

Both took over the leadership of the world's most powerful capitalist State



President Lyndon Johnson: will he continue pursuing the illusion of World-wide U.S. domination?

after the tragic death of a President whose approach to world affairs offered hope of fulfilling the American people's dreams of peace and social progress.

Both proceeded to drown those hopes in a welter of blood and hate by occupying the southern part of a small nation and using their country's vast resources to try and subdue first Korea, then Vietnam.

Truman brought death to the 38th Parallel which divides Korea, Johnson brings it to the 17th, which splits Vietnam. Truman's action threatened to engulf the world in nuclear war. So does Johnson's.

Truman's aggression in Korea brought defeat and humiliation to America's armed might—planes, ships, napalm and all. As General Bradley is reported to have said, it was "the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time."

As with Truman; so with Johnson. Threat, aggression, check, defeat, humiliation.

No wonder, that on his way to the United Nations celebrations last month, Johnson chose to exchange mutual compliments (condolences?) over the breakfast table with Truman in Kansas City.

No wonder, too, then, that Government officials, diplomats, journalists in Washington and their shadows and echoes in London are amazed, awed, hurt, indignant at the displays of coarse behaviour, crudeness, rudeness, contempt, anger, bullying that America's First Citizen has been giving vent to recently.

It is not remarkable though that a President elected on one of the biggest popular majorities in American history should now be christened by the Press "Byzantine Emperor," "King of Washington," "Monarch of the Potomac" (the Potomac is the river running through Washington).

Or that he should inspire, in certain quarters, a sycophancy beyond precedent, culminating in the now notorious speech of his personal aide Joe Valenti-

"The President, thank the Good Lord, has extra glands?"

We are told he grabs reporters by their lapels, tape records conversations in his office, uses Cabinet Ministers as "public relations hacks," picks the men who shall interview him and "banishes" those who displease him.

He instructs pressmen not to bother "the leader of the Western world" with "chickenshit questions," informs a visiting professor that "Lincoln walks the corridors with me."

He displays photographs of himself and demands: "Do I look intimidating?"

All these, so the sycophants tell us, are the foibles of a son of the soil, a rags-to-riches Texan who despite three decades of infighting on Capitol Hill, still has the common touch.

But these are symptoms of a wider disorder of American policy. Johnson's temper is not that of the straw-chewing groin-scratching Texan cracker—it is the authentic frenzy of the gunman at the close of the oft-repeated Western film: a myth which for him is inextricably tangled with reality.

Why else, when taxed with his violent action in sending marines to frustrate the long-needed social revolution in the Dominican Republic, should he snarl at his questioner an emotional tirade about "innocent lives in danger"?

When the gunman shoots—as he only knows how—then in place of the rea-

President Johnson last week announced new moves to step up the war in Vietnam. U.S. forces there are to be increased from 75,000 to 125,000, while the monthly call-up of conscripts is to be doubled. What sort of a man is it who thus brings the world closer to the brink of war? His crudities are symptoms of a wider disorder of American policies, says British journalist BOB LEESON.

soned argument of a responsible head of State, we get romantic utterances scripted in a third-rate Hollywood studio.

We are asked to believe that he told his wife Ladybird Johnson how he had lain awake one night wondering how he would feel if he were to send his son to Vietnam.

Perhaps it was by way of experiment to find out that very week he sent another 8,000 American boys out there, while his bombers homing on targets often personally selected by him brought death to more farmers, schoolchildren and sanatorium inmates.

It is not only Vietnam, or Santo Domingo, that has felt the weight of precipitate action in the seven months since his inauguration.

The leaders of two big Asian States, Pakistan and India, are turned from his doorstep like commercial travellers.

His spy planes fly over the territory of his N.A.T.O. ally, France.

And after the May N.A.T.O. meeting in Paris, the *Guardian* reports:

"The critical speeches about American policy made by loyal members of the alliance—the Norwegians, Danes and the

Italians—already appear to have been almost forgotten.

"A senior member of one unsmiling delegation said as he left London: What can we do against the bull-dozer that is the United States?"

Johnson, so the the London Sunday Telegraph tells us, is in no mode for "carping criticism of his tough tactics in Vietnam" and that was the reason for two major world statesmen getting the bum's-rush.

This was particularly because India and Pakistan get so much "aid" from America.

Likewise, Johnson is said to have told an American critic that next time he wanted his help for a dam in the home State, he could look elsewhere for the money.

This, of course, is the other side to the programme of social reform which Johnson is said to be rushing through Congress and Senate at such a fantastic rate.

But such social legislation is not only a lever which the President and his government can use to keep control over dissident elements.

It is a recognition that you cannot split the world

that of the people of Vietnam. Johnson dare not allow these two blades of the scissors to touch.

Johnson may be just naturally "ornery," but the real reason for his dictatorial actions, his crude arrogance, is the fact that his world, even less than Truman's, refuses to bend to his will.

There is not one major capitalist country, let alone the Socialist and developing nations, which supports him

in his Vietnam policy, with the exception of Britain (with such assistance as Australia and New Zealand can offer).

This is a fact which some people in Britain forget.

To aid and abet Johnson cannot soothe his rages. But to let him see that while he flouts popular will at home and abroad, he will never be "loved," as the pundits say he longs to be, is the required treatment for his psychological state.



U.S. aggression in the world always under the guise of humanitarian reasons

WAR AGAINST HUNGER

(Continued from page 4)

Putman in his Report suggests that the limits to food production are

"(1) the capital we are willing to invest in producing it and (2) the political and economic adjustments necessary to distribute it when produced," and that "techniques within man's grasp and ken could provide food, clothing, and shelter for a world population many times the size of the present." (*Ibid.* pp.43, 323).

Putman surveyed the resources available, with a number of concrete examples. He showed that the average-wheat yield per acre in the world as a whole is 12 or 13 bushels per acre, while yields as high as 100 bushels per acre have been reported from countries as far apart as China and Denmark (it was 75 in Britain in 1958).

Thus an eightfold increase in world wheat production could be achieved if the efficiency of the most backward units could be raised to that of the most advanced.

Even allowing for differences in natural conditions, vast scope for improvement exists.

Putman drew attention to the practically limitless possibilities for improvement by means of the use of modern fertilisers and techniques, together with a policy of planned land conservation.

In the case of rice, he estimated that the potentialities are considerably greater than in the case of wheat. He advocated the planned control of the

world's forests, and suggested that

"all the sugar requirements of the United States could be produced from forest and sawmill wastes of the Pacific Northwest." (*Ibid.* p.320)

He noted that today mankind cultivates only about 8 per cent of the earth's surface, and suggested the possibilities inherent in developing the equatorial regions, deserts and Arctic wastes, fish farming, and the still unexplored possibility of the use of micro-organisms for food. It seems possible, he wrote,

"to estimate that the food requirements of a trebled world population—7 billion people—could be met by using for algae farms the land now under cultivation; or, better, by using marginal lands up to 3 per cent of the total land area, and reserving some of the lands now under cultivation for the foods we know." (*Ibid.* p.319).

Elsewhere it has been suggested that algae and chlorella could be bred as food for livestock, thus improving man's meat supply.

The optimistic view is, of course, frequently expressed in the Soviet Union, both in articles, and in the Programme of the Communist Party adopted in 1961. So much has been written on the subject that it is hard to select something typical, but perhaps Nicholas Semyonov's article in *New Times* in 1959 can be best quoted as an example. Stressing the basic role played by power supply, for agriculture as well as industry, Semyonov wrote:

"The world's present supply of electric power averages out at about 0.1 installed kilowatts per capita. This is a very low figure. And as long as it remains so low heavy physical labour is inevitable, especially in the underdeveloped countries."

But with the advent of nuclear energy he estimated that

"man will be able by the end of this century or early in the next to multiply the world's power supply approximately a hundredfold, that is, bring it up to 10 kilowatts per capita"

INDUSTRY

so that all industrial, agricultural and household work would be electrified and large-scale weather control would become a practical possibility.

In the field of industrial raw materials Semyonov saw the future in a vastly extended production of polymeric materials from oil.

The development of electronics would allow scientists

"to devote their mental faculties to a far greater extent than they can today to the creative process proper"

As regards food, Semyonov wrote that

"we need but improve our methods of tilling, fertilising and irrigation (to say nothing of expanding the sown acreage) to provide high-grade food in plenty for a population several times greater."

In this future society, he wrote,

"it may safely be predicted that the working day will be reduced to three or four hours."

"With the further progress of energetics and expansion of irrigation, with the development of transparent and moisture-proof polymeric film, with the production of new varieties of cultivated plants, of new types of fertilisers and insecticides, the prospects for much more productive farming are of the broadest. Add to this the expansion of the arable land that can be achieved by bringing the deserts, jungles and northern areas under the plough, and it will be clear that several tenfold the number of people now living on our planet can be provided with food."

Turning from this macrocosmic view to a microcosmic one, let us quote from a statement by Y. Y. Yegorov, deputy director of the U.S.S.R.'s Soil Institute, in May 1962, outlining the possibilities in arid regions of the USSR. He referred to the

"100 million acres of sun-scorched arid land in Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Kazakhstan. Deserts and the adjoining vast dry steppes make up 12 million acres in Uzbekistan alone (70 per cent of the territory). Agriculture is pursued on slightly over a million acres (9 per cent of the republic's area), including non-irrigated farming."

Looking to the future, he noted that the productivity per acre in the south of the U.S.S.R. was four to five times that of the temperate zones.

"Every million acres of land being irrigated now in Central Asia can yield 600,000 tons of cotton wool, 200,000 tons of rice, 130,000 tons of maize, 300,000 tons of milk, 80,000 tons of meat, etc., every year. The expenditure on irrigation and cultivation of new lands will be fully recouped within two or three years."

This is the approach which can be counterposed to that of Malthus and his successors.

To those who might be inclined to scoff at this Soviet optimism, in view of the large Soviet imports of grain following the poor harvest of 1963 which was heralded in the imperialist press proving the "collapse" of Soviet agriculture, the following figures of Russian or Soviet grain harvests should be instructive:

Year	Million tons
1913	86
1963 (bad harvest)	107.5
1964 (record)	151

It is true that Soviet agriculture has not developed as quickly as was hoped; but it is absolutely false to suggest that food production has not risen far more rapidly than population.

So the optimism about Socialist agriculture is already justified by facts.

Obviously such an optimistic approach presupposes the preservation of peace. Hence, on the one hand we have the ideas of peace, plenty and population increase; on the other the depressing spectacle of cutting the world's population, by birth control or by wars.

The neo-Malthusian view is essentially pessimistic as to humanity's future, while the optimistic view of Bernal, Boyd Orr, De Castro,

Putnam and Soviet planners sees a complete solution of the problem in planned production and rational distribution.

Traditionally, there has been a close alliance between Malthusianism and the opponents of social change, while social change has tended to be advocated by believers in the practicability of an age of plenty.

We saw at the beginning of this article how that pillar of the British ruling class, *The Times*, described in the year 1962 the state of production and distribution developing in the Western world, bogged down in the perennial slough of "surpluses" and shortages.

Surely the first step in waging the war on want—before deliberately restraining people from being born or giving birth—is to remove contradictions in the social system which, by their very nature, perpetuate the anacronism of "surpluses" and restrictions on production in a world of poverty.

Only socialism on a world scale can provide a final solution. In the meantime the maximising of food production in the socialist countries, the greatest possible co-operation between the socialist and the developing countries, and the greatest combined pressure on the imperialist countries to cease their exploitation of the newly independent countries by allowing their monopolists to fix prices to the disadvantage of these developing countries—these are the main lines of attack.

As to pessimistic theories about restricting population, whether by birth-control or by bombing, let these rest with those for whom the future holds no hope—the imperialists and their defeatist ideologists!