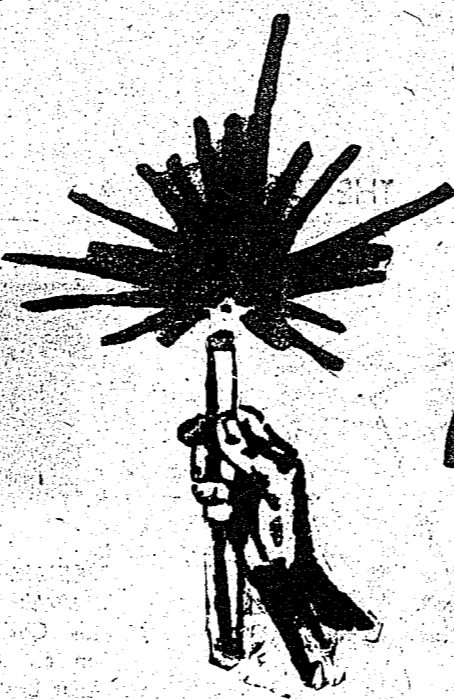


Ghana
Government's
Statement on
Southern
Rhodesia
(See page 3)

THE SPARK



Notes of the
Week 2
Application of
Marxist-
Leninist
Theory 4

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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IMPORT POLICY - 1966

EDITORIALS

WHOSE TRADITION?

THERE is considerable discussion going on about the problem of consumer demand. It is being claimed that it is important to provide the Ghanaian consumer with the goods he has always been used to.

It is necessary to be clear, that for the majority of the population of Ghana, their demand is for the basic provision of food, clothing and shelter, not for luxury goods.

The repetition of this apparently comfortable phrase of 'what we are used to' seemingly very innocent and well meaning, holds considerable dangers for the future of our 7-Year Development Plan and the formation of a socialist basis for Ghana.

First let us examine how the Ghanaian consumer came to 'prefer' one type of product as against another. The blunt fact is that he had no choice.

Under colonial rule he had to take the products of the imperialist ruler. One of the important reasons why the capitalist countries fought for colonies was to provide themselves with protected markets, in which only their products could go.

All that is being said, therefore, when the term 'traditional goods' is used is 'goods from the imperialist countries, especially Britain'.

Anyone who travels in the former French colonies will see that nearly every vehicle on the road, (or drinks in the bars) is from a French manufacturer.

Is this explained by the fact that simply out of the blue, the customers in those countries 'preferred' French-made vehicles or drinks, or French-type bread? Of course not; it simply means that the patterns of trade established under colonial rule still persist, and carry with them the obvious political consequences.

We must be clear therefore, that the traditional aspect of this pattern of consumption and trade is the bad old tradition of imperialist relationships.

This is not an argument against carrying out trade with capitalist firms abroad, but we know that we can only relax their grip on us by diversifying our trade and thus making it clear that we do not, by any means depend on them. To continue to develop trade with monopoly capitalist firms without at the same time developing alternative sources of supply, from our own country, and from the socialist states, is to violate the decisions of the people, Party and Government of Ghana in relation to the fight for economic independence and self development.

The 'traditional' argument has a small rational core, because, of course, it is well known that people do generally buy the goods they have been accustomed to in the familiar packets, boxes or bottles, but this is something that vigorous advertising and explanation can rapidly overcome, especially, as they will see from their own experience that they lose nothing by the change.

The argument is particularly serious because it strikes at the roots of our economic policy which is to find import substitutes and manufacture lines, which will save foreign currency. How can we, to take a very important example, promote the sales of 'Golden Tree' chocolate, if at the same time, people who should know better, tell the consumer that he will still get all the old familiar types of chocolate? Protection of home industries is practised even in capitalist states, to develop a socialist economy it needs to be applied extensively where it is possible.

Most of the Ghanaian people understand that if they are to be fully free, to be economically independent, to build socialism, then patterns of consumption will have to be changed, so that we are no longer dependent on our former masters.

There is involved here, not only the question of changing consumer tastes, but also of temporarily restricting certain consumer demands, because it is necessary to use the foreign exchange for the purchase of machinery, raw materials and the training of skilled manpower.

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THE Central Committee and the Cabinet need to take a second and closer look at our imports policy for 1966. Decisions relating to the allocation of import licences for 1966 have apparently been made before every relevant factor in the situation was given full consideration. Our trade outturn for 1965 is only now revealing itself in full. The quite significant trade negotiations undertaken by the Amoako Atta Mission to the socialist countries obviously could not have been allowed for in full. And as we go to press, the exact performance in 1965 of each importing agency is still not officially known.

There is a great danger in all this. Imports policy, instead of promoting, is likely to call the tune for our general economic po-

by Julius Sago

lic life of the nation—the Planning Commission, the Ministries of Finance and Trade, the Bank of Ghana and the President's Office. There should be no room for departmental individualism in a matter that demands the detailed dovetailing of action by all agencies connected with the direction of the national economy. It is not helpful to argue that the imports policy for 1966 has received cabinet approval. The point here is that cabinet approval should be sought only after all relevant facts had been assembled.

It seems to us that two sets of problems have to be tackled and solved. In the first place there must

should be the direction of this trade, considering our foreign exchange position.

The second category of problems relates to the administration of import licences in a way to give effect to the general line decided under category one above, and achieve a smooth inflow of goods.

Whereas problems under category two belong mainly to the Ministry of Trade, those of category one are problems of national economic policy. Decisions here must be taken by the highest policy-making bodies—the Central Committee and, to a lesser extent, the Cabinet.

In considering category one problems, close attention should be paid to the following matters:

- i. our trade outturn in 1965 and our foreign exchange position as at end December 1965
- ii. our policy for domestic production in 1966
- iii. the scale of bilateral agreements concluded for 1966.

Figures available now indicate that trade position in 1965 was the worst this country has ever experienced. Our trade deficit was the highest in our history, much higher than the level reached in 1961, after which time we decided to introduce import control. Our imports for 1965 were pegged at £120m, judging by the 1965 Budget. But our actual performance shows that imports reached £148m. The value of import licences issued in the year reached a much higher level—£172 million. These facts show that the issue of import licences in 1965 bore no relation whatsoever to the trading policy put before the National Assembly (and approved by it) early in that year.

The government's import policy was not implemented.

Today, it looks as if we shall be faced with a yawning trade deficit of

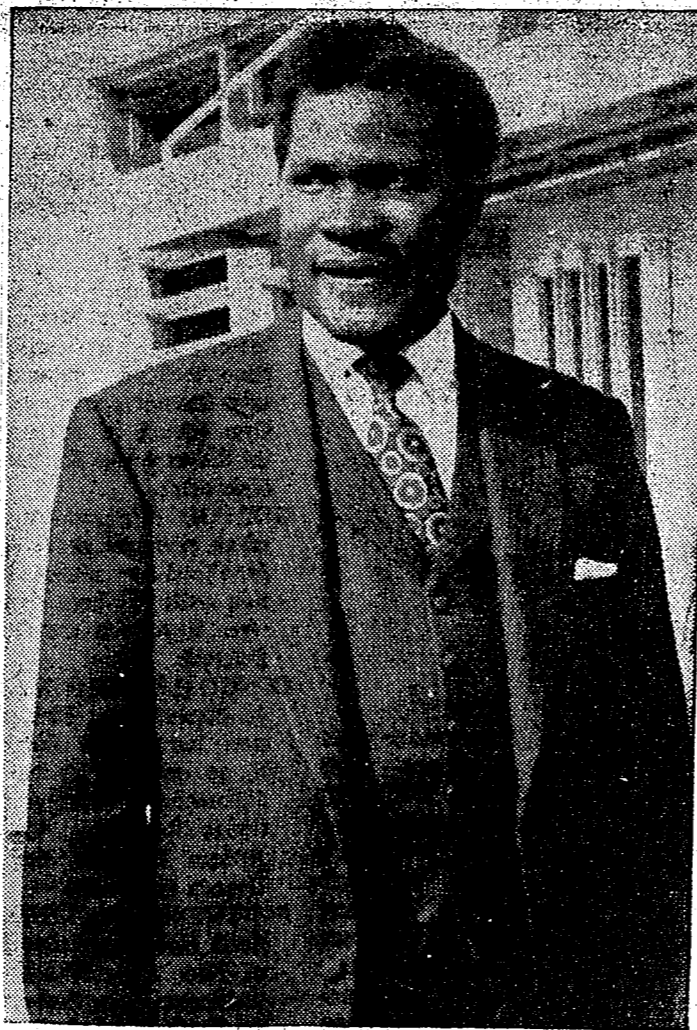
over £60m., the highest in our history. And our reserves are going down to their lowest point.

This picture is not a rosy one. And it has been created largely by inadequate strictness in the issue of import licences during 1965. The exit of tight-fisted Djin at the end of the first quarter of 1965 when there were widespread shortages of consumer goods seems to have opened the door for an upward spurt in the issue of import licences. The interim Ayeh Kumi administration of import licences was marked by a most gratuitous issue of these licences. And when Kwesi Armah stepped in from the middle of the year, little more was done than inherit decisions taken earlier in the year.

"take the business community into confidence" as regards its plans and to "seek their advice and guidance in developing these plans" gives undue weight to forces that do not fully share our economic objectives.

If we are to operate in 1966 with any reasonable chance of success, there must be a drastic cut in the import of consumer manufacturers. It might even become necessary to cut down temporarily on imports of industrial goods for new enterprises. The ceiling for merchandise imports should be around £90m. of which no more than one-third should go to consumer goods.

Once we agree on this scale of imports, we must go further to consider the



Mr. Kwesi Armah, Minister of Trade

licy. The correct position should be the reverse. Our imports policy must be dictated by, and made to serve, our general economic policy. If this approach to the problem is accepted, then imports policy must await an exhaustive study of our actual trade position in 1965, including the exact performance of every importing agency; it must await an accurate and up-to-date picture of our foreign exchange position as at end 1965; it must await the conclusion of all bilateral trade agreements for 1966.

Ghana's present economic position demands a very high degree of co-ordination between the ministries and agencies connected with the econo-

be firm decisions on the scale of imports, (consumer goods, producers' goods and new investments goods) for 1966, as well as the share-out of this trade between state and private trading agencies. A closely related problem is what



Mr. Kwasi Amoako-Atta, Minister of Finance

We need not cry over spilt milk. We however draw attention to these facts because they have created a situation which demands that the free issue policy of last year be put in reverse gear. 1966 demands a strong and tight hand over the issue of import licences.

In the light of this, our position is not helped by promising the public a full supply of traditional lines of consumer goods. Nor is there much wisdom in allocating import licences in a way to give the older expatriate firms a greater share of import trade in 1966 than in 1965. In formulating imports policy the Ministry of Trade should be guided by our general economic needs. Its declared intention to

sources of these imports. To stick to "traditional markets" is to sacrifice national interest on the altar of personal prejudice. The sources of our imports should be decided primarily by our foreign exchange position. Whether we get the corned beef from Brazil via U.K. or from China must be decided by our balance of payments position with these areas and not by any prejudice attaching to brands. Similarly, our payments position (not traditional business contacts) should decide whether the crude oil for the Tema refinery comes from Russia or from the Middle East via the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. This is the area of

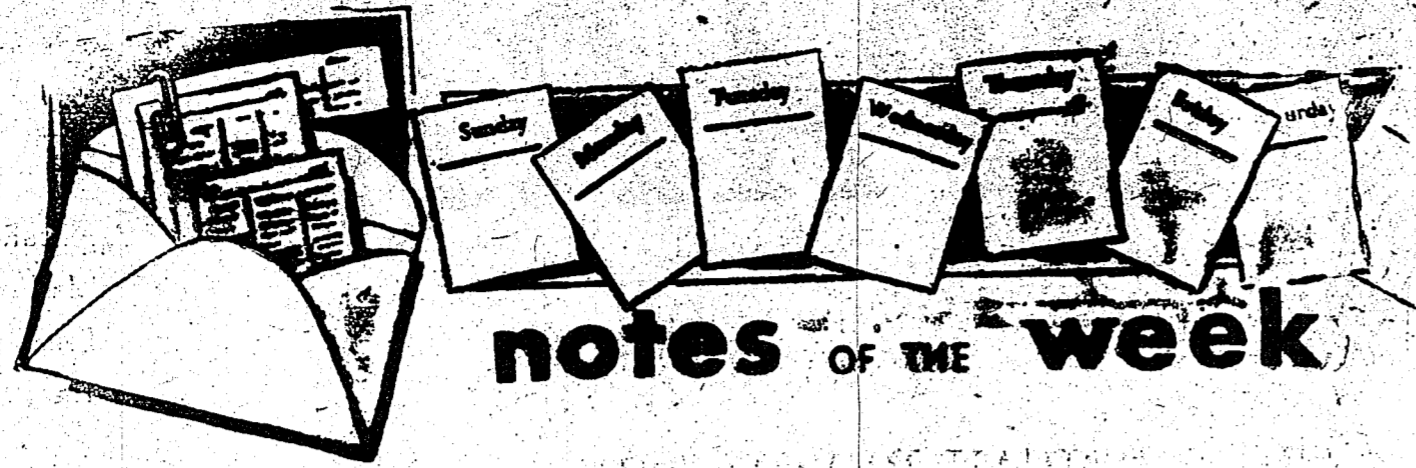
Continued on page 6

Next Week

Exclusive Article

on

The Crisis of Sterling



1,643 servicemen killed, 148 missing, 25 captured, 7,739 wounded. This is the sorry story of United States casualties in the war in Vietnam. It is no wonder that reports from Washington indicate that public opinion against the war is mounting among the citizens of the United States.

The Washington Correspondent of the London Times reports: "American public opinion as expressed in letters to Congressmen in recent weeks, has sharply turned against the war in Vietnam."

About half of the writers are now utterly opposed to American involvement and the pacifist trend is said to be increasing."

The war is costing the American taxpayer 6,000 million dollars a year, almost 16.5 million a day. In spite of this colossal cost official sources admit that about half of South Vietnam is effectively controlled by the National Liberation Front.

Casualties, protests and territorial losses increase day by day, and are three good reasons, among many others, why the United States President has decided to launch a "peace mission".

While U.S. representatives are travelling from one world's capital to another, ostensibly in search of peace, military spokesmen are talking about the possibility of seeing the extension of the war by March or April; a classic case of the left hand apparently unaware of what the right hand is doing!

Three Continents meet

AS "The Spark" goes to press there will be a great rally in Havana, capital city of Cuba, where the delegates to the Tri-Continental Conference will meet and address hundreds of thousands of Cubans.

This meeting will mark the close of the first conference which has brought together the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

500 delegates from Governments and people's organisations met together to discuss how they can carry forward the next stages of their fight to be free from imperialism and its consequences of poverty and war.

In addition to delegates there were observers from international organisations such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, youth and women's organisations and the World Peace Council.

The idea for such a Conference first came in 1961 at a meeting of Latin American organisations meeting in Mexico. When the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference met in Moshi in 1963 this proposal was agreed to in principle.

At the next Conference held last year in Winneba a preparatory committee was set up which met in September in Cairo to prepare an agenda.

At the same time it issued an appeal explaining the reasons for the calling of this new kind of Conference.

It said "The Afro-Asian solidarity movement has always felt this need. In spite of all imperialist intrigues attempting to isolate it from Latin America, the movement has worked relentlessly for the realization of our common aspirations. The Conference will mark a new phase in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism and for complete national liberation, social progress and world peace."

This appeal echoed that

At present talk about extension of the war means carrying it into the neighbouring state of Laos. Reports are already coming through of attacks on Cambodia.

The United States has two policies, one of preparing to spread the war and one of going through the motions of seeking peace. The force of world opinion can force it to begin genuine negotiations. The U.S. Government has now announced a slight shift of attitude towards the National Liberation Front, which though quite unsatisfactory is indicative of the results that can come from stepping up the demand for peace. Johnson's administration now says that it is prepared to accept the National Liberation Front as a South Vietnamese political party, but it still refuses to consider negotiating with it around a peace conference table. This gesture does not change the reality of the position because it comes at the same time as a letter from Senator Goldberg to the United Nations saying that the United States will remain in South Vietnam until that country is in a position to determine its own future without external interference.

The reality of such a condition is that the United States hopes to continue to occupy South Vietnam until it thinks it can create some kind of a puppet regime which will be stable enough to serve its interests.

Such an attitude contrasts strongly with that expressed in the most recent Soviet

part of President Nkrumah's speech made when he was opening the Conference at Winneba "Our main emphasis should be on strengthening our solidarity. I think the main thing is to find answers to the problems involved in strengthening our solidarity, in rallying our peoples for the struggle for peace and social progress."

The imperialists have been hoping that the Conference would be cancelled, as was the Afro-Asian Summit Conference which was to have been held in Algeria in November. They have constantly forecast the postponement of the Cuban Conference or at least its breakdown under the stress of divisions and splits. Their wishes outran the reality of the situation.

The Conference has met and has re-affirmed its determination to end the power of imperialism in whatever guise it operates.

Among one of the outstanding speakers at the Conference was Cheddi Jagan, former Prime Minister of British Guiana, who, in describing the policies of intervention and violence and terror which was launched by the British Government and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, drew the contrast between the treatment he and his supporters received and that being meted out to Ian Smith at present in Rhodesia.

The delegation from Dominica urged the setting up of a Tri-Continental Solidarity Organisation. He was correct in pointing out that such a development would strengthen the forces for liberation and independence in every continent.

As yet the final resolution and decisions of the Conference await publication. When they are issued to the people of the world they will represent a big new advance in our struggle, and a new stage in our unity and solidarity.

statement issued on January 9th which in addition to warning of the dangers of the extension of the war calls for a return immediately to the road of strict observance of the Geneva Agreements and the recall of its (i.e. U.S. editor) troops, withdrawal of its arms from that region and the dismantling of its bases.

The beginning of February will mark the first anniversary of the beginning of the bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. planes. The present lull in this aggressive activity against the North Vietnamese

people, will, it is to be hoped, continue, and be the forerunner of a real peace. Before such a peace can be achieved however, the United States will be required to make a further change in its attitude to the National Liberation Front, recognise it for the major political and military force in South Vietnam, agree to negotiate with it around the Conference table and withdraw U.S. troops so that the people can make their own decisions about their own future, free in truth from outside interference.

for the complex tasks they are tackling in the building of a socialist Ghana.

We are pleased to note that it is not only day to day issues which are being treated, but that the opportunity is being taken of introducing the new readership immediately to the basic principles of socialism. We hope that this kind of explanation of our Party's ideology and philosophy will be a major feature of the paper, so that as events move and develop the readers will be equipped with the necessary means of interpreting and understanding them, and be able to make their contribution to policy questions.

In a socialist society, the newspaper plays the role of informing and educating and in addition reflecting the views of the masses. It is its duty to encourage responsible and well substantiated opinions and criticisms and to investigate complaints in an active way, so that the readership knows that its paper is not only a forum for the expression of views, but a means to the extension of active democracy in the life of our country.

Indeed, if our trade with the socialist countries were placed on a sound long-term basis, it would be possible for these countries to take Ghana's needs into account in their own planning, by making provision for the manufacture of the goods Ghana needs.

Such trade, of course, cannot and must not be based on cocoa alone; we must make every effort to offer the socialist countries a wider range of our products, for example timber and minerals.

Because it reduces our dependence on the imperialists and their monopolies, our trade with the socialist countries contributes to our economic independence.

It is also necessary to underline that credits from the socialist countries are made available on terms which are more favourable than those from the capitalist countries of the West, which impose interest rates which are often three and more times higher than those charged by the socialist countries.

But perhaps the main advantage of increased economic co-operation with the socialist countries is that such co-operation is co-operation with countries which share our aspirations and which sympathise with our determination to take the path of socialist development.

Unlike the capitalist powers, they do not attempt to use trade and finance as weapons to divert us from the road which we have chosen.

THE news from Moscow that the Soviet Union is to increase its cocoa purchases to a record 150,000 tons—an amount equivalent to about one-third of recent average crops—is indeed welcome.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have in recent years increased their purchases of cocoa by 140 per cent, in many cases under long-term agreements at prices well above the world level.

These countries have in the past, through no fault of their own, consumed relatively small quantities of chocolate and other cocoa products.

Today, with the living standards of their peoples improving rapidly, they represent a market with a significant growth potential.

Ghana's trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been the target for much ill-informed and, in some cases, ill-intentioned criticism.

Our trade with these countries is important because it lessens our dependence on the capitalist world market which, as we have seen to our cost in recent years, is subject to fluctuations brought about by the monopolies which exert a decisive influence over it.

New Arrivals

"THE Spark" welcomes the addition of two sister publications to the ranks of the Ghana Press. The "Daily Gazette" and the "Sunday Punch" have already aroused considerable interest and attention and will prove to be a valuable additional weapon in our ideological armoury.

We congratulate them both on their appearance, an important factor in attracting new readers, with their modern lay out and type face. The "Daily Gazette" is produced on the new rotary press at Tema, the State Publishing House.

Both papers are staffed by young journalists who will bring a freshness of vision and style to their production.

The newspaper reading public in our country is growing with the extension of literacy and the increasing interest among ordinary men and women in the news and events of our country and the world outside. The provision of news, presented from a really socialist point of view, and the interpretation of events day by day by mature scientific socialists will help to improve the general ideology of our people and mobilise them

Welcome News From Moscow

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DECEMBER 24:

GHANA: President Nkrumah in his Christmas message called on all Africans to stand by their brothers in Southern Rhodesia in their struggle against racialism and fascism, declaring that "now is the time for action, no more words and promises."

DECEMBER 25:

GHANA: The Ghana Armed Forces presented Christmas greetings to President Nkrumah, Supreme Commander, at an impressive ceremony at Flagstaff House, Accra, today.

IVORY COAST: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has said that Africa is passing through dangerous days and to arrange and organise its internal affairs so that no doubt may exist Africans to conduct their destinies and forge their future.

DECEMBER 26:

SOUTH AFRICA: A party pickets besieged the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, the New York residence of America's chief United Nations representative, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, in protest against United States support for South Africa.

NIGERIA: Chief Dennis Osadebay, Mid-Western Nigerian Premier has said that the multi-party system of government could not survive in Nigeria because unlike Britain—the birthplace of the system—there is no class cleavage in Nigeria.

DECEMBER 27:

BECHUANALAND: A constitutional conference will be held in London on Bechuanaland's independence on February 14, according to an announcement today, by the British Commissioner in Gaborone Bechuanaland.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: France has clamped an oil embargo on Southern Rhodesia. The embargo has been published in the form of a Government decree.

GHANA: President Nkrumah declared today that Africa of tomorrow must be a continent effectively united for progress and happiness and completely free from alien domination.

DECEMBER 28:

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE): President Alphonse Massamba-Debat of Congo (Brazzaville) today announced his opposition to a new Summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity on the explosive Southern Rhodesia crisis.

GUINEA: A protocol agreement which envisages goods exchange for a total sum of about five million cedis has been signed between Yugoslavia and Guinea in Belgrade.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE) Congo (Leopoldville) Foreign Minister, Justin-Marie Bomboko is to go on with his bid to get diplomatic relations going with Congo (Brazzaville), the Central African Republic, the Sudan, Uganda and Kenya.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, has said in Wellington, New Zealand that if the Southern Rhodesia explosive situation is not solved "then the threat of hostilities in Africa is very real".

DECEMBER 29:

ANGOLA: The Angolan Government-in-exile (Græ) reported today in Algiers, Algeria that the Portuguese Forces in Angola now numbered around 70,000—backed by heavy guns, latest fighter aircraft, bombers, tons of napalm and toxic products.

IVORY COAST: Dahomey Head of State General Christophe Soglo arrived in Abidjan, Ivory Coast today by air to attend a meeting of the Council of Understanding.

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. William Rountree, the new United States Ambassador to South Africa, arrived by air today in Pretoria to take up his post.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): Premier Colonel Leonard Mulamba has been promoted to Brigadier. It was announced in Leopoldville this morning.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian newspaper "Daily Times" has been banned in Ibadan by order of the City Council, it was announced in Ibadan today.

DECEMBER 30:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr.

K. A. Oduro, Senior resident of Institute of Public Education, said in Accra today that unless the people of Africa achieved the African High Command, the Southern Rhodesian problem like any other problem in Africa, could not be settled.

MOZAMBIQUE: Students from Mozambique have started a five-day congress in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, to discuss how best they could give more help to the Mozambique Liberation Front which is fighting fascist Portuguese colonial troops in Africa.

ZAMBIA: Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda told a news conference in Lusaka today that a Commonwealth conference on Rhodesia at this time will not serve any useful purpose at all.

DECEMBER 31:

GHANA: President Nkrumah in his New Year message to the nation broadcast over Radio Ghana, declared that "We know that neo-colonialism uses foreign investment as one of its weapons. However this does not mean that we are against foreign investment."

"We welcome foreign investment, provided only that such investment fill in with our own national plans and help to increase our economic growth and not to retard it."

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): Congo (Brazzaville) Foreign Minister Charles David Ganao arrived in Leopoldville today. Radio Leopoldville said Mr. Ganao would have talks with his Congo (Leopoldville) counterpart, Mr. Justin Marie Bomboko.

SOUTH AFRICA: A total of 1,643 Africans, stupidly described as "gangsters and vagrants" by apartheid South Africa authorities, have been arrested in a massive police swoop in Johannesburg's African townships; a fascist police spokesman said today.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC: The Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic are to increase their trade by about one third over the next five years under an agreement signed in Cairo today.

ZANZIBAR: Zanzibar's Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Hassan Nasor Mooyo, today inaugurated the first project undertaken by an irrigation team, which recently arrived from the People's Republic of China.

JANUARY 1:

MOROCCO: Morocco courts will be completely unified, "Arabised and Moroccanised" from today, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Abdelhadi Boutaleb announced in Rabat.

GHANA: The Cuban influential magazine, "Bohemia", has commended President Nkrumah for his noble role in the African struggle and called for more solidarity conferences to consolidate plans to fight the common enemy of imperialism.

TANZANIA: President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in a television interview, reiterated that Tanzania would not attend the suggested Commonwealth meeting in Lagos, Nigeria, since this would be embarrassing because Tanzania has broken off diplomatic relations with Britain over the way she is handling the Rhodesian crisis.

GHANA: Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, widow of the late United States President John F. Kennedy, has been invited to unveil a plaque in memory of her husband, when the gigantic Volta River Hydro-electric project is inaugurated at Akosombo later this month.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: Colonel Jean Bedel Bokassa, the new Central African Republic President has announced his 10-man cabinet in Bangui with himself taking over the portfolios of Head of State, Prime Minister, National Defence and Justice.

JANUARY 2:

GHANA: A Research Fellow in Economics at the University of Ghana, Legon, Mrs. Ann Seidman, giving a lecture on "Neo-Colonialism—The last stage of imperialism" declared that the growing danger confronting African States in this testing and most dangerous stage of imperialism is the danger of growing

economic crisis and war, most dangerous stage of imperialism: United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. G. Mennen Williams, arrived in Algiers today, on his Vietnam peace-probe mission to Africa.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, today rejected the offer by breakaway Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith to resume oil export to Zambia and suspend the stiff new export tax on coal and coke exports. He described it as a propaganda move.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. G. W. Briad, a former executive member of the white settler Ian Smith's Rhodesian Party, has said that Smith is in a position where he does not know what to do.

BURUNDI: Dr. Pie Mastumbuku, Burundi Health Minister has said in Leopoldville that Mr. Joseph Bamina, former President of the Burundi Senate, and about 20 other Hutu tribal leaders have been executed.

JANUARY 3:

GHANA: Mr. Kwaw Amegbe, Secretary-General of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, in a message sent on behalf of the Union to the first Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference which opened in Havana, Cuba today declared that the success of the world revolutionary movements depended, to a great extent, on the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

GUINEA: Guinea today branded the New Year's eve coup d'etat in Centrafrica and current trouble in Upper Volta as imperialist attempts to recolonise Africa.

ALGERIA: Algeria's Administrative Budget for 1966 will total about 55 million cedis—about 7 million cedis more than last year's.

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE): The Governments of the two Congo Republics, Brazzaville and Leopoldville have decided to exchange their Charges d'Affaires by January 15, at the latest.

JANUARY 4:

KENYA: Three Kenyan Cabinet Ministers left Nairobi today by air for Moscow where they will discuss technical assistance and trade co-operation between Kenya and Soviet Union. Mr. Tom Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning and Development, is leading the delegation.

GHANA: President Nkrumah has expressed his firm belief in a reply to a New Year's message of greetings received by him from the North Korean Prime Minister Kim Il Sung that this year would bring about closer co-operation and solidarity between Ghana and North Korea.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Rebellious Southern Rhodesian appeared today to have run into serious and unexpected difficulties in maintaining its oil supplies in the face of the oil embargo imposed upon the colony.

UPPER VOLTA: Demonstrators in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta capital, today demanded the arrest and trial of former President Maurice Yameogo and the confiscation of his property.

* The Upper Volta Army Chief of Staff Lieutenant Colonel Lamizana, said today in a radio broadcast speech that he had assumed the honour of Head of State.

GHANA: The Liberian Ambassador in Ghana, Mr. G. F. Sherman, has left Accra for Monrovia, for consultations. He will be away for a week.

GUINEA: The Guinea radio today commenting on the army take-over in Centrafrica and the Upper Volta, predicted that in the weeks to come contradictions between Africa and imperialism would get worse and worse.

MAURITIUS: The next general elections in Mauritius will be held in June this year, authoritative sources said in Port Louis the capital today.

SOUTH AFRICA: The British Government despite its condemnation of South Africa's obnoxious apartheid policy continues to increase Britain's trade with Verwoerd regime.

CENTRAFRICA REPUBLIC: Colonel Jean Bokassa, President of Centrafrican Republic announced today that fortunes which had been amassed "illegally" would be confiscated and nationalised.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa is today expected to open a new 4,606 foot long bridge costing fifteen and a half million cedis (£4½ million) over the Niger River linking Eastern Nigeria and Mid-Western Nigeria.

DIARY



'The solution lies in establishing majority rule at the earliest possible moment'

Statement on SOUTHERN RHODESIA by the Government of Ghana, on January 10, 1966.

THE Government of Ghana considers it desirable in view of various discussions taking place on the Southern Rhodesia situation to restate its position.

The Ghana Government believes that the present economic sanctions, as advocated by the United Kingdom Government, are quite inadequate to deal with the situation. Even if these sanctions were successful in bringing down the Smith regime, which is unlikely, the only effect of present British policy would be to substitute another settler regime in place of the existing one.

Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence was only one incident in a calculated policy of progressive oppression and degradation of the African people of the colony. The settler clique is quite capable of trading its present assumed independence for a settlement which would enable it to intensify its policy of repression.

MAJORITY RULE

Unless the settler class are removed from power they will merely re-establish their authority under some nominally "loyal" Government and the situation which the African states have so often unambiguously condemned when Southern Rhodesia was still a "loyal" colony will be allowed to continue indefinitely.

The published correspondence and telephone conversations between the British Prime Minister and the rebel Smith show that the United Kingdom Government were prepared to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of 1961 Constitution provided that the settler regime would accept modifications allowing for only a gradual approach to majority rule.

In other words, the United Kingdom Government does not at heart accept the principle of the immediate majority rule for Southern Rhodesia to which it had agreed at the last Prime Ministers' Conference, and which all independent African States demand in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Even now the United Kingdom Government has not revoked this 1961 Constitution despite the fact that its power to do so remains unquestioned. Under this Constitution the four million Africans of the colony are condemned, in perpetuity, to be hewers of wood and carriers of water for 200,000 privileged European settlers.

It is through this Constitution that there are enforced and maintained laws which deprive the African inhabitants of any access to good farming land and which confine them to over-crowded and infertile reservations.

AKIN TO SLAVERY

Under these laws African domestic servants and farm labourers are compelled to serve their masters in conditions akin to slavery and workers in industry have to live in appalling conditions in segregated townships and must accept a wage of less than one-tenth of that paid to Europeans who do a similar job.

The African states have, through the Organisation of African Unity and individually, protested continuously against this intolerable state of affairs. The United Nations have passed Resolution after Resolution condemning conditions in Southern Rhodesia.

Yet despite the fact that the United Kingdom Parliament is now legislating for Southern Rhodesia, Britain has taken no step to set right any of these crying wrongs.

The Government of Ghana believes that the United Kingdom Government, if it wishes to convince African states of its sincerity, should revoke immediately the 1961 Constitution of Southern Rhodesia and repeal the main discriminatory legislation, that is to say the Land Apportionment Act, the Vagrancy Act, the Pass Laws and other oppressive measures. The United Kingdom Go-

vernment should also immediately revoke the restriction orders imposed on opponents of the rebel regime, African, Asian and European alike.

Britain should recall all British subjects now serving in the armed forces and the police of the illegal regime. The present position in this regard is farcical. Smith and those supporting him have been condemned by Britain as traitors yet high ranking officers of the Army, Air Force and Police who are the mainstay of his illegal regime, are receiving pensions from Britain.

The Ghana Government has always maintained that the best and most effective methods of ending the Southern Rhodesian rebellion is by the use of armed force. The Ghana Government believes that this armed force shall be provided by African States and that its use should be authorised by the United Nations.

Even if economic sanctions were successful they would only provoke a situation in which armed force would have to be used. If rebel authority collapses there must be some military force available to maintain order and it would be intolerable if this were left to the same military and police personnel who had supported Smith rebel regime.

PLAY FULL PART

The Government of Ghana, therefore, believes it is its duty to play its full part in any military intervention against Southern Rhodesia which may be decided upon.

The Government of Ghana has taken note of the statement made in the British Parliament by the United Kingdom Prime Minister on 21st December, 1965 in which he called attention to the fact that the rebels possessed their own armed forces and that therefore any attempt to subdue the rebellion by force would lead to a bloody war turning into a bloody civil war.

The Ghana Government has noted that any consideration of bloodshed has not previously deterred the United Kingdom Government from taking action in Kenya, Cyprus or British Guiana.

The Government of Ghana, however, does not believe that any such result would follow from the use of force in Southern Rhodesia. If the use of force produced that result, the entire responsibility for the situation would rest with the Government of the United Kingdom.

In 1963 the United Kingdom Government vetoed in the Security Council of the United Nations a resolution sponsored by Ghana and supported by all the independent African States which would have prevented the arming of the Southern Rhodesian settlers.

HANDED OVER

The armed forces, which the British Prime Minister now considers capable of preventing the United Kingdom Government taking any effective action against rebels, were only two years ago handed over to the Smith regime by the British Government on its own responsibility, and despite the fact that the Security Council had overwhelmingly voted against this being done.

This fact alone, in the view of the Government of Ghana, imposes an obligation on the United Kingdom Government to disarm and disband at once the rebel troops upon which the illegal settler regime of Ian Smith depends.

In any case the Ghana Government believes that the United Kingdom Government has no longer any justification

in continuing to claim that events in Southern Rhodesia are solely an internal British question. The United Kingdom has allowed a rebel regime to take power. The British Government has ceased to have any control over the situation.

In the Government of Ghana's opinion the proper organisation to deal now with Southern Rhodesia is the Organisation of African Unity acting under the authority of the United Nations and with the support, if necessary, of other friendly nations who have an interest in seeing the revolt suppressed and in seeing established a Rhodesian Constitution based upon the principles laid down by the General Assembly of the United Nations which include the principle of "one man one vote".

If economic sanctions are to be applied this can only be done effectively under the Charter of the United Nations. The Ghana Government has noted that the United Kingdom Government has opposed the Southern Rhodesian situation being dealt with under the

Charter. It has continually claimed that Southern Rhodesia is an internal British question and at the last meeting of the Security Council the United Kingdom opposed action under Chapter VII of the Charter which is the only chapter under which sanctions can be made mandatory on all countries.

MANDATORY

The present position is that the United Kingdom Government claims the right to decide what economic sanctions shall be imposed and what economic sanctions shall not be imposed. The British Government has appealed to all countries to adopt these sanctions at the same time well knowing that any such appeal will be ignored by South Africa and Portugal.

Again, if the United Kingdom Government wishes to convince African States of its sincerity it should at once convene a meeting of the Security Council and propose at that meeting that mandatory sanctions are imposed against

Southern Rhodesia under Chapter VII, Article 41 of the Charter.

The Government of Ghana regards it as hypocrisy for the United Kingdom Government to ask African states to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia while at the same time the British Government refuses to use the machinery of the United Nations to make these sanctions effective or to do anything to prevent them being flouted by Portugal, Britain's oldest ally, and South Africa, one of her principal trading partners.

In the event of the British Government failing to do its duty in this regard the Government of Ghana will confer with other African states as to how best the matter can be raised in the Security Council independently of Britain.

In considering generally the Southern Rhodesian situation, in the Ghana Government's view, one fundamental fact should always be borne in mind. Everywhere on the African continent where a European minority has been in power, the African majority

has been ill-treated and oppressed. Nowhere on the African continent where an African majority has been in authority have the European minority been molested or discriminated against.

THE SOLUTION

The solution to the Southern Rhodesian question, therefore, in the Ghana Government's opinion, lies in establishing majority rule in Southern Rhodesia at the earliest possible moment. The Government of Ghana does not accept the contention of the United Kingdom Government that while the people of Bechuanaland are capable of independence those of Southern Rhodesia are not. In its view if the Africans living on the northern bank of the Zambezi River have shown themselves fully capable of running an independent state then there is no reason to suppose that those living immediately south of that river are not equally capable of so doing.

If they are not then it is the final indictment of the settler

regime of Southern Rhodesia which for the last forty-three years has had exclusive control over African education in the colony. Settler rule, in the view of the Government of Ghana, stands condemned and cannot be allowed to continue in any form whatsoever. Once again, if the United Kingdom wish to convince African states of its sincerity, it must declare forthwith that once the settler revolt has been crushed, settler rule will be ended for all time.

The Ghana Government believes that the United Kingdom Government has lost all control over the Southern Rhodesian situation and further is unwilling to take any of the steps by which its authority might be reasserted. In such circumstances, it is time for those more determined and more capable than Britain to take charge. It is time that the United Nations declared that the Southern Rhodesian situation was a danger to world peace and invited the African states to carry out the task which the United Kingdom is unable or unwilling to perform.

Background Facts on Rhodesian Crisis

THE name Rhodesia, instead of Southern Rhodesia, was gradually introduced by the Smith Government after Northern Rhodesia became independent as Zambia in October 1964. The full title is still required for international agreements and legal purposes, as the British Parliament, which is ultimately responsible for the country under the 1961 Constitution, has not authorised change.

Area and population

150,333 square miles, about three times the size of England. Bounded by Zambia, Bechuanaland, South Africa, and Mizambique. Landlocked. Population: 4,210,000, comprising 3,970,000 Africans, 217,000 Europeans, 12,400 Coloureds (mixed race), and 7,900 Asians. Whites are outnumbered 19 to one. Salisbury, the capital, has a population of 314,000. The other large towns are Bulawayo (215,000), Umtali (45,000) and Gwelo (38,000).

Government

The Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs (Eton and Cambridge, farmer in Rhodesia since 1928), is the representative of the Queen. The Cabinet of twelve act as assistants to him. The Queen has to approve the Prime Minister's appointments.

Britain is responsible for Rhodesia's foreign relations and external defence, and retains the right to intervene in internal affairs if the British Government thinks it necessary. No change in the Constitution of 1961, laying down these conditions, can be made without approval of Westminster.

Hence the illegality and treason of the Rhodesian Government's unilateral declaration of independence.

Parliament

There are 65 seats, 50 of which are elected by an "A"

roll of voters (mainly European), and 15 by a "B" roll (mainly African). There are 94,000 "A" roll voters, and 11,000 "B" roll voters. The ruling Rhodesian Front, which won the last elections on May 7, 1965, by taking all 50 "A" roll seats was elected by only a minority of the European voters, as less than half of the registered voters went to the polls.

The African nationalists called for a boycott of the elections because of the fraudulent system, so that only 1,782 votes were cast on the "B" roll. To get on the "A" roll register, one requires a minimum annual income of £330 or ownership of property worth £550 and certain educational qualifications, and, for the "B" roll, minimum income of £132 or property of £275, plus educational qualifications.

Political Parties

The ruling Rhodesian Front was founded in 1962 by a group of right-wing politicians, on the initiative of Ian Smith, backed by the wealth of millionaire rancher Sam "Boss" Lilford, who wanted no truck with ideas of advance, even gradually, to African participation in government, let alone "one man, one vote".

Winning the 1962 election, the Rhodesian Front smashed up the old political alliances of Welensky and Whitehead. The first Premier, tobacco farmer Winston Field, was ousted by the extremist "cowboys" in the Cabinet, headed by D. W. Lardner-Burke and Clifford Dupont, in April 1964, and Ian Smith installed in his place with the instruction to get independence quickly and so cut the link with Britain that gives Westminster the right of intervention.

On a plea to London by the Africans to call a conference to discuss a new constitution that would make majority rule a certainty were ignored, and the African political parties

ZAPU and ZANU were banned. Ten of the 15 "B" roll seats are held by Africans of the United People's Party, led by J. M. Gondo. The other five are held by independents, including one European, Dr. A. Palley.

Why U.D.I.?

Because pressures have built up inside the Commonwealth for majority rule, the settlers, although they have governed since 1923 without interference from Britain, fear that this state of affairs won't continue. They equate African nationalism with communism, and see themselves as building a bulwark against black nationalist communism from the north by forming an alliance with the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique and Angola to the east and west, and with the apartheid state of South Africa to the south, that will stem the tide and secure southern Africa for white rule for generations to come. With independence, the settlers can deny the vote to the Rhodesian Africans indefinitely.

Prime Minister

Ian Smith, first Rhodesian-born premier, age 42, son of a farmer who settled in there in 1898. Educated in South Africa. Wartime R.A.F. pilot, twice shot down. Owns a 4,500-acre farm and a 6,000-acre cattle ranch.

An M.P. since 1948. Left Welensky's Federal Party in 1961 because the new Constitution enshrined racialism "in a most diabolical way" (i.e. by giving Africans 15 out of the 65 seats in Parliament).

Talks with vicious contempt of Africans, and his remarks on them are invariably watered down in the British press to conceal his extremism.

Land

The Land Apportionment Acts kept the best land with high-

est rainfall, best soil and good communications for Europeans.

Eighty-six million acres are reserved for Europeans and no African can own land in these areas, nor in any European urban area can an African buy, lease, occupy or use land. There are 6,200 European farms, some of tens of thousands of acres.

Foreign Investment

The British is worth £200 million, and the U.S. is worth 56 million dollars. Big British firms included Rio Tinto Zinc, Dunlop, Tate and Lyle, Turner and Newall, Selection Trust, British American Tobacco, Gallaher, Imperial Tobacco, Portland Cement, Costain, Fisons, Pearl Assurance, Shell, Unilever, Cerebos, J. Lyons, Charter Consolidated (of which the old British South Africa Co. which colonised the country is now part), Lancashire Steel, John Brown, Lonrho, Metal Box, Kodak, and three banks—Barclays D.C.O., Standard Bank and National and Grindlays.

Income

The average African wage is £114 a year and the average European wage is £1,217 a year. The African includes the value of rations and accommodation. Many of the 188,000 men working in the towns receive the minimum monthly wage of £9 10s. (including £1 for accommodation).

In 1953 when the average minimum wage in Salisbury was £6 for an African, European statisticians calculated that an African family of four needed £14 10s. a month to stay above the Poverty Datum Line.

Budget

Revenue for 1965-66 is estimated at £73 million. Of estimated expenditure totalling £43.3 million, the Po-

lice, Army and Air Force receive £11.45 million.

Education

The Government is spending £6,450,000 this year on African education, and £6,120,000 on European education, which is 15 times more per head for European children than for Africans. Ninety per cent of the Government money is for subsidising African primary schools which have 600,000 pupils, but there are only 11,000 African secondary pupils and only 156 in sixth forms. African parents have to pay towards their children's education. The European aim is to educate Africans enough to be servants. Rhodesia has only three African lawyers, a dozen African doctors, and not one African civil servant in a key position, after seventy years of British rule.

Racialism

The basis of society is segregation. Contempt for, and ill-treatment of, Africans is commonplace. Nora Kane, a descendant of the pioneers, wrote in her book *The World's View* (1954), that segregation was best in Southern Rhodesia because "continued contact with inferior people brings those of a high of the lower... Life in Southern Rhodesia is based on social and residential segregation. This is understandable in a society where a civilised race lives cheek by jowl with one still in a state of semi-savagery." The Africans have shown a remarkable stoicism in face of these conditions, and have consistently welcomed co-operation with Europeans prepared to work with them as equals. Joshua Nkomo's lawyer, Leo Baron, has himself been arrested and detained. Other Europeans who have resisted segregation have been expelled from the country. (With acknowledgement to "Comment", the weekly review of the British Communist Party).

'Outstanding in its application of Marxist-Leninist theory'

NOT the least among Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's services to the national liberation movement, to African unity and to the socialist cause has been his presentation in book form of the outlook and theory behind his manifold practical activities.

Towards Colonial Freedom, his *Autobiography, Africa Must Unite, and Consciencism*, have all consistently put forward the Marxist-Leninist outlook as the guiding theory of his life and work, together with its application in the conditions of Africa and the need for a United Africa to struggle effectively against imperialism and for African development along the non-capitalist road.

Now, in spite of all his pre-occupations with the socialist development of Ghana, the building up of African unity, and the myriad international problems requiring his constant attention, he has succeeded in producing a new, thoroughly documented book: *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, which is outstanding in its application of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In his Introduction, Dr. Nkrumah characterises neo-colonialism, shows its origins, methods and results, and draws conclusions for the policy of the newly-independent States.

After the Second World War, the imperialists realised that in their own countries there could be no return to the mass unemployment and low living standards of pre-war years; hence the "Welfare State" policy.

But the continuation and increase of colonial super-profits was essential for them, and at first the imperialists attempted to preserve by force the old colonial system of exploitation.

GROWING GAP

These attempts, however, were defeated by the strength and determination of the rising liberation movement, and therefore new methods of exploitation became necessary to serve the same ends. Hence arose the system of neo-colonialism.

"Old fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished... but it is everywhere on the retreat... In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism, we have today neo-colonialism."

Dr. Nkrumah writes: "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside."

This direction from outside can take a variety of forms: military garrisons, or control through economic or monetary means, such as tying the trade of the neo-colonial State to the imperialist power, subsidising that State, providing civil servants for important posts, or control over foreign exchange.

The result is that foreign capital comes to be used for exploitation instead of development—"Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world."

This point is supported by reference in the 1962 Report of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Per capita* output in the advanced industrial countries rose in twenty years by 60 per cent; in Africa, the rise is estimated at 10 to 20 per cent, concentrated mainly in the north and south.

And Dr. Nkrumah draws the lesson from the experience of Asia and Latin America as well as Africa:

"The less developed world will not become developed through the goodwill or generosity of the developed powers. It can only become developed through a struggle against the external forces which have a vested interest in keeping it underdeveloped. Of these forces, neo-colonialism is, at this stage of history, the principal."

Dr. Nkrumah stresses the significance of the "balkanisation" policy adopted by the imperialist powers when the independence of a former colo-

nial country can no longer be resisted.

Former united colonial territories are broken up into small non-viable States which are incapable of independent development and forced to rely upon the former imperialist power for defence and even internal security, with their economic and financial systems linked with those of the former colonial ruler.

This form of the "divide and rule" policy is illustrated from the French cutting up of their former colonial territories into separate States; the same aim was pursued by Britain in the Constitution imposed on Nigeria, dividing it into three regions; in the proposed division of Ghana into five regions, which however was defeated; and in the similar, now defeated, Constitution for Kenya.

As it is, West Africa for example is divided into nineteen separate independent States, with an average population (excluding Nigeria) of about 2.3 million. It is impossible for such small States to plan industrial development in isolation.

Africa's natural resource are immense, and still largely untapped. Their exploitation has been the preserve of foreign monopolies, which have made immense profits; while the primary products have gone to feed foreign industries to the impoverishment of the countries of origin.

With independence, industrialisation is essential to raise the living standards of the people. But industrialisation requires "the total mobilisation of the continent's resources within the framework of comprehensive socialist planning and deployment".

Dr. Nkrumah gives examples to drive this point home, showing the need for unity to ensure real economic independence for the separate African States.

"AID"

Chapter 3 starts with a summary of Lenin's analysis of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, based on the growth of monopoly; and this is followed by the application of this analysis to events after the second world war.

"Post-war capitalism, which had already received one devastating blow after the first world war in the rise of the Soviet Union, took another crushing defeat in the establishment of socialist regimes in a number of countries in central and eastern Europe and in China."

On the other hand, the United States "took over from Britain the leading role in international financial monopoly", while the feverish growth of monopoly and the struggle between the monopoly groupings became more intense.

The struggle for world monopolist control is evidenced both in international mergers and alliances (of which the European Common Market is an example) and in conflicts between the monopoly groupings (e.g., de Gaulle's present stand).

Dr. Nkrumah emphasises Lenin's points that imperialism is not confined to the underdeveloped sectors of the world; but that the profit rate is higher there than in the more industrialised countries. Hence the hypocrisy of "aid" from the imperialists:

"All the instruments and mechanics of international imperialism, expressed in monopoly coalitions, are brought to bear in a general descent upon the new, needy countries. This new wave of predatory invasion of former colonies operates behind the international character of the agencies employed: financial and industrial consortia, assistance organisations, financial aid bodies and the like. Friendly co-operation is offered in the educational, cultural and social domains... These are the paraphernalia of neo-colonialism, superficially offering aid and guidance; subterraneously benefitting the interested donors

and their countries in old and new ways."

And he ends this chapter with the simple comment: "Before the decline of colonialism what today is known as aid was simply foreign investment."

In a later chapter on "The Mechanics of Neo-Colonialism", Dr. Nkrumah goes more fully into the methods used by the imperialists, especially the United States.

He cites examples of the "offensive conditions" on which loans are offered, the use of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and other special American labour organisation to "penetrate and influence African trade unions, the use of evangelism, the cinema, the Peace Corps, etc. And as the struggle sharpens, resort is had to coups d'etat or would be coups, together with politi-

cal assassinations.

In a series of chapters, Dr. Nkrumah shows the international monopoly groupings of finance capital which are the instigators and beneficiaries of neo-colonialism, their rivalries and their interweaving for the common aim of securing constantly expanding profit.

The lists of monopolies in various fields, with their associated and subsidiary companies and inter-connections, are particularly striking, and the story of how these concerns built up their grip on Africa (and elsewhere) is briefly sketched.

Practically all of Africa's natural resources are now in the hands of these international industrial and financial groupings: gold and diamonds, coal, chemicals, copper, tin, manganese, bauxite, uranium, zinc and other mineral ores; oil, timber, etc.

bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the feudal land-owners, the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie—as if all are equally to be scorned, and all equally to be regarded as props of neo-colonialism.

Fanon, to his credit, tries to analyse class forces in the African revolution, but his weakness here is that he relies too easily on superficial impressions gleaned from a few countries, and consequently makes sweeping generalisations which are not borne out by the facts.

NEW "THEORY"

It is significant that he uses no statistics, nor does he provide concrete details or examples, when making his class analysis.

Briefly, his "theory" on the role of classes in Africa is that "in the colonial countries the peasants alone are revolutionary" (p.48) while "the proletariat" is that section of the colonised population which has been "most pampered by the colonial regime" (p.88), which is "the most comfortable off fraction of the people" (p.98) and is therefore incapable of playing any significant role in the revolution.

In the urban areas, Fanon looks to the "core of the lumpen-proletariat" in whom he expects that "the rebellion will find its urban spearhead" (p.103).

Fanon provides no evidence to justify this "theory". He rests his case on eloquent argument.

If he had bothered to examine the important role played by the African working class—their numerous strikes and demonstrations in which hundreds were shot, killed or wounded, and thousands arrested and imprisoned—in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, in Ghana and Nigeria, in Guinea, Mali, Cameroun, Niger, and Senegal, in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, in Sudan and Zambia, in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa—he could never have concocted his "theory".

In most African territories the peasants who, after all, are the overwhelming majority of the population—have been the main support of the national struggle, but this has always been alongside the struggle of the working class which has been the most politically aware, acted as a pace-maker, and provided cadres and often leadership for the national movement as a whole.

It is important to note that

A review of Kwame Nkrumah's latest book, 'Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism' by EMILE BURNS, a well-known Marxist theoretician, first published in 'Marxism Today', The theoretical journal of The British Communist Party.

surging popular forces may still be hampered by colonialist legacies, "nonetheless they advance inexorably". And from this he draws his major conclusion that neo-colonialism

"is not a sign of imperialism's strength, but rather of its last hideous gasp. It testifies to its inability to rule any longer by old methods... This means that neo-colonialism can and will be defeated."

Dr. Nkrumah then outlines what has to be done to bring this about. In the first place, unity to defeat the neo-colonialist divide and rule; and all-union government for Africa; strengthening the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, and linking with it the liberation forces of Latin America.

To these must be added the support of the growing socialist sector of the world, and the liberation and anti-colonialist actions ("all too few yet growing") within the imperialist world itself.

This political programme of unity of all the advancing forces must be backed by national plans for independent development, an external conditions for which is non-alignment.

With the advance of science and technique, today there is no need for there to be rich and poor. Effective world pressure can change present conditions;

"but world pressure is not exercised by appeals, however eloquent, or by arguments, however convincing. It is only achieved by deeds... The danger to world peace springs not from the action of those who seek to end neo-colonialism but from the inaction of those who allow it to continue."

It is impossible for any review of *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* to bring out the full importance of Dr. Nkrumah's profound analysis of world developments from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, and the lessons drawn from both the national liberation forces of the world and the socialist and progressive movements in the imperialist countries.

It is not only an interpretation of the world of today; running through it all is Dr. Nkrumah's awareness that the job is to change that world, and his confidence in the ability of the people to make the change.

"For, when all is said and done, it is the so-called little man, the bent-backed, exploited, malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence who decides. And he invariably decides for freedom."

A work of feeling and passion

by Jack Woddis
(Writer on African Affairs)

The Wretched of the Earth by F. Fanon Published MacGibbon & Kee Ltd. 36/-

Debout les damnés de la terre. Debout les forçats de la jail.

(The first two lines of Eugene Pottier's original words for the song 'L'Internationale').

FRANTZ Fanon, who died in 1961, has already become something of a legend. A young psychiatric worker from Martinique, he threw in his lot with the F.L.N. in the struggle for the liberation of Algeria, but died of leukaemia at the early age of 36, on the very eve of Algeria's victory.

His writings have had a considerable influence among educated Africans, and equally, if not more so, among European intellectuals.

In Italy, for example a Frantz Fanon Centre has been established, which hold seminars on Fanon's work and ideas, and issues a regular journal, *Boletino di Note Informazioni e Documenti*.

In France, Fanon's writings have had wide currency, especially his main work, *Les Damnés de la Terre*, which appeared in 1963 with a special foreword by Jean-Paul Sartre. This book has now been published in England under the title *The Wretched of the Earth*.

Fanon's life, as shown by this remarkable book, was dominated by a burning hatred of colonial and racial oppression. No one can read a single page of Fanon without sensing the depth of his just feelings.

In vivid imagery, writing almost as if his nerve-ends were exposed, he attacks without mercy all those whom he regards as standing in the way of the liberation of the downtrodden millions of Africa.

It is doubtful if any writer has ever been able to depict so vividly and with such passion the feelings of an oppressed people in the face of their hated oppressor. Every barbed word against the colons of Algeria is equally an exposure of Smith and the white settlers of Rhodesia.

Fanon has many penetrating things to say, too, on the question of national culture and its relation to the national democratic revolution.

He writes devastating on the weaknesses of the African bourgeoisie, although he tends to lump together, without distinction, the comprador and

neither does he apparently recognise the long and consistent struggle of the French working people against their own Government's war in Algeria.

In view of his failure to make a correct appraisal of the forces making for Algerian liberation, it is not surprising that he fails to appreciate that it is the combination of the socialist world, the national liberation struggle (of the "third world", to use his term), and the international working class movement which guarantees, as Lenin so wisely forecast, that "the movement of the majority of the world's population, which at first is directed towards national liberation will turn against capitalism and imperialism and may play a much greater revolutionary role than we expect".

This total conception is increasingly being embraced by Africa's most outstanding leaders.

Those who wish to isolate Africa and Asia from their natural allies have attempted to utilise Fanon's work for this purpose. It is true that Fanon calls on the people of Africa to turn their backs on Europe, but there is no mistaking that it is capitalist Europe to which he really refers:

"Colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they withdrew their flags and their police forces from our territories. For centuries the capitalists have behaved in the underdeveloped world like nothing more than war criminals. Deportations, massacres, forced labour, and slavery have been the main methods used by capitalism to increase its wealth, its gold and diamond reserves, and to establish its power... In a very concrete way Europe has stuffed herself inordinately with the gold and raw materials of the colonial countries: Latin America, China and Africa. From all these continents, under whose eyes Europe today raises up her tower of opulence, there has flowed out for centuries towards that same Europe diamonds and oil, silk and cotton, wood and exotic products. Europe is literally the creation of the Third World. The wealth which smothered her is that which was stolen from the underdeveloped countries" (pp. 79-81).

Fanon's explanation tends to be oversimplified and his viewpoint is not always clear. But it is hard to believe that his intention was to isolate Africa from all that is progressive in the rest of the world. He as-

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Africa's most advanced national leaders estimate the role of the working class quite differently from Fanon.

Speaking of the Guinea tradition and working-class movement, Diallo Seydou has said: "Its role at every instant is political." Mamadou Keita has described the Mali working class as a "fundamental base" of the party. Kwame Nkrumah has made a similar assessment of the working class of Ghana. Other African leaders have made parallel appraisals.

Fanon's attempt to pose the African worker against the peasant, on the alleged grounds of the better material conditions enjoyed by the former, ignores the peculiarity of the class structure of Africa.

The overwhelming majority of African workers have been casual, unskilled migrants, who periodically return to the land to work as peasants.

A "worker-peasant" is a common type, the peasant taking up wage labour in order to help the rest of his peasant family whom he has left behind on the land.

MISUSED

His relatively higher wage is not to enrich himself but to assist the whole family. This is confirmed by T. M. Yesufu (*An Introduction to Industrial Relations in Nigeria*: 1962), as well as by the I.L.O. African Advisory Committee report on *Methods and Principles of Wage Regulations* (Tananarive, April 1962).

It is not without significance that Fanon's attempt to belittle the role of the African working class in the struggle for national independence, has been taken up and used by a whole number of bourgeois "experts" on Africa, especially in the United States (see, for example, the essay by Elliot J. Berg and Jeffrey Butler, in *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*, 1964).

Fanon, no doubt would have been shocked to find his writings being taken up and used by such apologists of capitalism; but life is a harsh teacher, and the logic of Fanon's argument here, whatever his intention, is to lead support to all those who wish to foster a stunted form of capitalism in Africa, and keep the working class in a subordinate position.

Attempts to minimise the role of the African working

class in the struggle for national liberation are part of the ideological and political struggle to keep the workers out of decisive positions of power and influence in the post-war independence period.

Fanon is correct in drawing to our attention the peculiar and important role played in Africa by the young, unemployed and most depressed sections of the urban population. Amílcar Cabral has noted the same phenomenon in Portuguese Guinea.

WHO WILL LEAD?

But Fanon goes further; he looks to all "the pimps, the hoodlums, the unemployed and petty criminals" (p. 104) to throw themselves "into the struggle for liberation like stout working men".

This criminal lumpenproletariat element, however, is a most dangerous and unreliable ally, and is certainly not to be regarded as "one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of the colonised people" (p. 103).

In fact, Fanon himself is forced to admit (p. 109) that in practice it has been the imperialists who have been able to make frequent use of the lumpenproletariat against the national struggle—and he cites here the very relevant examples of Algeria, Angola and Congo (Leopoldville).

Fanon's confusion on many essential points, has, unfortunately, resulted in his ideas being taken up and used in a distorted fashion by cold war warriors who ignore the main purpose of Fanon's work, and who fail to recognise (or wish to cast aside) the fact that Fanon hated not only colonialism and racialism; he equally detested capitalism, both that of the imperialist oppressor and equally that of his miserable imitator in Africa, for whom Fanon had nothing but the most withering contempt.

Fanon admittedly had a limited understanding of the real nature of the twentieth century. The important role played by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in assisting the Algerian people in their liberation struggle has been commented on by Ben Bella, as well as by Col. Boumedienne. The role of the socialist world appears to have been outside Fanon's cogi-

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Continued on page 5

Utilising Ghana's Land in the People's interests

by A. K. PUPLAMPU

(Minister of Lands)

THE problem of land utilisation is one which has been dealt with actively by the Government since the inauguration of the Republic.

This problem can be divided into three groups of matters: (a) utilisation of urban land; (b) utilisation of rural land; (c) utilisation of land, holding or containing such natural resources as timber or minerals, and of water.

Land problems in Ghana were not problems of re-distribution among land-hungry peasants or among urban

They were also those of bringing about a decrease in of land litigation.

It should also be pointed out that considerable areas of land (called stool land) are owned by groups of varied size—clans, extended families and so forth—and administered for their benefit by group-heads or chiefs.

These lands, unless alienated absolutely, were always regarded as having a public character; in large areas of the country the law prohibited absolute alienations.

A number of enactments were made after 1960. What

bandry or water conservancy, as the case may be.

This aims at controlling utilisation of natural resources and so at assuring their proper use in the public interest.

Secondly, important areas of stool-land were vested in the Republic in trust for the owners. In this way, whilst the owners remain entitled to a share of the revenue accruing therefrom, the State is exclusively entitled to make disposals of such land, and no absolute disposals (similarly as with regard to natural resources) are made.

By this method the State

has two main aspects: utilisation of uncultivated land and utilisation of cultivated land.

As regards the first, proper utilisation is being assured mainly by allocation of stool land to public farming projects, such as to the State Farms Corporation, to the Workers' Brigade, to Young Farmers Settlement Farms, to the Sugar Products Corporation etc.

Control of the utilisation of cultivated land is mainly within the sphere of extension services, but powers of control of land transactions assure that land is not transferred for improper use.

Proper utilisation of natural resources is also a responsibility of the authorities charged with the supervision of the technical aspect of exploitation or of husbandry.

But again, exclusive rights of disposal by the Republic, and powers of control of sub-trans-

actions are being assured by a special tribunal as regards the amount of compensation.

Selection of land (whether so expropriated and called State land, or of stool-land previously referred to) for a public project is in the hands of special official Site Advisory Committees, the findings of which must be approved by the Minister responsible for Lands.

This assures correct utilisation of land through competent officials giving considered technical advice properly balanced and in the interest of the State.

Where long-term projects of development operate, as for instance in Accra/Tema and in other cities, these committees are permanently established to secure speedy disposal of cases.

The State also possesses the power of declaring land to be subject to statutory law where linear projects are con-



The State has special powers in respect of land needed for cables and pipelines.

dwellers anxious to build, or of large colonial plantations or of large foreign-owned urban holdings.

Our problems were rather those of the imposition of adequate controls over land in the interest of its proper utilisation and of ownership and natural resources, such as minerals, timber, and water.

They were also those of assuring certainty of title to holders of land in the interests of assurance of credit, and of the modernisation of methods of transfers.

are their main features?

First, all minerals, all the forests, and all water in the country were nationalized, and so put directly under the control of the State, although the previous owners remain entitled to a percentage (roughly speaking a one-third share) of the revenue.

Disposal of natural resources is therefore now in the hands of the Republic, and no disposals are made unless the purpose is agreed to by the Minister responsible for minerals exploitation, forest hus-

controls utilisation of land by expressly including into leases or licences conditions governing the use of land.

Thirdly, the law has established the principle of control by the State of transactions affecting the remaining stool-land, by requiring the consent of the Republic to transactions with persons who are not members of the group owning the land—that is, with persons other than co-owners.

This ensures that the purpose of the transaction is examined in the light of the proper utilisation of the land.

Furthermore, means to ensure the correct utilisation of land are contained in the Town and Country planning legislation, the administration of which is the responsibility of the Minister responsible for lands.

So much for the general framework. It should be borne in mind that I do not here discuss all the existing powers of technical control exercised within the framework of forest conservancy, mining supervision, water conservancy, agricultural husbandry, soil conservation, etc.

These present a separate, complex of problems, better dealt with elsewhere.

To return to the three groups of matters mentioned at the beginning. First, utilisation of urban land. Urban land is to a great extent vested in the State either directly or in trust for stools. This facilitates its proper utilisation.

There are two methods. One is the proper planning of the use of land allocated to public bodies, or directly leased to individual holders, or allocated for housing or industrial development.

The other is represented by measures taken by way of powers of zoning and control in the Town and Country planning legislation.

Utilisation of rural land has

THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING

sactions exercised by the Minister responsible for lands assure that land containing minerals, timber-land, or water is not improperly utilized.

An appropriate balance is being maintained between powers of the State affecting proprietary rights and plans for the use of land, and its powers of technical control over husbandry or exploitation. Thus, the law assures the existence of cross-checks as regards the disposal and use of land generally, and of natural resources and of public land—that is, of public property specifically—all in the interests of the development of the State and to the benefit of the People.

There are some further points which deserve mention. The state possesses powers of expropriation of any private land required for a public project.

Such expropriation cannot be contended, but compensation is paid and the previous owner has a redress to a judi-

cerned, such as railways, cables, pipelines, canals, roads etc.

As such declarations cannot be contended except as regards the amount of compensation, the State has in this way the power to ensure the proper utilisation of land for public utilities.

Proper utilisation of land requires control, and control must be based on records. The keeping of land records is, therefore, of major importance. Plan records and index records are being kept and are available to officials and members of the public.

The maintenance of these records is a further medium of assistance in proper utilisation of the land, because in conjunction with the law which makes now unregistered land dealings ineffective, improper use of land can be prevented or eliminated, by assuring certainty of title and in consequence facilitating credit where it may be needed in order properly to utilize land.

Land litigation is also being minimized, particularly as the law now provides that boundary disputes between stools are dealt with by the State by way of final ministerial decision. The State also has powers to intervene in Court proceedings which affect stool-land, to take such proceedings out of Court, and to settle the dispute.

This again helps the utilisation of land; because land required for development, and which development is being hampered by a litigation, can be made readily available by use of the power of intervention.

Land is a basic workshop of production; a basic element in development, and a basic facility for construction. Basic workshops of production, basic elements in development, and basic facilities for construction must, in a modern economic and social organisation which strives to produce for the benefit of the people, to be under public control.

Public control is exercised on behalf of the people. It is, therefore, the people on whose behalf control over land is exercised; and such exercise must be to their benefit.

Such controls are ever so much more necessary, where the demands for economic development require proper utilisation of a workshop, that is in this case of land, to prevent the creation of deterring trends through haphazard or sporadic efforts.

The statutory methods of land transfers by the Republic were based mainly on pre-1874 English conveyancing laws, which are obviously both antiquated and unsuitable to conditions prevailing in this country.

The methods of these transfers have now been modernized

and simplified when projects are affected, which involve large number of persons, in the case of schemes of land reclamation, of resettlement or settlement, of planned housing development, of irrigation, of planned agricultural development, or of slum clearance.

Out-dated land transfer laws affect proper utilisation of land, because they include complicated and lengthy procedures, which may cause delays in the implementation of correct utilisation of land.

The new public conveyancing law aims at assisting the correct utilisation of land by simplification of procedure.

This brings us to the end of this limited and general exposition of land utilisation in Ghana to-day.

Correct utilisation of land must be in the interest of the people. This can be assured to-day by control by the State of the utilisation of land. Such control is on the one hand of a technical nature as regards husbandry, or exploitation which could not be dealt with here.

But, on the other hand, such control is exercised to-day by measures within the ambit of proprietary relations and of planning of the use of land.

These measures consist of the State, acting on behalf of the people, assuming direct proprietary powers over land and natural resources, or assuming powers of indirect control over land by exercise of powers to grant or to refuse consent to transactions and by seeing to it that they are properly made, or preparing plans of urban or rural use of land and controlling their implementation.

The law of the Republic of Ghana has been shaped to permit this.

Marxist - Leninist Theory

(Continued from page 4)

serts without equivocation: "The Cold War must be ended, for it leads nowhere" (p. 83).

He calls for a great effort to "rehabilitate mankind and make man victorious everywhere" and adds that this task "will be carried out with the indispensable help of the European peoples, who themselves must realise that in the past they have often joined the ranks of our common masters" where colonial questions were concerned.

To achieve this, the European people must "first decide to wake up and shake themselves, use their brains, and stop playing the stupid game of the sleeping Beauty". No one who was anti-European could have displayed such genuine concern for the real fate and future of Europe.

Fanon died a young man. He was cut off in the midst of

his development. He had witnessed the results of appalling tortures and massacres, a glimpse of which we see in that section of the book in which Fanon describes a number of his psychiatric case histories.

It would be remarkable if Fanon did not write with bitterness, or develop his ideas with a certain exaggeration. But there was more to his outlook than hatred of oppression and racialism. Was it an accident that for the title of his book he chose the phrase of "L'Internationale", the anthem of the international working class which ends with the words: "L'Internationale sera le genre humain"?

It was the fate of the "human race" which was really at the core of all Fanon's thinking. And when the political inadequacies of his book have been forgotten, the noble struggle against colonialism to which he devoted his life will still be remembered.



The proper utilisation of rural land is being assured mainly by the allocation of stool land to public farming projects, such as the State Farms Corporation, the Workers' Brigade, Young Farmers' settlement farms and Sugar Products Corporation.

IMPORT POLICY—1966

(continued from page 1)

decision-taking where the strictest control, objectivity and patriotism are needed. If we cannot achieve this high degree of control, then payments crises will remain a permanent feature of our economic life. And the weaker our payments position becomes, the harsher will be the terms on which foreign

assistance can be obtained.

What then should be the criteria to guide our imports policy?

The basic objective should be a favourable balance of payments (at least the avoidance of unfavourable balances) with each trading area. This means that both visible and invisible trade must be taken into account.

We shall illustrate our point with the case of the Sterling Area.

Our visible trade with this area has experienced a recurrent deficit—£12.2m. in 1960, £20.6m. in 1961, £4.9m. in 1962, £18.2m. in 1963, and £13m. in 1964). In addition to these visible trade figures, the position with invisible trade must be taken into account. We have to consider our payments position with the Sterling Area as regards the following items—freight, insurance, general transportation, investment income, loans servicing and remittances on personal emoluments.

The level of imports from the Sterling Area in 1966, according to this view, will then be set by the level of exports to the area less committed payments on invisible transactions (freight, insurance, general transportation, investment income, loans servicing and remittances on personal emoluments).

1964 DATA

By available 1964 data, we sold some £30m. worth of goods in the Sterling Area. This figure should then become the ceiling of payments into the Area. From this must be deducted all invisible payments on items enumerated above. These come to roughly £22m. in the year. The difference between total exports into the area and committed payments into the area will now be £8m. (£30m. less £22m). And this £8m. therefore represents the value of imports that should come in from the Sterling Area.

This exercise should be repeated for all trading areas—dollar, socialist countries, Japan, European Economic Community, and African countries outside sterling Area.

Two modifications could be allowed for. In the first place, we must keep a favourable balance with

income, loans remittances to build up our reserves. Secondly, the convertible currency areas—Sterling Area and European Economic Community—could be grouped together as one trading area for the purposes of the sort of calculation advocated here.

When these payments balances have been worked out for each trading area, the Ministry of Trade would be in a position to allocate import licences to all importing agencies in the light of such balances. It can now direct each importing agency as to areas from which it can import.

There is one point that deserves close study. Because of the need to get spares and certain new equipments from the West, we have to keep up a certain level of exports to the western markets. This makes it impossible to export as much as may be desirable into the socialist markets. To give us some elbow room, the socialist countries could allow us a generous margin of trade credits on our annual operations. That is to say, for the next five years or so, our bilateral trade agreements with these areas should allow us to import more by value from these areas than we export. After five years the reverse will be the case (more exports than imports), and the trade credits will be paid off by this increased volume of our exports to these markets.

"SWING CREDIT"

At the moment these "swing credits" do exist. Our need is for an expansion of such credits. If these credits could reach a level of about £20m. a year for the socialist countries taken together, our current trade problems could be fully met.

Let us now briefly touch on the second category of problems, viz. the administration of import licences.

The first observation to be made here is that the state control over import trade will be weakened in 1966. This is clearly an anti-socialist trend.

During 1965, the GNTC (representing the state sector) handled £39.1m. worth of imports of consumer goods, that is 40.8 per cent of all consumer imports. The big foreign firms taken together handled about 20.5 per cent; while "others" (small Ghanaian and Lebanese traders) took 38.7 per cent of this trade.

CONSUMER IMPORTS

For 1966, GNTC quota stands at 40 per cent of total imports. The value of this, in terms of the planned £30m expenditures on consumer imports, comes to £12m. This means that GNTC scale of operation will drop from £39.1m. to less than one third, £12m. It is true that GNTC's executive capacity is below its scale of operation. But no one would put this as low as one-third of its 1965 scale of operation. The result of the new arrangements is that the GNTC will carry much overhead costs in 1966 (since, as a state corporation, it will not find it easy to adopt a policy of retrenchment). GNTC is likely to end 1966 with much reduced profits or even with a loss.

The U.A.C. on the other hand is raising its share of the consumer import trade from 5.7 per cent in 1965 to 12 per cent in 1966. In terms of value this U.A.C. trade drops from £5.4m in 1965 to £3.8m. in 1966. This represents a drop of 30 per cent compared to GNTC's drop of 69 per cent. Surely, the worst any socialist could expect is a proportional scale down for all agencies engaged in the import trade. A more appropriate socialist stand, however, would be to reduce the share of the

private sector while maintaining that of the state sector.

In his end of September press conference last year, the Minister of Trade made this statement: "Control of stock is the basis of efficient, economic handling of goods in every field of commerce. It is from leakage of stock after entry into Ghana that the black market is supplied". This is a correct assessment. And the general public expects that import licences would be allocated in a way to help solve this problem. Just when we expect the strengthening of state control over imports, the share of private foreign firms has gone up from 20.5 per cent in 1965 to 35 per cent in 1966. To increase the share of private foreign firms while cutting down on that of the state agency is to further weaken the position of the state in coping with the vital problem of "control of stocks".

It might be argued that the increased share of the private foreign firms in import trade during 1966 will be achieved at the expense of the small Ghanaian and Lebanese importers (classified statistically as "others") and not at the expense of the state agency (GNTC).

PRIVATE ENTERPRISES

This is neither a socialist nor even a patriotic policy. If government wants private enterprises in foreign trade, then the first consideration must go to Ghanaians. If these private small importers are to be squeezed out (from 38.7 per cent of import trade in 1965 to only 12 per cent in 1966), then what is lost by them should go to the state agency and not to the big foreign firms. Strengthening the big foreign firms in this way can only lead to the strengthening of imperialist forces in our commercial system. And this is absolutely indefensible within a socialist context.

Another consideration is

that the rules for operating import licences are not foolproof as regards possible shortages. Indeed the reverse is likely to be the case. The nation will be more at the mercy of the big foreign firms in 1966 than in 1965.

To quote the Minister of Trade again, "licences issued for the import of consumer goods will lapse after four months from the date of issue if orders in respect of these licences have not been placed". This means that licences issued in January will lapse in May, if orders are not placed by then. Now we know that it might take upwards of six weeks for orders to be met and delivered in Ghana. This means that delays of up to six months—from issue of licences to arrival of the goods in Ghana—will be quite normal and acceptable under the new scheme.

The public would expect licences to lapse if after two to three months the goods have not arrived in the country.

The habit in the past has been to explain away trade difficulties by insinuating that our problems arise from trading with the socialist countries. This of course is wrong. The socialist countries have been of tremendous help to our trade. They allow us the 'swing credits'—a margin in excess of what is agreed in the bilateral agreement; they take a fair share of our cocoa and even make part payment for this in convertible currency, like sterling. Now they have agreed to take a fixed quantity of our cocoa every year and at a fixed price. My point here is that it will be dishonest and quite deplorable to continue to insinuate that our trading problems come from transactions with the socialist countries.

If we run into these crises again in the future, our imports policy for 1966 would be responsible for it all. And we can blame no one but ourselves.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 1)

This is not a new idea—indeed, it is one of the basic principles of our economic policy.

Most people understand this and have accepted it. They are bewildered to see the presence in the shops of quite unnecessary luxury goods in quantities, which use up foreign exchange, when we are needing other things like spare parts and new machines and raw materials.

Our economic and trade policy cannot be based on supplying the demands of a small well-off section of the community. It is the better-off who can afford to make the biggest sacrifices.

To pander to the rather vocal section, is to encourage the backward looking conservative trends in our national life which still hang over from colonial days. Our trade policy like any other policy fits in to the general plan of rebuilding our economy on socialist lines. It is not necessarily a painless process but it is a necessary and worthwhile one.

No more Appeasement

THE Lagos Commonwealth Conference was conceived because the Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity had at Addis Ababa called upon member-states to sever relations with Britain if she did not take effective action to oust the Smith regime by December 15th.

It was designed to sabotage the implementation of this recommendation by African Commonwealth countries, and to provide a new pretext for the waverers to go on wavering.

Mr. Wilson seized upon it as an opportunity to win new support for his attempts to head off effective action by the African countries, and to ensure that any moves taken against Smith remain strictly under British control.

"The sanctions are working, everything is going fine—just leave it to Britain" was his plea at Lagos.

This plea must be rejected because Mr. Wilson has made it clear that his aims in Rhodesia are not those of Africa.

Mr. Wilson does not want to see an immediate end to white domination; he does not want to see the immediate implementation of the elementary democratic principle of one man, one vote. He is ready to do a deal either with Mr. Smith or some other more "acceptable," more "moderate" racist on the basis of the 1961 Constitution—a Constitution designed to perpetuate white domination and condemned by Mr. Wilson's own party when it was in opposition.

Even while Mr. Wilson was putting on his act in Lagos, British M.P.s from the three major parties were making so-called "private" visits to Salisbury, and influential British publications like the "Economist" were calling for talks with Smith.

No African state, Commonwealth or otherwise, which is true to itself and to our four million brothers in Zimbabwe, can permit such a shameful sell-out.

We reject Mr. Wilson's argument that Africa can find neither the forces to take effective action to oust Smith nor the means to transport them.

We likewise reject his hypocritical references to the suffering that effective action to overthrow the racist regime might cause.

Our four million brothers in Zimbabwe are already suffering under the yoke of the racist regime; if that regime is not overthrown, this yoke will become still heavier and the suffering still greater.

Furthermore, the existence of a racist regime in Rhodesia, in unholy alliance with Verwoerd and the Portuguese colonialists, constitutes a threat to peace on our continent. The longer it remains, the greater this threat becomes, and the more catastrophic will be the ultimate and inevitable clash.

Therefore there must be no more appeasement. The Smith regime must go—and go now. It is through united action by the African states themselves, working through the Organisation of African Unity and on behalf of the United Nations, that the freedom of Zimbabwe must be won and the security of our continent assured.

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