

KWAME
NKRUMAH'S
NEW YEAR
MESSAGE
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THE SPARK



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An open letter to the West German Ambassador

Don't Expect Us to share Your Delusions!

EDITORIALS

Positive Action Day

THE nation this week remembers the launching of Positive Action, one of the most powerful developments in the struggle for our National Independence.

Kwame Nkrumah explained Positive Action as "the application of constitutional and legitimate means to cripple the imperialist forces in the country."

The launching of this stage of the struggle meant the mass mobilisation of the people, the effort to win every man woman and young person to devote himself to the fight for freedom.

That fight was won precisely because the Party succeeded in canalising the creative energies of the people, in releasing and unifying their energy and resourcefulness to win their liberation.

Positive Action Day is not intended to be a day of remembrance. It is intended to remind us of the important political lessons which emerge from our own recent past.

The significance of Positive Action Day lies in the fact that it should spur us on to the building of socialism, by the same means we used to win Independence, namely the fullest mobilisation of every individual in the land.

Now we are working to ensure our independence in the only way possible, the achievement of socialism. Positive Action is the means whereby we shall succeed.

The Alternative Course

IN HIS New Year Message, Kwame Nkrumah once again spotlighted the need for "an exploration of the alternative course, namely co-operation, upon a new basis, between the developed and the developing countries."

For despite all the widely-publicised "aid" programmes, the harsh facts remain: the majority of the people of the world do not get enough to eat, and the gap between the rich and poor nations has grown, is growing and, unless there is a change, will continue to grow.

Why is this?

The first reason is that much of what is described as "aid" and cited as proof of the "generosity" of the developed countries is not given but lent—and lent at commercial rates of interest. Many developing countries now have to borrow simply to pay off the interest on old loans.

When taken in conjunction with the fact that much of this type of "aid" must be spent to buy goods produced by the lender-country, it will be seen that the lender-country gains both the interest on the loan and the profit on the goods it sells.

Again, a great deal of what is termed "aid" is military in character, and has nothing in common with the aim of promoting the economic advancement of the recipient.

For example, figures published two years ago for British "economic aid" during the twelve years 1951-63 included military expenditure in Aden, Cyprus, British Guiana and North Borneo, as well as special

YOUR Excellency,

According to diplomatic usage, an Ambassador is immune from personal criticism in the country to which he is accredited. We take the liberty of addressing this Open Letter to you solely because we believe you have forfeited your right to this immunity by your own violations of diplomatic usage.

It is, for example, customary for an Ambassador to refrain from attacks upon third countries with which his host-country has friendly relations.

But you, in "The Bridge", the bulletin published by your Embassy, persist in making attacks upon the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe with which Ghana has cordial relations.

We respectfully suggest, Your Excellency, that it would be more in keeping with your diplomatic status if you were to refrain.

It is also customary for an Ambassador to refrain from claiming to represent something which he does not represent.

But you persist in describing yourself as the "German" Ambassador, while your bulletin claims to be published by the "German" Embassy in Accra.

But you are not the "German" Ambassador, nor is your Embassy the "German" Embassy. You are the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, and your Embassy is the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Were this just a matter of words, it would be unworthy of mention. But as you, Your Excellency, are very well aware, it is not just a matter of words.

By describing yourself as the "German" Ambassador and your Embassy as the "German" Embassy, you are arrogating to yourself the right to speak for the whole of Germany—a claim which you cannot claim and which we are sure is not inscribed in your letters of accreditation, however much you and your masters in Bonn would like it to be.

not, there are now two German states: the German Federal Republic which you represent, and the German Democratic Republic, which you most certainly do not represent.

You may pretend that the German Democratic Republic does not exist (though we often wonder why you expend so much energy attacking something which you say does not exist). Please do not expect us to share your delusions.

And for your own sake please remember that such delusions can be dangerous, as we saw last year when your country suffered a diplomatic debacle in the Middle East following the visit to the United Arab Republic of Walter Ulbricht, the G.D.R.'s Head of State.

In a recent issue of your bulletin, you reject the charge that West Germany seeks revenge; you protest against what you term the "misinterpreting" of your demand to "free" the German Democratic Republic.

But your government's refusal to recognise the post-war frontiers of Germany, and its circulation of maps depicting the German frontiers as they were in the days of Hitler (such maps have been circulated here in Ghana) is in itself evidence of a desire for revenge while your own arrogant insistence on your self-bestowed "right" to speak for the whole of Germany is a clear demonstration of just what you and the government which you represent mean when you talk of "freeing" the G.D.R.

You want to see the socialist German Democratic Republic, where the means of production, distribution and exchange are the property of the people as a whole and where for the first time in the history of Germany political power is in the hands of the workers and farmers, swallowed up by the Federal Republic, where economic and political power is in the hands of the trusts and combines which backed Hitler.

While objecting to the use of weapons supplied by N.A.T.O. to overthrow the Smith regime, Portugal against the freedom movement in the Portuguese-dominated territories of Africa.

Nor did N.A.T.O. object when France used weapons which it had supplied against the Algerian liberation movement.

chosen the socialist road ourselves, naturally feel a bond of sympathy with that German state which has taken the same road and which, furthermore, has completely renounced the German imperialism of which Africa has such bitter memories.

In a recent issue of "The Bridge" you refer to what you term "the neo-colonialism in East Germany". We are surprised that an Ambassador accredited to Ghana should show such ignorance of what constitutes neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism means the exploitation of the developing countries by the big monopolies. In the Socialist German Democratic Republic there are no big monopolies, therefore there can be no neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism also means the use of foreign investment and so-called "aid" to influence the policy of the developing countries. The socialist

German Democratic Republic has no foreign investments, and its economic co-operation with the developing countries is based on the principles of mutual advantage and equality.

It is the neo-colonialist Federal Republic which seeks to use its foreign investments and "aid" as a means of influencing the policies of the developing countries, as we have seen in the case of the United Arab Republic and Tanzania.

We also find your description of Federal Germany as "a small military power equipped only with conventional arms" singularly unconvincing.

West Germany is today one of the major military powers of Western Europe, while West German officers—many of them ex-Nazis guilty of the most monstrous war crimes—hold the key posts in N.A.T.O., the western military alliance.

This fact, especially when coupled with your government's refusal to recognise Germany's post-war frontiers, its talk of "freeing" the G.D.R. and its open encouragement of revenge-seeking aspirations, particularly among so-called "refugee" organisations, gives cause for grave concern.

Likewise your plea that West Germany has renounced the production of atomic weapons is unconvincing. What West Germany renounced was not atomic weapons, but their manufacture on her own territory.

But, Your Excellency, your own chief, the West German Foreign Minister, Dr. Schröder, only last summer made it clear that to manufacture atomic weapons on one's own territory is not the only way of getting them.

He stated that unless West Germany's demands for a finger on the West's nuclear trigger are met, West Germany may have to "acquire" such weapons for herself.

"The Bridge" has reported that the Federal Republic will not recognise the Smith regime in Rhodesia. It is welcome news—but we would like to know what your government propose to do about the West German mercenaries who are going to Rhodesia to fight for Smith.

According to the Bonn correspondent of the London Daily Mirror (20.12.65):

"Tough German mercenaries who fought in the Congo are moving into Rhodesia. This was disclosed today by Major Siegfried Muller, 45-year-old leader of the 'kill at sight' Germans who fought the Simba rebels in the Congo last year... At the moment, he said, an advance party of sixty men was already in Rhodesia."

"The Bridge" has also reported that the West German Department of Economic Affairs has refused to allow the export of revolvers to South-West Africa.

By publishing such an item you apparently wish to create the impression that West Germany is making its contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

Frankly, Your Excellency, it would be a great deal more convincing if we did not already know that West German scientists are co-operating with the Verwoerd regime in atomic and rocket research which, we are sure you will agree, is a great deal more lethal than a few revolvers.

Furthermore, it would be a great deal more convincing if we did not know that West German trade and investment in South Africa is growing rapidly more rapidly than that of almost any other country—and helping the Verwoerd regime to create its own arms industry, so that it can make not only its own revolvers but also other, much more dangerous weapons.

Your bulletin, both from the point of view of its appearance and from the point of view of its contents, gives the impression that you believe anything will do for Africans—inferior production, inferior arguments couched in inferior English.

But, of course, we sympathise with you: it is no easy job to build bridges of understanding with Africa on behalf of a neo-colonialist, revenge-seeking state which sympathises with Smith and aids Verwoerd.

NATO Pressure

FOLLOWING discussions at North Atlantic Treaty Organisation headquarters, N.A.T.O. diplomats are attempting to put pressure on African states to prevent military action against the Smith regime.

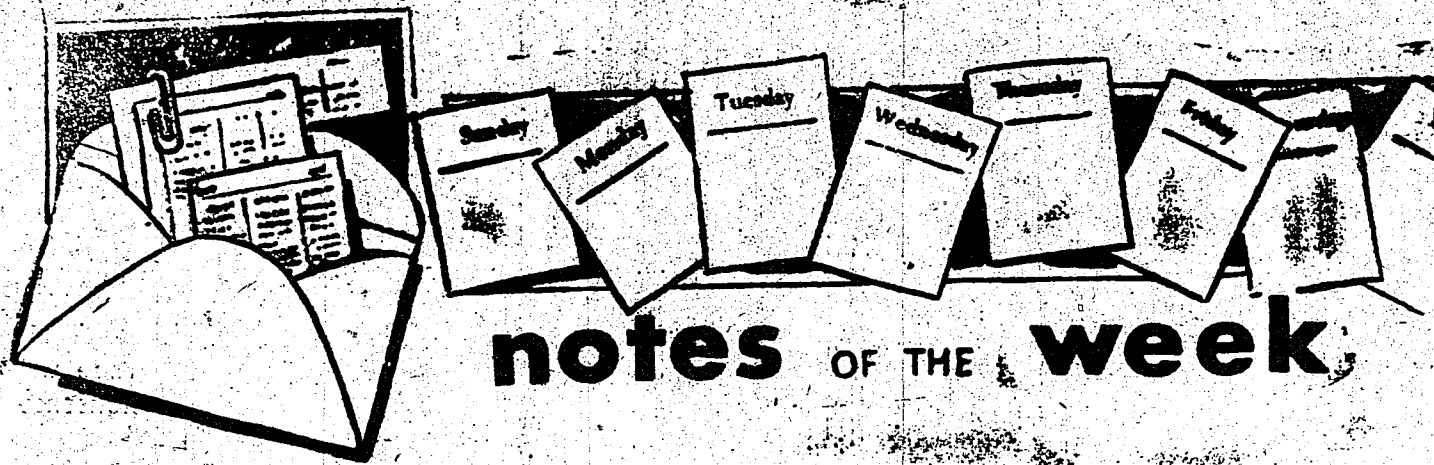
According to reports from Addis Ababa the U.S. Ambassador has indicated that Washington would strongly object to Ethiopia being used to overthrow the Smith regime.

Similar approaches are said to have been made by representatives of N.A.T.O. countries to other members of the Organisation of African Unity.

N.A.T.O. is thus backing Britain in its attempts to head off effective action to secure the speedy overthrow of the Smith regime.

While objecting to the use of weapons supplied by N.A.T.O. to overthrow the Smith regime, Portugal against the freedom movement in the Portuguese-dominated territories of Africa.

Nor did N.A.T.O. object when France used weapons which it had supplied against the Algerian liberation movement.



DIPLOMATIC activity is rising to a frenzy as President Johnson's representatives rush from capital to capital as part of the U.S. effort to convince the world that they want peace in Vietnam. Similar moves in the past have unfortunately been the preludes to yet further intensification of the war and it would be the height of folly to believe that this could not happen again.

In response to the appeal of The Pope, for peace in Vietnam the President of the North Vietnam Government has issued a statement which lays down four points for peace. The four conditions include the demand for the ending of the bombing of North Vietnam, the withdrawal of American troops, the recognition of the right to self-determination, and the peaceful reunification of North and South Vietnam. He drew attention to the basic cause

of the war and the reason for American aggression when he declared 'genuine peace is inseparable from genuine national independence. The aggression by the American imperialists against Vietnam is the deep origin and direct cause of the present war'.

The 1954 Geneva Agreement explicitly treated Vietnam as one single sovereign territory. One of its most important provisions was that there should be no troops of any foreign power on Vietnamese soil. The United States refused to sign the agreement but Britain who acted with the Soviet Union as Co-Chairman of the Conference, has never taken the slightest action to bring pressure on her ally, the U.S.A. to respect this condition.

It was merely as a passing recognition of this latter condition that the first American troops to be sent into Vietnam were called 'advisers'. Now

with 250,000 Americans fighting there are more advisers, than advised.

While Johnson sends round his circus, he is at the same time known to be making preparations for another special force of 150,000 men to be furnished to be sent out to the war.

One of the reasons why the United States cannot go to the Conference table lies right at the heart of its big lie about South Vietnam. The American fiction is that South Vietnam has been attacked by the North and that American troops or advisers are fighting there to protect the South from aggression. For this reason, the National Liberation Front, which is an alliance of a wide range of organisations of the South Vietnamese people, ranging from Communists to Buddhists and Roman Catholics, is treated by the Americans for publicity purposes, as the North Vietnamese army.

While the United States keeps up this pretence of North Vietnamese aggression, and denies the fact that the people of South Vietnam have risen up against U.S. domination and puppet regimes, it cannot logically get round the Conference table without exposing the lie on which its own aggression is based.

It will be impossible to negotiate a peace unless the representatives of the National Liberation Front, the force against which the Americans are actually now engaged in military action, are at the Conference table.

A Meeting of Hope

THE meeting in Tashkent between President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and President Shastri of India is a most welcome event. The meeting has great significance for the whole of the anti-imperialist movement. First it represents an attempt to reach a peaceful settlement of a most serious source of tension between the two states, by negotiation. The second factor of importance is the initiative shown by the Soviet Union in offering the meeting place and her services as mediator.

Many newly independent states find that the terms of their independence often embody conditions which hold considerable dangers for future stability.

The settlement by which India and Pakistan won their independence was characteristic of this kind of imperialist manoeuvre. By refusing to settle the Kashmir problem Britain ensured that the roots of differences and hostility between the two new states would be deeply implanted.

The imperialist powers have never really accepted the fact of independence in the Indian sub-continent and have constantly tried to embroil Pakistan and India at different times in their aggressive military plans and organisations in Asia. The hostility between the two countries has been their opportunity to try and extend their influence and drive a wedge deeper while leaving the problem of the Kashmir peoples unsettled.

All anti-imperialists looked on with dismay while open hostilities broke out between the two states. At this period when United States aggressiveness and British treachery are more openly displayed, any divisions in the anti-imperialist camp can only assist reaction and hold back the struggle on a world scale.

The Soviet Union's offer to mediate is a signal, example of the influence of a great socialist power carrying out its characteristic policy of peace and friendship. The socialist

principles of peaceful co-existence between states of differing social systems requires that any sources of tension should be dealt with as quickly as possible.

While the imperialists manoeuvre and exacerbate the situation, the Soviet Union fulfils its socialist duty by trying to bring them together. In the face of the obvious dangers of war, to the two states themselves and to world peace in general, it will surely be possible with this disinterested and fraternal assistance for the two leaders to come to an agreement.

The tone of President Shastri's statements before the opening of the Conference have not been optimistic but we trust that his own direct experiences in the negotiations will lead to real understanding and the will to succeed.

The imperialist powers, for whom Asia has been an important sphere of influence will of course try to do all they can to prevent the meeting being a success, but we are convinced that there is no irreconcilable antagonism between these two states and that given the protective umbrella of Soviet diplomacy they will be able to find a solution.

It is particularly fitting that the meeting should take place in Uzbekistan. This Socialist Republic was itself once an oppressed poverty-stricken colony of the Tsars. Now it is a thriving modern socialist state part of the great peaceful and fraternal family of nations that constitutes the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The meeting now taking place can help to bring about closer fraternal relations between India and Pakistan, as well as strengthening the ties between them and the Soviet Union itself.

The success of the meeting will bring a great wave of encouragement and strength to the world anti-imperialist movement. The thoughts of millions of people turn to it as a source of hope and inspiration.

DECEMBER 18:

GHANA: President Nkrumah, General Secretary of the Party stressed the erroneous conception of the abstract term "African Socialism" pointing out that there is nothing of that sort.

CONGO (Leopoldville): President Joseph Mobutu of Congo (Leopoldville) has signed a decree empowering military courts to try cases of corruption and misappropriation of state property.

MOROCCO: King Hassan II of Morocco has announced compulsory military service for men aged between 18-25 with effect from next year.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The British Government today announced its decision to apply an oil embargo against Rhodesia's breakaway settler regime. The embargo came into effect immediately after an Order-in-Council was made in London.

DECEMBER 19:

ALGERIA: Algeria has broken relations with Britain, in accordance with the resolution of the Organisation of African Unity, the Algerian Foreign Ministry announced in Algiers today.

SUDAN: Prime Minister of Sudan Mohamed Mahgoub today called for an ad hoc O.A.U. Ministerial meeting to press other member-states to break relations with Britain.

ZAMBIA: Mr. Kapwepwe, Zambian Foreign Minister, who arrived in London today at the head of a delegation of Zambian officials for talks on the Rhodesian crisis with the British Government declared that "we have come to tell the British Government that the Rhodesian situation is much more serious than it has been in the past. We have found force unavoidable now."

DECEMBER 20:

GHANA: The National Assembly today unanimously called for the establishment of an African Continental Parliamentary Association to forge strong and lasting links between African States.

* The Nigerian Federal Information Minister, Chief Ayo Rosiji, today called on all Africans to work in the spirit of brotherliness and fight in concert for the Unity of the African continent.

MALAGASY: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Malagasy President Philibert Tsira-

nana have in a joint communique signed at the end of the Emperor's visit to Malagasy reaffirmed their faith in the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

ZAMBIA: Long queues of motorists lined up at petrol stations as Zambia prepared to face a shortage following Rhodesia's cessation of supplies.

DECEMBER 21:

GHANA: The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey, today denied as completely untrue, a statement made last Monday in the British House of Commons by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Michael Stewart, that Ghana is still buying tobacco from Southern Rhodesia.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The British Premier, Mr. Harold Wilson, has hinted that Britain might consider a blockade of South Africa to ensure that neighbours of the Southern Rhodesian rebel regime do not frustrate the international oil embargo on Rhodesia.

DECEMBER 22:

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has branded the Rhodesian breakaway rebel leaders as "pocket Hitlers" and warned, "they will perish likewise."

NIGERIA: President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria has stated that Britain should have used force to quell the Southern Rhodesian minority rebel regime as she has done in Aden and Cyprus.

ZAMBIA: The Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, said today that the British Government is now seeing the need to use force in Rhodesia as a final resort.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: More states are supporting the majority in Rhodesia by declaring sanctions against the oppressive rebel regime.

LIBYA: Libya's Crown Prince Hassan Rida Senussi and Prime Minister, Mr. Hussein Mazik, attended a military parade in Tripoli to mark the 14th anniversary of the country's independence.

DAHOMY: General Christophe Soglo, Commander-in-Chief of the Dahomey Armed Forces, today dissolved the Dahomey National Assembly, all political parties, municipal and district councils and took over power in the country.

GHANA: A Ghanaian delegate to the United Nations Third

text Committee has expressed President Nkrumah's conviction that if honest and enduring relationships between men of different races and ethnic origins come, they must be preceded by the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

DECEMBER 23:

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has warned that his Government would take counter-action if the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia maintained its recent royalty increases on coal for Zambia.

GHANA: President Nkrumah has assured President Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam that in the struggle for the total liberation of Vietnamese people "you may count on the fullest support of the Government of Ghana."

SIERRA-LEONE: The Sierra Leone Parliament has approved a private members' motion calling on the Government to give serious consideration for a one-party system of Government.

ZAMBIA: A Zambian delegation began talks in Moscow today with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko.

CONGO (Leopoldville): A Presidential decree was today signed by General Mobutu, slashing all rents throughout the country.

DECEMBER 24:

KENYA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia is due to leave Nairobi by air today for his four-day state official visit to Ivory Coast.

SUDAN: The Sudanese Interior Ministry ordered all Eritrean (Ethiopian) refugees to leave Sudan next Monday. No explanation for the order was given.

ETHIOPIA: The O.A.U. Secretary-General, Mr. Diallo Telli, has stated that the proposal by Emperor Selassie to President Kenyatta and Prime Minister Obote to convene urgently an extra-ordinary conference of African leaders on Rhodesia, has been circulated.

DAHOMY: General Soglo who took over complete control of the country last Wednesday in a bloodless coup today announced a new government with himself as head of State.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Zambia Finance Minister, Mr. Arthur Wina, today discussed the Rhodesian crisis with Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin.

* Britain's Governor of Rhodesia Sir Humphrey Gibbs said in a Christmas message to Rhodesia today that "I hope and pray that I may still be able to help our country to return to constitutional Government and true loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen", he added "I hope it is realised that I remain your legal Governor."

Military Coups

WHEN Maurice Yameogo was at bay facing the angry demonstrations of the T.U.C. in Ouagadougou, he made a characteristic statement, typical of those he has been making for the past year or more, that Ghana was the cause of all the trouble and intended to hand over the Upper Volta to China. Perhaps we should be charitable and assume that only a man in the grip of a terrible panic could utter such ludicrous accusations.

Mr. Yameogo is now under arrest and the army has taken over. We do not expect even the most rabid critic of Ghana to accuse the Upper Volta army chiefs of being the stooges of our Government.

This move of the Upper Volta army follows rapidly on the similar coups which have taken place in Dahomey and the Central Africa Republic and the Congo.

They are very dangerous and alarming and the product of a number of complex factors; the most decisive one is that in many newly independent states, which have not adopted the aim of socialism, their very political and economic perspectives of capitalist 'development' immediately leave the country and its peo-

ple prey to the most opportunistic elements among the politicians.

If they accept the philosophy and outlook of capitalism then these politicians see in independence only the opportunity for personal advancement.

This in turn re-opens the way for the penetration of imperialist influences which use their ability to buy people off as a powerfully corrupting factor in national life.

Even so-called 'aid' becomes a source of instability which the major part of it siphoned off either in arms deals or in feathering the nests of individual politicians. All this goes on while the people look in vain for the economic and social fruits of their independence struggles.

Internal instability is created by the struggle for spheres of influence between the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers.

The emergence of the power of the army as a force in political life is to be deplored because, in most cases it means that the democratic will of the people is frustrated.

Such developments constitute a danger not only to the internal developments of the individual countries but to the

political stability of the continent.

We already have the sorry story of army type coups in Latin America, the classic hunting ground of American neo-colonialism.

The lesson is two fold for us. First it is important for any state such as ours, building socialism to ensure that the democratic organs of people's power are supreme. We need armed forces of a new type dedicated to the people, serving them and the cause of socialism.

The second lesson underlines what Kwame Nkrumah told his fellow Heads of State at the Summit Conference in Addis Ababa that those leaders of the newly independent states who did not consolidate independence by working to meet the social and economic demands of the masses would be swept aside. Some are being swept aside, but the means of bringing about this change is by no means a guarantee that basic political reforms will be achieved. In many cases it means only that rival imperialist powers have managed to create a crisis situation and that temporarily one has installed a government more favourable to it rather than its antagonist.

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

grants for the construction or expansion of overseas military air bases in the Maldives Islands and elsewhere.

What is more, such so-called "aid" is frequently conditional upon the recipient itself spending a substantial portion of its own all-too-scarce resources on arms.

Likewise, a great deal of what is described as "aid" takes the form of loans to pay "compensation" to white settlers who for years have been reaping a handsome income, enjoying the protection of land apportionment laws and discriminatory price schemes, but who don't want to stay on when independence is achieved.

Other so-called "aid" is in the form of loans to pay compensation to expatriate government officials who likewise are unwilling to serve the newly-independent countries.

But the basic reason for the widening gap between the rich and the poor countries is the fact that the machinery by which Big Business in the imperialist countries exploits the former colonies remains untouched.

The lion's share of the natural resources of the developing countries, and of their foreign trade and commerce is still controlled by foreign companies with their headquarters—and their shareholders—in London, Paris, New York, Brussels and Bonn.

The sums which these companies annually pump out of the developing countries in the forms of interests, dividends and profits far exceed any "aid" handouts. Britain's 1963 Annual Report on Balance of Payments, for example, gives a total of £5,645 million for "British property income received from abroad" in the five years 1958-1962—and this does not include oil and insurance profits or shipping credits.

Compare this with the figure of £1,180 million given as the total for British "economic aid" during the twelve years 1951-1963—"aid" which, as we have already noted, included a great deal of military spending.

The imperialist system of unequal trade and exchange has likewise remained untouched. As a result of manipulation by the monopolies which still control the capitalist world market, the developing countries have received less for the primary products they produce, while having to pay more for the industrial products they must buy from the developed countries.

Mr. Raoul Prebisch, Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, has estimated that by 1970 the developing countries will have lost no less than £7,000 million as a result of this unequal trade—a sum again far in excess of any "aid" handouts.

"The essence of neo-colonialism is that it seeks to use the wealth of the older developed countries to impoverish the developing states. Neo-colonialism would establish a parasitic world in which some ten per cent of the world's population live in luxury on the labours of the other ninety per cent", said Kwame Nkrumah in his New Year message.

Such a state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue. The machinery of imperialist exploitation must be dismantled once and for all, and the quick remedies of glossy aid programmes replaced by the only real alternative—trade and economic co-operation on genuinely equal terms.

Kwame Nkrumah's New Year message to the people of Ghana December 31st, 1965

'WE ARE A YOUNG AND VIGOROUS NATION...'



"It is clear that food so heavily laden with strings would prove indigestible in Ghana", declared Kwame Nkrumah, commenting on the U.S. refusal to supply Ghana with surplus food because of his recent book *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*

In a few hours' time a new year, 1966, will be in with us. It is right that on the last day of the old year we should take stock of the year that will soon pass away and consider what we can and ought to do in the year that is about to be born.

As we cast our minds back over events in 1965, we should all be grateful that in spite of the stresses and strains of the past year world peace has been maintained. The crisis in Southern Rhodesia, the cruel war in Vietnam, the unfortunate conflict between India and Pakistan, and the situation in the Dominican Republic all have threatened and still threaten world peace.

As in past years Ghana has played its part peacefully to resolve these conflicts. Over the years we have pursued in concert with other non-aligned nations a policy which has had a number of successes.

The idea that Africa should be a nuclear free zone has been reflected in a resolution of the United Nations and by the decision of the Organisation of African Unity. Our pressure for genuine disarmament is increasingly influencing world opinion. We shall continue to press for complete and general disarmament.

ON OUR GUARD

In particular we must be on our guard against limited wars being used by major powers to secure the political advantages which formerly they sought by general war. For this reason it is international friction of which the present German situation is only one example.

One of the more serious threats to world peace which arose during this year is the present Southern Rhodesian issue about whose danger Ghana had warned the world over and over again in past years.

There is no need for further meetings either by the Organisation of African Unity or the Commonwealth on what should be done about Rhodesia. This has already been decided. What is required of us in the coming year is to carry out faithfully decisions already made including the use of force.

We should be proud that Ghana was one of the first African States to carry out the Organisation of African Unity's Southern Rhodesian decisions.

Friends and Countrymen,
Looking back over the problems in Africa this year, one

issue stands out crystal clear, namely, the need for a Continental Union Government.

Everything that has happened in Africa in the year that is closing has demonstrated once again, and beyond any possible shadow of doubt, that unless we are able to form an effective Union Government for our Continent, we shall not only continue to be at the mercy of those forces which profit from our divisions, but the future of our Continent will be very dark indeed, and may lead into confusion, further errors and even anarchy.

MASS OPINION

We have good reason to be proud of the progress that has been made this year towards our goal of a United Africa. There is no leader in Africa today who can truthfully say that African Unity, and for that matter a Union Government for Africa, is not feasible.

The time is not far distant when the pressure of African mass opinion will force those who now drag their feet to match their words by action.

Those who champion African Unity should be encouraged and stimulated even by the vicious attacks which are daily made against them, both outside and inside Africa.

So long as we continue to advocate effective and genuine independence for Africa and its political unification, so long shall we be subject to slanderous and mischievous misrepresentation by those who have a vested interest in keeping Africa weak, disunited and balkanised.

DECISIVE MOMENTS

These are decisive moments in our history where direct intervention of the masses of the people of Africa shall sweep away the reactionary obstructionists and lay the foundation of a new Africa.

Friends and Countrymen,

One of the mechanisms of neo-colonialism is to hire African traitors and stooges—agents provocateurs—to spread lies and untruths about the progressive States of Africa, and their dedicated leaders. Neo-colonialists' errors and contradictions which rend Africa asunder will find their natural solution within the framework of a Continental Union Government for Africa.

If we are to defeat the neo-colonialists in their endeavours, it is necessary to under-

stand the essence of neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that it seeks to use the wealth of the older developed countries to impoverish the developing states.

Neo-colonialism would establish a parasitic world in which some ten per cent of the world's population live in luxury on the labours of the other ninety per cent.

AGAINST SYSTEM

It is against this system that we fight and not against any particular countries or group of countries or governments, or their leaders as such.

We know that neo-colonialism uses foreign investment as one of its weapons. However, this does not mean that we are against foreign investment as such. What we are against is its misuse and the attempt to use foreign investment to control, direct and manipulate the political and economic future of a developing country.

Two courses are open to those who control the vast financial resources of the developed countries. There is the neo-colonialist course. I have recently pointed out that by pursuing a neo-colonialist policy the monopoly-capitalists of the developed countries are signing their own death warrant.

DISASTROUS

In the long run, neo-colonialism will prove as disastrous to those who practise it as it is now to those who are its victims. It is impossible to conceive that a system can long endure which results in a small fraction of the world's population becoming wealthier and wealthier, while the great majority of mankind become poorer and poorer.

It is therefore as much in the interest of the developed countries as of the developing to bring an end to neo-colonialism.

This is why I have repeatedly pleaded for an exploration of the alternative course namely co-operation, upon a new basis, between the developed and the developing countries.

As I have often said, developing countries need investment from outside. Such investment could be an important factor in narrowing the ever-growing gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" between the developed countries and the developing countries.

Unfortunately, the present direction of much foreign investment serves to widen, and

not to narrow, this gaping gap.

Ghana's policy is socialist, but we welcome co-operation with all States whether they be capitalist or socialist. We welcome foreign investment, provided only that such investment fits in with our own national plans for development, and helps to increase our economic growth and not to retard it.

We can understand that investment by foreign interests and governments in less developed countries may involve an element of risk for the investor.

For instance, there may be a drastic decline in the world price of some export commodities upon which the developing country depends in order to find the foreign exchange to repay the investment in question.

ENOUGH CAPITAL

There is enough potential capital and resources in the world today to enable both developed and developing countries to progress, until the present distinction between the developed and developing nations disappears. If there was a politically unimpeded flow of capital we could all build for ourselves a prosperous and contented world.

Here, I have a suggestion, in this connection. The developing countries might contribute to and support an international organisation which would provide insurance to foreign investors against any possible risks in investing in any particular developing country which was a party to the scheme.

After all, it is only fair that we take into account the point of view of the investor in a developing country. Such an organisation as I have in mind could be established under the aegis of the United Nations.

WITHOUT STRINGS

If such an organisation were established, it would be possible for foreign investment to be given to developing countries without any political or other strings whatsoever. The ostensible reason for attaching such strings is often given as the need to protect foreign investment.

But such an idea as I am proposing requires further study; notwithstanding, I am convinced it is a feasible and practical method of resolving one of the obstacles to capital investment in developing countries.

Here, I would appeal to the Great Powers to show greater understanding of the problems facing the developing countries. Every country, however great, has to pass through a critical phase of development.

By their very existence the developed countries present to the developing countries an image of what the future might be for them.

For this reason, developed countries should be careful not to allow political and super-profit considerations to blind them to their obligations to the rest of the world. Irrespective of the political systems we follow, we are all treading the same road to full and better development.

FOOD SANCTIONS

This is why Ghana regrets that the United States Government should recently have attempted to prevent a free dialogue on these matters between us by the publicised declaration to impose food sanctions on Ghana. Since this incident has been given much publicity, let me state the facts.

For over a year now, the Government had been negotiating with the United States Government without results for the supply to Ghana of some of the surplus food which they cannot dispose of in the United States.

Ghana felt justified in making this request to the United States Government since, as everyone knows, Ghana supplies large quantities of food to the United States in the form of cocoa for which during 1965 a fair price could not be obtained owing to the manipulations of the international market.

Our negotiations for the supply of surplus food from America were still proceeding when they were suddenly broken off by the United States Government, apparently on account of my recent book,

Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism.

Now, friends and countrymen, it is clear that food so heavily laden with strings would prove indigestible in Ghana.

VOLTA DAM

Nevertheless, I would like to take this opportunity to assure our many friends and well-wishers in the United States that this unhappy and, I trust, isolated incident will in no way be allowed to impair the long-standing friendly and cordial relations between Ghana and the people and Government of the United States.

Indeed, our great Volta Dam at Akosombo and the gigantic Aluminium Smelter being built at Tema provide evidence of the friendly and mutually useful co-operation which exists between Ghana and the United States.

January 1966 will see the official opening of the Volta Dam Project. Ghana is already producing from the Dam electrical power at a cost which can compete favourably with any in the world. This Dam and its Lake—the largest man-made lake in the world—are proof that we have wisely used our resources and that true co-operation benefits both sides.

GHANA PRODUCTS

Friends and Countrymen,

We are on the road to progress, and there is no time for complacency or easy optimism. We are grateful to those friendly countries and organisations who are helping us along this road.

But let us realise that if we are to achieve our national goals and aspirations, it will be in the main through our own united and sustained efforts for freedom and prosperity. We are a young and

vigorous nation and there is nothing we cannot achieve if we remain united, vigilant and true to our cause.

Within the last few years our industrialisation programme has been making great progress. Already, made-in-Ghana products like our beer, corned beef, chocolates, cocoa bags, glassware, aluminium household products and building materials, such as cement, paint and aluminium sheets, etc., are being put on the market as quickly as our resources permit. Very soon our gold refinery at Tarkwa will be in production and we shall be in full control of our gold resources.

MOBILISE

I must, therefore, call on Ministries, State Corporations and organisations, to carry out their duties with increased devotion, efficiency and honesty, and with respect and concern for our State property. This call goes to all the other public services and State organs. Happily, we have a Civil Service which is one of the best in the world. It is vigorous, loyal and incorruptible.

So, at this time, all sections of our community, our churches, voluntary organisations, market women's organisations, workers, farmers and peasants, must mobilise their energies and resources—physical, mental, moral and spiritual—for the great tasks that lie ahead of us all.

I know, and I am confident, that in this spirit of dedication and resolve, in this spirit of confidence in ourselves, we shall win even greater victories and successes in the coming year.

I wish you all, wherever you may be, health and happiness in this New Year.

Good Night, and God bless you all.

Building more and better homes for the people

by **F. E. TACHIE - MENSON**

Minister of Housing and Chairman of the State Housing Corporation



previously took 7 or more months to complete now take 6 weeks to complete.

Thanks to this impetus, houses have been springing up like mushrooms all over the country to the admiration of all.

Last year the Corporation completed the following number of houses :-

Accra	1128
Ho	24
Kumasi	194

estimated to cost £30,000 or C72,000 is being constructed at Kanda. There are also expensive drainage works going on at Kaneshie, and Koforidua. At Kaneshie in Accra, the Corporation has developed a round-about second to none in Ghana.

As promised last year children's playgrounds, gardens, avenues and shops have been provided on most of the estates in Accra, Kumasi and Tako-

nought, much to the delight of the Corporation.

If the councils are not prepared to maintain and repair the roads then, in the opinion of the Corporation, part of the rates collected should be paid to the Corporation to enable

will be of a mobile fabrication so that after the completion of a project in Takoradi, Axim, Nkroful, Elmina, Cape Coast and Saltpond, it will be removed to Kumasi to cater for Kumasi and the neighbouring towns. About C43m. will be involved in the first phase of the programme which will cover 10 years.

It is also hoped that during 1966 the proposed Kwame Nkrumah Satellite City at Nungua will be started as Neue Heimat International are doing everything possible towards that end. The prototypes of the houses to be built are already being put up at North Kaneshie to determine cost. The Chief Engineer of

will, in addition to preparing the payroll for the Corporation's 8,000 employees, also do the general accounting and control the recording of transactions in respect of the Corporation's 18,000 house properties all over the country. The machine will also be employed on the control of building projects as regards cost and completion dates.

The Corporation's yard will be remodelled to enable it to cope with the task ahead. A batching plant and a complex of buildings and machinery will be put up in the yard.

Last but not the least, the welfare of the workers will be a prime factor in the develop-

**THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING**



Workers of Housing Corporation seen busily building a house

THE Ministry of Housing as we know it to-day was until January 31, 1965, part of the Ministry of Works. This separate and distinct Ministry of Housing has under it the following State enterprises :-

- State Housing Corporation,
- State Furniture and Joinery Corporation,
- State Brick & Tile Corporation,
- State Marble Works Corporation and
- State Paint Corporation.

While the Minister is responsible to Parliament for the affairs of these Corporations, he has no general control over their day-to-day workings. The various Managing Directors in charge report direct to the State Enterprises Secretariat forming part of the Office of the President.

As Chairman of the State Housing Corporation, I propose to discuss its achievements, difficulties and future plans.

The State Housing Corporation was set up in 1956 with the main aim of increasing the availability of dwelling houses in the country.

The State Housing Corporation has as a Government decision taken over all the small housing organisations in the country, comprising the Management and Maintenance Division, the Roof Loans Scheme, Housing Loans Board and the Ghana Estate Investment Company.

The State Housing Corporation has, as a result of the take-

over and its direct efforts, the following properties all over the country :-

Accra	6807
Oda	12
Koforidua	185
Ho	240
Keta	36
Jasikan	46
Kajebi	54
Kumasi	2737
Tarkwa	819
Bibiiani	936
Obuasi	638
Tamale	30
Fante Aboso	68
Bolgatanga	12
Sekondi/Tak	4091
Nkroful	16
Nsuam	12
Cape Coast	735
Saltpond	54

The Corporation now employs 8,230 people and has a monthly wages bill of £70,000 or C168,000.

Prior to my appointment as Chairman there was apathy among the workers in that they thought that if they completed their tasks ahead of scheduled there would be no more work for them, and, therefore, retrenchment would follow.

Through rallies and constant visits to building sites, I assured them that if they did their work quickly it would engender confidence in the public who would then come forward to buy more of the Corporation's houses thereby creating more work for all of them. Since then houses w-

Sekondi/Tak	73
Nsuam	24
Nkroful	16
Cape Coast	95
Obuasi	4
Bolgatanga	12
It has under construction the following :-	
Accra	749
Ho	12
Kumasi	56
Sekondi/Tak	68
Nsuam	8
Nkroful	16
Cape Coast	35
Obuasi	4
Bolgatanga	16

This is no mean achievement. With the improvement in import licensing, it is hoped that we shall be able to get building materials at the times wanted so that we can complete our projects on schedule.

Apart from the construction of houses, the Corporation also undertakes the construction of roads and drains on all its estates. At present a 6ft. wide by 4 ft. deep drain-

radi. Shortage of aluminium roofing sheets has, however, delayed the roofing of the shops at Ringway, Kanda and Kaneshie Estates in Accra.

In Accra, bakers' stalls have been built on the Kaneshie rental unit estates to obviate the unsightly appearance resulting from mud ovens being built around the units by the tenants. This experiment will be extended to all our other estates.

Last year I said that Petrol Filling Stations would be built on estates where it was economically justifiable. So far the oil companies have not shown much enthusiasm in the proposal, but I am still pursuing the matter and it may be necessary for the Corporation to run its own Filling Stations at vantage points on the estates where the service would be considered reasonably necessary.

Much has been heard of tenants who intentionally refuse to pay their rents or instalments. During last year, I pursued relentlessly the drive to get particularly high Party officials involved to pay up. An amount of nearly £27,223 or C65,235.20 was collected.

The Corporation's main difficulties are the maintenance cost of rental unit houses, roads and drains and the inadequate supply of building materials.

Most rental units were built with landcrete, and the rents charged are very low, bearing in mind present-day conditions. Efforts to get the tenants to purchase the units in order that they might take an interest in their proper upkeep instead of relying on the Government to maintain the units are proving difficult.

The Corporation now faces two alternatives: either to demolish all such units and rebuild them by modern methods, or to increase the rents to cope with present-day maintenance costs. It is hoped that a decision will be made this year.

The next greatest difficulty is the use of estate roads by city, municipal and urban council buses and the councils' collection of rates from the residents while refusing to take over the maintenance and repairs of estate roads.

Several attempts to get the councils to take over this responsibility have come to

us to carry out the repairs and maintenance. This question will be pursued vigorously during the coming year, and I trust that some mutually acceptable solution can be found.

The year ahead is a promising one. The Corporation will embark upon industrialised housing in co-operation with a Danish firm. The factory which will be sited in Takoradi in the first instance

Neue Heimat International is already in Accra working on the project.

As regards the Corporation's internal improvement programme, the new Headquarters building which has already been cooked so much appreciation from the general public will be completed for occupation early this year.

It will be equipped with modern office equipment such as an IBM computer which

will be remodelled to enable it to cope with the task ahead. A batching plant and a complex of buildings and machinery will be put up in the yard.

Last but not the least, the welfare of the workers will be a prime factor in the develop-



Letters to the editor

I NOTE that the Ghanaian press has become increasingly critical of American foreign policy in recent months. First, may I say that it is a sad commentary on my own country that even our greatest newspaper, "The New York Times," seldom prints the fact that neutralist or moderately pro-Western countries are continually attacking our conduct of the war in Vietnam, and further the lesser newspapers never print this act, except with such remarks as "Those African countries, which we have helped so much, are now turning against us."

In America today, one must read the left-wing, non-commercial press to have even the slightest idea of world opinion concerning our government's actions. The picture which is presented is not a very pretty one.

As a student active in the anti-war movement in America I would like to point out that the mood of American opinion is beginning to change, very slowly of course, but significant change has begun. Whereas six months ago only "radicals" were thought to be opposed to the war, now many "liberals" and middle- and upper-middle-class people have joined the ranks of those who wish the government to stop using their tax

dollars for bombs to destroy innocent persons in Vietnam.

The growing "bourgeois" element in the movement was noted in observing the types of persons who protested the war in the November 27th March on Washington. I think it is fair to assume that the number of concerned Americans will continue to grow in time as the war continues to be escalated.

This internal pressure, coupled with external pressure from newspapers such as yours may force President Johnson seriously to consider halting the bombing of North Vietnam and even possibly consider elections to reunify Vietnam as provided for in the Geneva Agreements.

Of course it is possible that this pressure will have a "hardening" effect upon President Johnson, just as the bombing of North Vietnam has hardened the will of these courageous people to resist. But this is a chance we must take.

I for one will not be judged 20 or 30 years from today to have acquiesced, and pretended nothing was going on, such as the German people did during Hitler's time. In any event, world opinion and American opinion must carry some weight in the Pentagon, and therefore there is hope that our struggle will not end

in vain, as long as we refuse to accede to threats and admonitions from Washington.

Michael H. Agranoff,
Columbia University, N.Y.

'Don Quixote'

FULL commendation to "The Spark" and Mr. Julius Sago respectively for the excellent editorial "Frustrated Don Quixote" and the lucidly-argued article "Passing Shot of a Spent Force" (December 3, 1965).

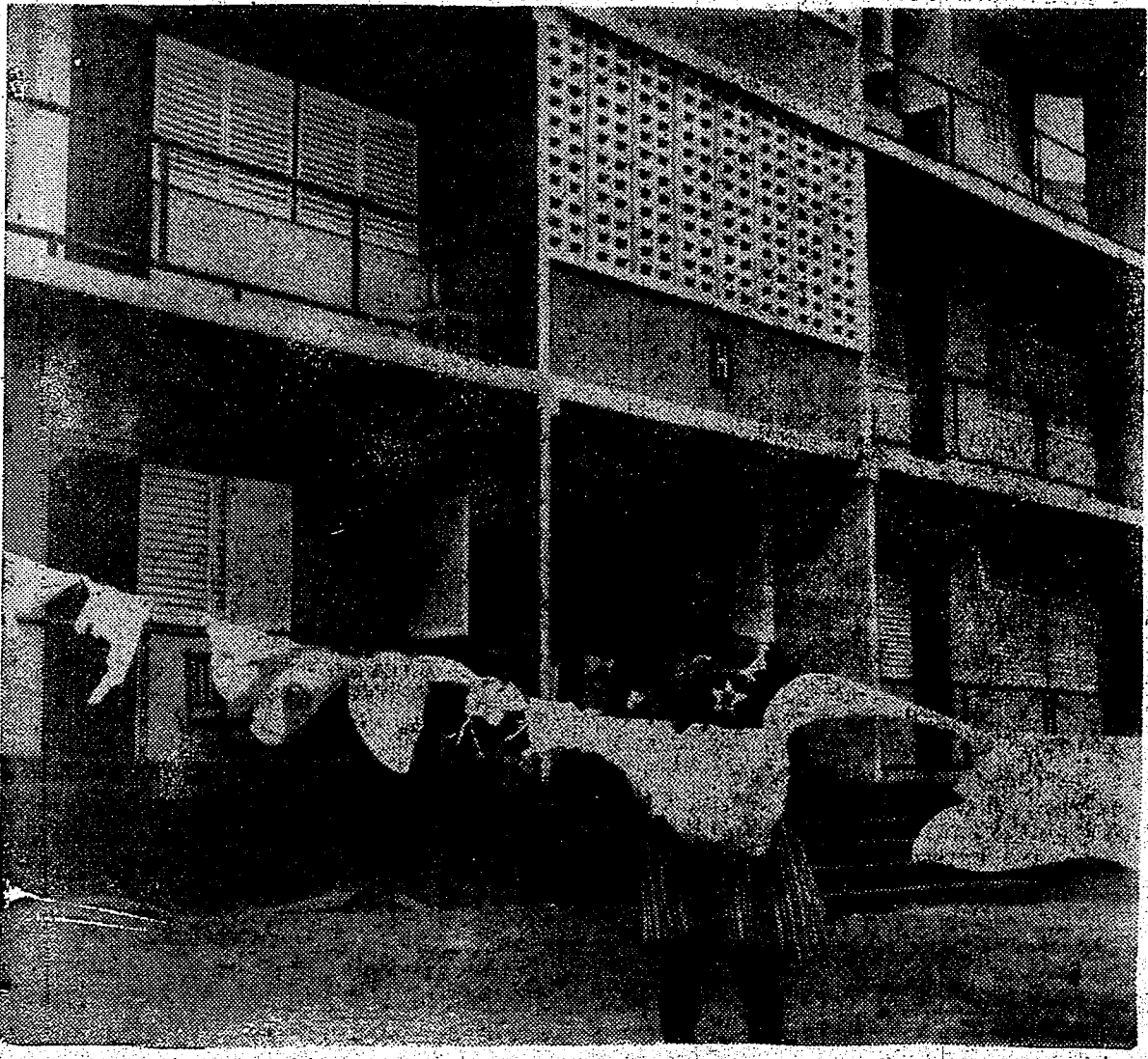
On reading the so-called "review" of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's latest book *Neo-colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism*, in the London weekly journal *New Statesman* of November 26th, 1965, I could barely believe that the "reviewer" was Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, the author of *To Katanga and Back*.

I could scarcely believe because the author of *To Katanga and Back* was Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien the distinguished intellectual, showing, in the course of his writing, an enviable respect for veracity.

But, oddly enough, the "reviewer" of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's *Neo-colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism*, in the *New Statesman*, was Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, the petulant propagandist, shamelessly manifesting unprecedented disrespect for truth and equity.

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien used *To Katanga and Back* as a travel document to Ghana! Who knows? Perhaps it will not be long before he embarks upon another book—presumably under the title *To New York and Back*—in which he will include a slanderous attack such as that he made on Ghana and on our most beloved champion of African Unity, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and on the American Government and on the per-

Continued on page 6



A completed Rental Unit built by the Corporation

Puerto Rico is Paradise for U.S. Big Business

THE history of United States military intervention in Puerto Rico which began in 1898 is the key to understanding the U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam (1954) and the Dominican Republic (1965).

On July 25, 1898, U.S. troops invaded the autonomous nation of Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican people heroically resisted the invader.

The struggle of the Puerto Rican people against the Yankee interventionist regime dates from that time.

Immediately after the invasion, and under the protection of the occupation army, U.S. corporations began to seize control of the entire economy of the island.

Arbitrarily, the currency of Puerto Rico, which was on a par with the dollar, was devaluated by 40 per cent. As a consequence, within a very short time, the land, the industries and the commerce of Puerto Rico were grabbed up at very low prices by the Yankee monopolies.

MILITARY REGIME

From the beginning the military regime tried to repress all resistance to it. The Nationalist Party, which carried on the struggle for independence for many years, in spite of governmental terror, emphasized non-collaboration with the invader and developed a full campaign of support abroad.

Their leader, Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos (1891-1965), was imprisoned for twenty-five years where he was cruelly tortured.

Today the groups which have recently organized to fight for the independence of Puerto Rico, such as the Socialist League, the M.P.I., and the Patriotic Crusade, are faced with the terrorist methods of the repressive bodies of the regime (Internal Security, F.B.I., C.I.A.) as their struggle advances.

We are in the midst of one of the most vast and perverse propaganda campaigns that imperialism has recently undertaken. The United States spends millions of dollars yearly in propaganda, trying to "sell" the damaged merchandise of the so-called "Freely Associated States"—a colonial formula which they also are trying to impose in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Let's take a look at the situation that prevails in Puerto Rico after sixty-seven years of intervention.

Under the new colonial disguise of a "Freely Associated State", the U.S. Congress exercises absolute authority and control over the following areas: currency and banks, communications, emigration and immigration, maritime transportation, import and export of goods, aviation, customs, armed forces, constitutionality of the laws, their procedure and jurisdiction, etc.

All the legislation approved by the colonial legislature can be annulled by the U.S. Congress. Therefore, the "association" between Puerto Rico and the United States is a fiction. Under the Territorial Clause of the U.S. Constitution, Congress can dispose of its territories but not make pacts with them as if they were sovereign entities outside of U.S. jurisdiction.

U.S. monopolies exercise a unilateral control over the Puerto Rican economy. The tariffs and trade laws in force on the island are determined, unilaterally, by the United States.

Eighty per cent of all capital invested in Puerto Rico belongs to U.S. corporations. The terms of investment are so favourable that profits average 30 per cent annually. These profits result from the below-subsistence wage levels and the tax-free status of investments.

Corporations whose profits are taxed at about 50 per cent in the U.S. pay no taxes in Puerto Rico during the first ten years of operation there.

The goods produced under these terms are exported and sold at the same prices as goods produced in the U.S.

In addition, these companies need to remain in Puerto Rico when their ten-year tax exemption expires. Thus the companies are free to exploit Puerto Rico without contributing to its development.

In 1964 Puerto Rico imported 14 billion dollars worth of goods from the U.S. This figure represents half of the Gross National Product of Puerto Rico and exceeds the total U.S. exports to Brazil,

Chile, Argentina and all of Central America.

Puerto Rico is the "Island of Enchantment"—for U.S. corporations. These companies pay their Puerto Rican employees daily wages equivalent to one-third of the daily wages paid in New York for the same type of work.

Puerto Rico is indeed a "paradise"—for Ford Motor, General Electric, General Motors, International Telephone and Telegraph, First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank, U.S. Rubber, Pepsi Cola, Esso, Mobil Oil, Texaco, Shell, Union Carbide, Gulf Oil, Hertz, South Puerto Rico Sugar, DuPont, Hilton, Sheraton, Grand Union, I.B.M., Helena Rubinstein, Admiral, Woolworth, Sears, Pan-American, Eastern, Trans-Caribbean Airways, International Railroad of Central America (IRCA), Borden, General Foods and more than 700 other U.S. companies.

ABSOLUTE CONTROL

The basic industry of Puerto Rico—sugar cane—is subject to the absolute control of Congress regarding quota, price, subsidies, refining, etc. The refining of Puerto Rican sugar in the United States represents a loss of more than 50 million dollars per year for Puerto Rican workers.

Yankee cartels govern Puerto Rico. The total U.S. capital invested in Honduras amounts to little more than \$100 million; in Guatemala, \$122 million; in Panama, \$620 million. And, in Puerto Rico, in only three years (1959-61), private capital invested by U.S. business surpassed one billion dollars.

Puerto Rico, a country surrounded by water, has neither freedom of commerce with the rest of the world nor its own merchant marine. Its consumer market has been, and is, a monopoly of North American exporters. Throughout the years Puerto Ricans have been overcharged millions and millions of dollars in the North American market in which they are forced to buy.

The various U.S. restrictions on imports have cost the Puerto Rican people a

sum which can be conservatively estimated at more than \$300 million annually. This unmerciful blood sucking represented no less than a quarter of the \$1.2 billion that Puerto Rico bought last year from the United States.

In recent years various super-market chains have been established in Puerto Rico. They buy in great quantities (in the U.S.) and are thus able to sell at prices which have eliminated thousands of small businessmen,

forcing them into unemployment. Super-markets employ the latest technology, and, logically, employ very few people.

Long-term credits granted by U.S. companies have given thousands of middle income families the chance to acquire better housing. Nevertheless, the combination of low salaries and the acute shortage of jobs forces many people to sell recently-acquired property. They lose the money they invested because they

are unable to continue making payments.

A major economic grab is planned with the establishment of a chemical-petroleum chain in the hands of the Phillips Petroleum Company and the exploitation by the Kennecott Copper and American Climax Companies of rich deposits of copper, silver, gold, bauxite, uranium and petroleum.

The existence of these deposits has been kept secret in spite of the fact that they

were known to North American geologists since 1934.

For sixty-seven years the enemies of Puerto Rican independence have said that the island couldn't be free because it lacked natural resources. At the time of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution when foreign enterprises were nationalized, officials put into effect their plans for exploiting the riches of Puerto Rican soil.

(With acknowledgement to "Challenge", New York.)

COLONIAL BASTIONS UNDER ATTACK

By Y. BOCHKARYOV

ONE of the U.N. decisions that has exerted a tangible influence on international developments is the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted on Soviet initiative on December 14, 1960.

In it, the General Assembly re-affirms the right of all nations to self-determination, national independence and independent development. It urges the colonial powers to grant immediate and unreserved independence to all colonies and non-self-governing territories contrary to the United Nations Charter and the rights and aspirations of the peoples.

Abolition of colonial regimes, the Declaration says, would remove the causes of many conflicts and in that way facilitate world peace.

In raising the question in the United Nations, the Soviet delegation emphasized that the colonial system of imperialism had collapsed.

The heaviest blow was dealt in 1960 in Africa, when in a single year 17 countries proclaimed their independence.

No longer in control of Asia, the imperialists had decided to make Africa an impregnable bastion of colonialism. But that bastion, too, is rapidly being demolished by the advance of the nation-

al-liberation movement.

The colonial powers—none of which voted against the U.N. Declaration—have sought to interpret it to suit their purposes.

One of their arguments is that colonialism is dead and this is a deliberate confusion of the terms colonial system and colonialism.

The collapse of the colonial system does not imply that colonialism has disappeared, vanished into thin air. In fact, even in its traditional form colonialism is still alive.

In 1961—that is, after the Declaration—there were colonial regimes, some of them thinly veiled, in a number of countries. Kenya was still a colony, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, though it had a federal government, was actually ruled by the British Colonial Office.

Of course, it would be naive to expect the U.N. Declaration automatically to eliminate all remaining colonial regimes. The point and purpose of the Declaration is to mobilise the anti-imperialist forces for an assault on the remaining colonial bastions.

By outlawing colonialism the General Assembly legitimized every form of struggle for national liberation and every form of assistance to the national-liberation movements and fighters.

And to prevent the Decla-

ration remaining a pious wish the General Assembly appointed a special committee to supervise its enforcement. Known as the Committee of Twenty-Four, it has done much fact-finding to expose the various techniques used to maintain the colonialists in power.

That the Declaration accelerated the break-up process hardly needs proving. It helped secure independence for Kenya, Zanzibar, Singapore and several other territories, and assisted the emergence of two new states, Malawi and Zambia, in place of the dissolved Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Since its adoption, 57 million people have been freed from colonial oppression.

The Declaration stimulated the liberation movement in other areas too. The armed struggle in Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and South Arabia, begun after its adoption, has now spread to Mozambique. The collapse of the last colonial regimes is inevitable.

However, these achievements should not encourage any underestimation of colonialist strength. For the colonialists are still able not only to maintain their position, but even to launch counter-offensives.

At the head of this campaign to reverse the course of

history is U.S. imperialism. Its armed intervention in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic is abundant proof of that.

The United States is being helped by Britain, Belgium and Portugal and other colonial powers. Their efforts are now concentrated on Africa. The aim is to keep the southern and central areas under colonial control.

Fascist Portugal, with support from other N.A.T.O. powers, is making a desperate attempt to suppress the emancipation movement in her part of Africa.

Britain entered into collusion with the Rhodesian racialists to help them seize power in order to perpetuate white minority rule. Belgium, acting jointly with the United States, engineered the recent coup in Congo (Leopoldville) and set up a military dictatorship under General Mobutu.

The reactionary forces have become more active too. They were instrumental in organising a plot against the government of Guinea, in the removal of President Apithy in Dahomey, in the attack on the Communist Party and other Progressive organizations in Sudan.

All such actions play into the hands of the imperialists. At first glance they might appear to be purely internal affairs but in every case there has been indirect (and in the case of Guinea, direct) outside intervention.

The answer of Africa's progressives to these imperialist counter-attacks has been heightened vigilance and retaliatory actions. United in will and aim, they are prepared not only to defend gains already won, but to continue the offensive against colonialism.

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Answer to "Race War" Nonsense

by R. Palme Dutt

(Editor of "Labour Monthly" and writer on African Affairs)

IT IS fashionable nowadays to speak of "the menace of race war" Once the favourite menace used to be the class war; but that, we are told, is now extinct, and only an obsolete dogma of a few doctrinaires. The menace overhanging the coming century, we are now told, will be the "race war". Yellow or black or brown versus white.

Poppycock! Behind this picture of a battle between the colours on the palette is being concealed the reality of the struggle against imperialism. When Africans or Asians struggle against "white" domination, they are struggling against imperialist domination.

UNITED STRUGGLE

This is a common, united struggle of all workers and democrats, irrespective of colour, race or creed. The heroes and martyrs of the freedom struggle in South Africa include equally "black" Africans and "white" Europeans—Lutuli and Bram Fischer.

Only reactionaries play the racialist card. The real issue is: imperialist or anti-imperialist.

There is no "natural" or "instinctive" colour prejudice. All observers agree that small children know nothing of it. It is an artificial social vice implanted by a given social-political environment.

Therefore it can be finally eradicated by changing social-political institutions, and meanwhile actively combating the poisonous growth.

Letters

(Continued from page 4)

son of President L. B. Johnson. He will probably eventually use that new work as his passport to Mars.

We hope that *The Spark* will continue indefatigably in its vigilance and assist in the total elimination of all such imperialist-inclined careerist expatriates from African institutions because—under the cloak of so called liberalism—they present yet another threat to the African Revolution.

Long live Nkrumalism!
Long live African Unity!
Long live the African Revolution!

Tabula Dunga,

Supposed "scientific" racial theories of "higher" and "lower" races have been exposed by all serious scientists. Hitler traded on his bogus theory of "Aryans" as the true blond rulers of the world. He asserted that Asians and Africans were a kind of monkey. Then his war plan required him to establish his "Anti-Comintern" Triple Alliance of Germany, Italy and Japan. Accordingly he announced that Japanese were henceforth "honorary Aryans."

The British Empire was the supreme colour-bar empire of the world. "Whites only" and "Chinese and Dogs Not Allowed" were its hallmarks wherever the Union Jack flew. But the same memsahibs who would shudder at the proximity of a brown skin would fall over themselves to win the condescending smile of a maharajah and would have no hesitation in entrusting their babies to a coloured ayah.

Similarly, "apartheid" in South Africa is explained by its advocates as a delightful system to enable two races to develop, each according to its own culture.

In fact the relegation of the African majority to "limited, inferior "reserves" on which it is impossible for them to live, compels them to seek employment, but without rights, in the "white" areas as wage labourers (at one-twentieth the white wage) or domestic servants.

"Apartheid" is a decorative euphemism for colonial slavery.

Colour and racial discrimination and prejudice is a product of capitalism and imperialism. It was unfamiliar in ancient and medieval times, though there was plenty of discrimination based on traces of its origins can be traced from the slave trade which provided the foundations of Anglo-American wealth. The colour bar has always been the special hallmark of Anglo-American civilisation.

The horrors of the slave trade led the pious English slave traders, who sang hymns on deck while their African captives rotted and died in the holds to save their consciences with the theory that the Africans were not really human beings, but a kind of sub-human animal.

The American slave-owners

and exterminators of the Red Indians preached the same doctrine. Their Negro slaves were explicitly excluded by legal decision from their Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal"

The European imperialist over-running, plunder and subjugation of the Asian, American and African continents was justified on the grounds of the "divine mission" of the "super white race" to rule the lesser breeds.

Today all this has begun to go down before the advance of national liberation, following the victory of the first socialist revolution.

So long as European imperialists massacred and enslaved Asians and Africans, there was no talk of "race war."

CRY GOES UP

Now that the Asians and Africans have begun to fight back and win their independence the cry goes up in high official quarters of the menace of race war.

No. The menace is imperialism. Once the victory of national liberation is completed, and imperialism ended, the foundation of racial inequality and colour discrimination will be thereby ended.

But meanwhile the poisonous inheritance of colour and racial discrimination and prejudice remains dangerous, not only where it is openly proclaimed, as in South Africa or Rhodesia, but also in Britain and the United States, where it is now officially disclaimed.

In Britain the situation is serious. Racialist agitation has been freely used to divide the workers, stir up trouble and make hapless coloured immigrants the scapegoats for the social evils of landlordism and capitalism.

The major political parties have refused to make a stand. The Tory Party has refused to disown Peter Griffiths and the open scandal of Smethwick.

The Labour Party, after voting against the Commonwealth Immigration Act which has been recognised by all

commentators as a shameful surrender to racialism (a quota is set for "Commonwealth" immigrants, which means in practice mainly coloured immigrants, while no quota is proposed for "alien" immigrants, that is, white European immigrants).

In place of carrying out the promise to enact the Brock-

way Bill against racial discrimination and propaganda the Government's Race Relations Act excludes the main spheres of discrimination, employment and housing and is hamstringed by hampering limitations in its other provisions.

The fight to defeat racialism in Britain is urgent and whole political future could

be endangered. There is already a strong response from wide sections of the Labour movement and from young people.

The Communist Party is the only one of the four political parties which fights without qualification for the repeal of the racialist Commonwealth Immigrants Act and withdrawal of the White Paper; and for effective legislation against all racialist agitation and colour discrimination, as demanded in the convention

adopted last week by the United Nations Assembly.

This fight is the vital common interest of all Socialists and trade unionists, of all democrats and civilised people.

We work for the closest co-operation of all sections of the Labour movement and the immigrants organisations.

The first principle of Communism is the principle of human brotherhood, without distinction of race, nationality, creed or colour.

MESSAGE FROM KWAW AMPAH

Secretary General of the Trades Union Congress (Ghana)
To the First Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference in Havana, Cuba.

THE Executive Board of the Ghana Trades Union Congress on behalf of the working people of Ghana salute all delegates attending the First Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in Havana, Cuba, the First Socialist State in the Western Hemisphere.

We regard this Conference as an important step forward in the grim, but relentless struggle for the final and total liberation of all oppressed peoples of our continents. It is a fact of history that our peoples have suffered the worst forms of colonialist and imperialist oppression, suppression and degradation. Our common struggles to free ourselves from colonialist and imperialist domination demand unity of action on all fronts.

The national liberation movements on our continents are the important segment of the world revolutionary movement in the epoch of neo-colonialism. Indeed, the success of the world revolutionary movement depends, to a very great extent, on the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

At a time when dark forces are menacing the world compounded by the tyrannical grip of poverty, disease and ignorance on the lives of millions of our peoples, when fear, mistrust and hostilities are undermining the very foundation of humanity, the coming together of revolutionary movements of our continents is a clear manifestation of our growing unity and solidarity and our determination to carry the struggle to its logical conclusion.

The dark forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, the enemies of freedom loving peoples, constitute the greatest threat to the well-being of working people throughout the world, who are everywhere intensifying their struggle against the oppressors and the exploiters.

In the present phase of world history, American imperialism has come to be the main source of exploitation and oppression throughout the world. The United States owns and controls 60 per cent of the world's natural resources, but contains only six per cent of the world's population.

This is the basic reason for the starvation level of existence experienced by nearly two-thirds of the people of the world.

This system of rapacious exploitation constitutes the greatest enemy to the well-being of our peoples. The imperialists, through all forms of subtle intrigues have engineered and are still engineering coup-d'etats, economic blockades, military dictatorships, etc. in various countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Wherever there is hunger, wherever there is tyranny, wherever peoples are tortured and the masses left to rot under the weight of disease and starvation, the forces that hold them down are those of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Until these evils have been completely wiped out and eradicated from the face of the earth the world shall know no peace.

All sympathy and support of the workers of Ghana lie with the struggle of all liberation movements which are fearlessly and courageously resisting these evil systems. The workers of Ghana sincerely believe that your Conference will

bring results which will engender hope for victory and further strengthen the courage of all those fighting to liberate themselves, whether in Vietnam, in Angola, in Mozambique, in the Congo, in Southern Rhodesia, in Aden, in the Dominican Republic, in British Guiana and anywhere in the world.

The working class of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the avant-garde of this sacred struggle, sincerely hope that your deliberations will further strengthen the unity and the solidarity of the progressive forces and make a lasting contribution to the common cause of safeguarding world peace. The greatest weapon we have in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of our three continents is unity—unity of all progressive forces against the forces of reaction. Let us intensify the struggle to achieve a world free of exploitation, a world free from foreign domination, a world of well-being for the masses of all continents, a world of peace, brotherhood and fraternity.

The solidarity for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is cemented for ever!

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