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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1965

No. 142 2p.

Ghana's First Socialist Parliament

EDITORIAL

REJECT THESE DEMANDS

SPEAKING at a luncheon in honour of the two-man advance party of an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development team that is to spend a month in Ghana, Mr. Albert Adomako, the newly-appointed Governor of the Bank of Ghana, is reported to have said that the Ghana Government had accepted the recommendations made by the International Monetary Fund delegation that came here earlier this year, and to have assured the International Bank representatives that they would be implemented.

The I.M.F. recommendations have not been made public officially. There has, however, been much speculation in some sections of the British press—speculation which seems to be based on deliberate leaks from well-informed sources.

According to the London weekly "The Economist" (24.7.65) the I.M.F. has demanded that Kwame Nkrumah "must stop wasting money on Ghana Airways; prune at least some of the 22 (out of 32) of his state corporations that are operating at a loss; reduce his spending on diplomatic missions abroad and look again at defence spending."

If these are indeed the "recommendations" of the I.M.F., they constitute a gross impertinence, and an unwarranted interference in Ghana's internal affairs.

We are prepared to listen attentively to the advice of all who have the real interests of Ghana at heart, and who share our desire to see a prosperous Ghana enjoying genuine economic independence.

* * *

But we are not prepared to heed "recommendations" designed to take advantage of temporary economic difficulties in order to undermine the basis of the society which we are resolved to build.

That society is, by the decision of our people, to be a Socialist society—a society in which the means of production, distribution and exchange shall be publicly owned, and political power be in the hands of the people.

The "experts" of the I.M.F., trained in the schools of capitalist economics and sharing the ideology of capitalism, cannot be expected to understand Socialist economics—the Socialist economics which is now charting the way for the successful advance of one third of the world.

It is also unfortunately true that too many of our own economic administrators still remain the ideological prisoners of the capitalist theories which they learnt in the universities of imperialism, and are too ready to attribute an almost Papal infallibility to such emissaries as those from the I.M.F.

Cuts in Ghana Airways, the state corporations, diplomatic missions and defence spending are not the answers to Ghana's economic problems—though they could open the way to foreign economic penetration into key sectors, and leave Ghana an easy prey to foreign intervention.

Britain has borrowed far more and her economic crisis is far more fundamental than Ghana's—but the I.M.F. does not suggest that Britain prune non-profitable nationalised industries, or cut defence spending; it knows such demands would be rejected.

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The Relationship of Parliament, Party and People

By a Spark Correspondent

NO reader of the President's speech will fail to note that the opening section and the final peroration deal with the duties and obligations of this new Parliament as a key instrument in the building of a Socialist Ghana. This very fact should be sufficient to illuminate the main points we wish to make here.

It is important to understand the distinction made in the description of this Parliament as the second in the history of the Republic, but the first Socialist Parliament.

This means that for the first time, a representative assembly of the people has been established and, inevitably on new principles.

NEW CHARACTER

The new character of our Parliament represents a further step in the de-colonisation of our state apparatus. We have rejected the form and content of the Parliament handed down to us from British rule. We have done this, not as an empty gesture, but because such a Parliament cannot now serve our needs.

We have outgrown the stage where Parliament is merely a glorified debating society, providing a platform for some politicians, acting as the battleground for narrow sectional aims, incapable of defending the gains of independence or of carrying our development forward to socialism.

This Parliament is new because it is established to help, in a leading way, to build a Socialist Ghana. It is totally dedicated to this noble task and it is unified by policy and philosophy.

Nkrumaism, the scientific socialist outlook of our Nation, Party, and Parliament, advances the theory that man can consciously change

The President's speech to the new Parliament on Tuesday, August 24, establishes the main lines of our national development. Close study and discussion about how the proposals are to be implemented are now urgently required. The speech is a basis for immediate action.

"The Spark" will publish a series of articles discussing the main features of it.

We invite our readers to contribute their ideas and suggestions to help make the proposals and perspectives a living reality.

society and, in so doing change himself. Just as there are scientific laws which help us to understand and control the forces of nature, so there are laws of social development, an understanding of which is indispensable to all who seek to construct socialism.

If it is true, then, that this Parliament reflects this one ideology, we have the right to demand that every Member of it must be philosophically equipped to do his job.

This certainly does not mean, that every M.P. is expected to show an ability to memorise and quote large sections of the writings of Kwame Nkrumah.

STUDY

It means that he must study and grapple with the ideas of Nkrumaism, so that he can apply them creatively and put them into practice, to solve the complex problems that we face.

The Government set the example by spending three weeks devoted to reading, studying and lectures. We hope this will be only the beginning of a series of such courses and that the Party will begin, immediately, to organise similar opportunities for the Members of Parliament.

We know that often studying takes a back seat when people are very busy, and preoccu-

It must not be left to the individual to make opportunities for study, it must be the political responsibility of the House and the Party.

This new Parliament has been established with great care. The make-up of a Socialist Parliament cannot be left to blind chance, to the operation of personal influences and demagoguery. It has to represent those social forces united in the building of Socialism.

WORKERS

The leading part in this united movement is fulfilled by the working people of our country, industrial workers, working farmers and working intellectuals. It is their needs and hopes which must be the main concern of this Parliament, because they are the stable political force in our advance to Socialism.

To ensure that this political reality is reflected in our Parliament, its composition is the concern of the Party, as the organisation of the most advanced and politically conscious sections of the people.

For this reason the election of members is the combined operation of the Party and the electors. It is from the people that all political power flows, and this must be seen to be so, but the Party must offer political leadership, in

tune with the people's needs, by suggesting the composition of Parliament, which is then submitted to the electorate for endorsement.

This is an essentially socialist and revolutionary concept of the relations between Parliament, Party and People, one not yet fully grasped by everybody in our political life.

The general Socialist tone and morale of our country will be judged by the activities of our Parliamentarians. Observers abroad will judge the seriousness of our intentions by the way in which Parliament behaves collectively, and by the way that individual members conduct themselves.

IDEOLOGY

Above all, the people of Ghana are watching, very closely and critically. They are judging whether the confidence they have placed in their M.P.'s is justified. They have plenty of experience and they will soon see through shams, evasions and pretence.

Parliament has to devote itself to giving the Seven-Year Development Plan the force of law. Its central concern must be to harness the creative initiative of the people, fight against red-tape and bureaucracy and fearlessly expose anti-socialist behaviour.

Members of Parliament have glorious opportunities to do this. In every constituency, the people have the right to expect that their representative will be able to explain the fundamental aims of the Party, the main features of the Seven-Year Plan and the ideology of the Convention People's Party, Nkrumaism.

Every Member should be able to relate the resources, industry, agriculture and other specific features of his constituency to the general,

national lines of development.

As well as being able to expound, he must show, in practice, that he understands what he is doing. Careful and consistent checking by him on the progress in his constituency is one of his major duties.

As well as explaining and advising, as well as taking part in the practical life of his constituents, the M.P. must be able to listen.

POLITICAL DUTY

An M.P. is not doing his constituent a favour by listening to him, he is only doing his political duty. By listening to the people, by seeking their advice, by asking for their judgement about problems, we make democracy alive for them.

We have a firmer grasp on reality when we listen to the varied and rich experiences of our people.

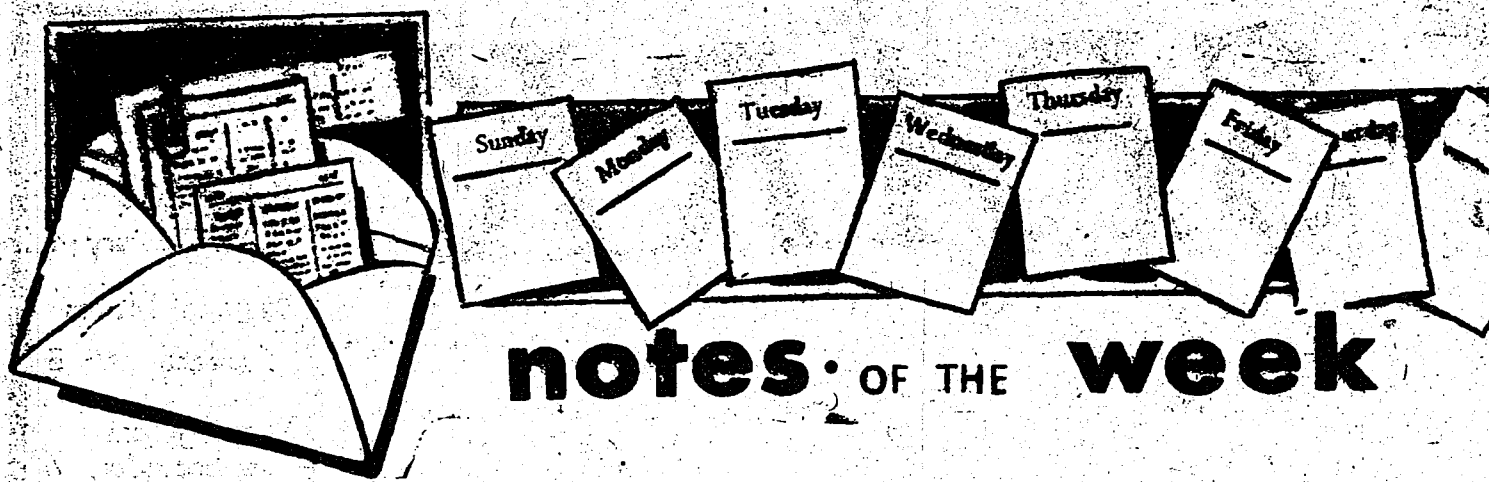
Every constituent must be helped to feel that he can approach his Member of Parliament on all kinds of problems and be assured of a comradely hearing. Arrogance, lording it over people, has no part in our national life and Parliament must lead in combating it.

The trust of the people is the most precious possession of any representative, to be won by devotion to his duty to them and his practical example.

It is relevant to quote here the warning uttered by the President. Those who heard these words being delivered, will never forget the serious and emphatic tone which he used.

"...our society appears to be passing through a period in which excessive and morbid ambition for money and influence have gripped certain members of our community.

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THE Political Volcano which is Rhodesia is boiling up to eruption. Ian Smith continues to defy the British Government.

While Wilson and Bottomley wring their hands claiming to be powerless, Smith declares that the only issue in doubt is whether an independent Rhodesia based on minority white supremacy will be inside or outside the Commonwealth. Increasingly, Britain, in whose hands lies the key to a peaceful and just solution of the problem is being shouldered aside by the Smith regime and the logic of events.

The British Government is not powerless as anyone who reads the 1961 constitution can find out for himself. It is perfectly possible for Britain to intervene in the colony's internal affairs under article 34 sub-section 2 which says "The Governor, acting in his discretion in the manner prescribed by Section 45, may at any time, by proclamation in the Gazette, dissolve the Legislative Assembly".

Section 45 gives the Governor rights to dissolve the Legislative Assembly, and the Governor, represents the British Government.

Britain is using the claim to be powerless as a cover, playing for a time to give the white minority time to strengthen its position, time to try and smash the leadership of the national liberation, time to create a favourable situation when it can move in to declare 'independence'.

Ian Smith is making the most of every day that passes. New terror is being launched against the Rhodesian people, he is buying arms from the United States, Britain, Portugal and West Germany. The latter country has also sent specialists to train army units in counter guerrilla warfare. Secret military agreements have been made with Portugal, Spain and South Africa to extend action against all the national liberation movements in those parts of Africa which they occupy.

President Kaunda has just revealed that systematic

Letter to Mr. Mlenga

It is sad to see an African journalist attacking Ghana's Press under the auspices of the International Federation of Journalists, organisers in the main, of pressmen from the capitalist world.

The article by Kelvin G. Mlenga, presents a familiar, naive line of argument. It ignores the real world the actual, political and social problems of our people struggling for a new life.

It blandly assumes that there is something essentially 'democratic' and 'free' in the Western Style press, owned and controlled by private newspaper tycoons, while there is something essentially 'unfree' and 'undemocratic' in newspapers owned by Governments, or organisations which support Governments.

Let us discuss the first idea. Who today is 'free' to found modern newspapers? Theoretically any

economic subversion is being carried out against the newly independent states to try and demonstrate that Africans are not capable of running their own countries, and to try and enfeeble their efforts to support their brothers still struggling for freedom.

Britain is deliberately leaving a power vacuum and the Organisation of African Unity must now move in to take action. This is absolutely vital and necessary.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union has now declared that they must resort to armed struggle in view of Britain's refusal to act in a just manner.

Important as are the resolutions of the United Nations De-colonization Committee and the Declaration of the O.A.U. Foreign Ministers' Conference at Lagos in June, the time has now come for action.

In these circumstances the declaration of the Committee of Nine calling for the immediate unity of the Rhodesian Liberation Movements ZAPU and ZANU is important and we hope that the differences with the mediation of the O.A.U. will be settled in a principled and decisive fashion.

The call to support the armed struggle of the Rhodesian people must become a reality. The central task of the Organisation of African Unity is to mobilise all the power of the independent states economic, political and military for the immediate liberation of the rest of the African continent. Here is the opportunity to do this. The forthcoming Summit Meeting must decide on definite forms of organisations, the immediate application of economic sanctions, pressure on the British Government and immediate practical military aid.

The Smith Government and his fascist allies, South Africa, Portugal, Spain, must no longer be allowed to set the pace. Four million people are battling for their rights we must not only shout our slogans for unity but mobilise to act now.

body; in fact, anybody with enough money. A modern newspaper needs millions of pounds of capital, fantastic advertising promotion and the support of advertisers for each issue of the paper. Obviously only the already powerful can own newspapers in the West.

We challenge the view that if a man has enough money he should be free to found a newspaper. Why should Cecil King, or Lord Kemsley or Max Beaverbrook, be in a position to use his wealth to promote his own ideas, any more than the man without such wealth. Why should he want to have a newspaper? The reason is clear.

Newspaper proprietors are in business to make profit and to condition men's minds. It is naive of Kelvin Mlenga to pretend otherwise. When Cecil King found that (The British Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Paper.)

The Daily Herald in which he owned 51% of the shares with the British T.U.C. and Labour Party owning 49% was not profitable, he shut it down, leaving Britain's powerful political party without a daily paper. Unfair to the Labour Party, but profit is profit.

The Newspaper tycoons own and control the press in Britain, the United States as well as some African states, to sell their ideas, and to make profit. They are not run to fulfil some abstract liberal ideas of what is just or right or free. Lord Thompson, was asked why he was in the newspaper business in a recent interview on television, he replied "To make money".

In Africa, papers were founded by the pioneers of the liberation movements to assist their fight for freedom and independence. If they had been really fulfilling their functions as Mr. Mlenga appears to see it, they would have been printing their point of view in one half of a paper and the other half would have given the point of view of the imperialists who were fighting and oppressing them. Life is just not like that. Newspapers are weapons in the arsenal of political struggle.

Our newspapers in Ghana, which Kelvin Mlenga, goes out of his way to attack, are the organs of the democratically elected institutions of the Ghanaian people. Of course we have controversy, (this paper is a living witness to the fact) of course we give our people information because we wish to help them to understand the world around them and to change it for the better.

The 'impartial' view advanced by Mlenga is a delusion. We are responsible people who cannot treat ideas as if they were all equally good. Would Mlenga insist that United States newspapers should be free to advance their poisonous racialist theories? Of course not. We take a powerful, moral and practical attitude to the question of the Press. We in Ghana are now fighting a battle against the irresponsibility of the capitalist press in Britain, where one powerful mass circulation daily, printed photographs claiming to represent conditions in Ghana's prisons. Anything was grist to their mill, they seized on any stick to beat us with... that is what the jungle warfare of capitalist journalism is like, that is what the International Federation of Journalists choose to call 'free'.

Our press is a responsible press, not raking in the muck heaps of scandal, vice and corruption, not advancing the lowest common denominator of ideas, but a vanguard press, fulfilling its responsibility to assist in the onward march of mankind against oppression, imperialism and poverty.

Letter from a G.I.

The following letter was received by a member of the U.S. Organisation, Women for Peace, in the Chicago area, and published in the Women for Peace Bulletin. It was composed by a U.S. soldier in South Vietnam—and each of about 20 GIs wrote sections of the letter so that the writing could not be traced.

Dear... I don't know if you remember me but I never forget you. I'm...s oldest boy. I'm in Vietnam and every day I pray for only two things—to be out of this hell and back home or to be killed before I might have to kill someone.

So far everything you wrote in your Bulletin is true about Vietnam, but we want you to write about a few things none of the papers are writing.

The going here is pretty rough and all the dirty fighting isn't on one side—a week ago our platoon leader brought in three prisoners—I was part of the group that brought them in—they set up a questioning station and someone from Intelligence was doing the questioning. This was the first

time I saw anything like this and found out that we use some dirty methods too—this guy from Intelligence had all three lined up—one was a woman. He stripped her down to waist and stripped the two men all the way—he had a little gadget I thought was walkie-talkie or something. He struck one end of this wire and it was a kind of electric shock because she got a real bad burn.

From what she was screaming my buddy and I could figure she didn't know anything. Then they took this same wire and tried it on the lady's husband and brother but on their lower parts—I grabbed the damn thing and stuck it to the backass of the guy from Intelligence.

Ever since that day I've been sick to my stomach and haven't been out on patrol or anything. My sgt. tells me I'm suffering from battle fatigue and might get sent home.

No one from our group wants to bring any suspects in for questioning—we don't know what to do—some of the Viets are good friends to us

AUGUST 13th.

NIGERIA: Alhaji Nuhu Balmi, Nigeria's Minister of State in the External Affairs Ministry, has said in Lagos today that the Organisation of African Unity should do everything possible and immediately to ensure that the white minority settler regime in Rhodesia did not declare independence unilaterally.

* The Northern Nigerian Government has dissociated itself from the Nigerian Government draft on technical assistance agreement with Israel, it has been announced in Lagos.

* Two nationals of the Niger Republic and six Nigerians have been arrested in Nigeria on an alleged discovery of large quantities of very-dangerous modern arms in police raids, it was announced in Kaduna today by the Police Commissioner.

TANZANIA: Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Tanzanian second Vice-President, has called for setting up of more school branches of the Youth League of the Tanganyika African National Union to educate young people on the political needs of a one-party state.

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE): Congo Brazzaville has begun commemoration of "1963 August Revolution" which overthrew the reactionary and corrupt government of Fulbert Youlou.

UPPER VOLTA: A Presidential election is to be held in Upper Volta on October 3rd and elections to the National Assembly on November 7th.

A decree signed by President Maurice Yameogo announced this in Ouagadougou today.

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah, Supreme Commander of the Ghana Armed Forces has taken over the responsibility of the Military Division of the Ministry of Defence, an announcement from the President Office stated in Accra today.

CAMEROUN: The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity Mr. Diallo Telli, has declared in Yaounde, Cameroun, today that in event of an illegal unilateral declaration of independence by the white settler regime of Ian Smith, African States, had the moral duty to give all possible forms of aid to a Rhodesian nationalist government in exile.

GHANA: Mr. Patrick Offei-Henaku a trade unionist has been appointed Ghana's Ambassador to the Republic of Cuba, the President Office announced it today.

* Eight rolls of television films were yesterday presented to the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation by the Czechoslovak Government.

* Mr. Ali Hussein Abdillahi an auditor of the Government Audit Department in Mogadishu, Somali, has been awarded the Certificate of Advance Training after a one year course at the Auditor General's Department, in Accra.

—some we know play both sides but we don't want anybody tortured and killed. One of the guys from another platoon said he saw this happen before a few times and once the guy was killed by it.

Anyhow tell your Women for Peace we are with them—we wish we could send you a couple of those electrical gadgets to use on the powers that sent and keep us here.

AUGUST 16th:

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah has appointed Mr. Albert Adomako, managing director of the National Investment Bank, as Governor of the Bank of Ghana. Mr. Adomako succeeds Mr. W. M. Q. Halm, who has been appointed Financial Adviser to the President.

ALGERIA: A Clandestine anti-Boumedienne movement, Organisation De la Resistance Populaire (O.R.P.) has said today that it had armed groups, but they were not responsible for rumoured machinegun attacks against Algerian policemen in the Algiers Region.

SOUTH AFRICA: Five Africans—two men, two women and a child—were burnt to death in their poor blazing hut at the Ueeplass, a squaled reservation near Fort Elizabeth, where the fascist South African regime restricts African workers.

TANZANIA: The Independent Tanzanian newspaper the *Sunday News* today said that the apartheid South African regime had gone to farcial lengths over the last two weeks to whitewash its prison set-up.

SOMALI: Somali has signed an educational agreement with Czechoslovakia. The agreement was part of cultural agreement signed between the two countries in 1961.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Mr. Moise Tshombe, the head of Congo (Leo.) has arrived in Bonn from Brussels today for talks with Federal German Government officials.

NIGERIA: Nigeria's Trade Minister, Dr. K. O. Mbadawe and Kenya's Minister of Commerce and Industries, Dr. Julius Kiano, have expressed the need for regular meetings of African Trade Ministers to encourage an inter-African commercial and bargaining front. Dr. Kiano is in Nigeria as a member of the Kenya trade delegation now visiting some African countries.

MALI: President Modibo Keita of Mali, opening the third meeting of the executive committee of the African Women's conference in Bamako, urged that the enemies of Africa were working towards the end that the people of Africa attained only formal independence. He declared that Africans would succeed in eliminating difficulties facing the Organisation of African Unity.

AUGUST 17th:

NIGERIA: The Cocoa Producers' Alliance will meet in Lagos, Nigeria, on September 1st. The meeting is expected to discuss the present low world cocoa price and related matters. The members of the Alliance are Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Togo, Cameroun and Brazil.

GHANA: The Secretary-General of the O.A.U., Mr. Diallo Telli, arrived in Accra today by air from Lagos on a one-day official visit to Ghana.

CONGO (Brazzaville): President Massemba-Debat of the Congo (Brazzaville) today received a four-man Ghanaian delegation led by Mr. S. A. Kwaku Bonsu, Minister of Insurance and Pensions to the second anniversary of the country's Revolution at the Presidential Palace in Brazzaville. The President said the presence of a Ghanaian delegation, led by a Minister of State, showed President Nkrumah's profound interest in the Congo (Brazz.) and African Unity, adding that the delegation's presence had strengthened the existing bonds of friendship between the two countries.

ALGERIA: A scaffolding round a water near the Club Des Pines in Algeria, the site of the projected Afro-Asian summit talks went up in flames today. There was no immediate indication of the cause of the outbreak. The Algerian Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, is currently touring African countries to convince Heads of States to attend the Algerian Summit.

AUGUST 18

GHANA: Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity flew to Lagos, Nigeria, today after a two-day visit to Ghana. Mr. Telli was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Foreign Affairs Minister and current chairman of the O.A.U. Ministerial Council and Dr. S. G. Kiano, Kenya's Minister of Trade. They were seen off by Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA: Mr. Amilcar Cabral, secretary-general of the African Party struggle for the Independence of Guinea Sao and Cape Verde Islands announced at a press conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia that African freedom fighters now control about half of the territory of the so-called Portuguese Guinea.

TOGO: The Afro-American founder and director of "Operation crossroads Africa" the Reverend James Robinson, said in Lome, Togo today that the attainment of independence by many African countries had given to the Afro-American an awareness of freedom which was clearly manifested in the current Los Angeles riots.

MALI: Several people were reported dead and thousands rendered homeless in floods along the River Niger in Central Mali, it was reported in Bamako today.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The head of the Congo (Leopoldville) administration Mr. Moise Tshombe has signed an agreement in Bonn authorising a Federal German Bank credit of 791,000 Cedis for building a railway and road bridge in northern Katanga. Meanwhile Mr. Tshombe has arrived in Brussels Belgium from Bonn to begin another series of talks with Belgian Government on aid.

CONGO (Brazzaville): Congo (Brazzaville) President Alphonse Massemba-Debat today had talks with the Soviet President Anastas Mikoyan in the Kremlin, Moscow.

NIGERIA: Representatives of 14 African countries are attending a 10-day seminar on the control of narcotics has been opened in Lagos, Nigeria today. The seminar is under the auspices of the United Nations.

* Five Niger national suspected of being members of Sawaba Opposition Party have been ordered to leave Nigeria.

* Nigeria's Chief Justice, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, has condemned the "have and cry" over the issue of non-Nigerian Lawyers practising in the country.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

General Jose Augusts Da Costa Almeida, Mozambique's colonialists-governor-general is expected to arrive in Salisbury today for a four-day visit to Rhodesia during which he would open the Royal Salisbury agricultural show.

ZAMBIA: A Zambian agricultural mission headed by Mr. Elijah Mudenda arrive in Peking, China today for a week's official visit.

GABON: The people of Gabon celebrate their fifth independence anniversary today.

ANC OPENS ITS OFFICE IN ACCRA

THE African National Congress of South Africa is the national organisation of the African people in that country. It was founded in 1912, soon after the colonialists had come together and united to form the now defunct Union of South Africa.

At the bottom of that union lay the evil intention petitions, deputations, protests, demonstrations and general strikes. All these fell within the scope of politicisation of the masses.

At the same time as these activities were carrying on, the African people would be demanding their emancipation from white domination. They would demand a settlement of their grievances by the final adoption of a democratic system of one man one vote.

and grappled with the A.N.C. for the leadership of the struggle in South Africa. The African people rejected the Democratic party and sent it the same way as had gone the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.

At this stage, the African National Congress Youth League, an auxiliary of the Congress formed by young spirited and fire-eating politicians,

ACCRA

Statement made at a press conference by JONAS MATLOU, representative of the African National Congress in Accra, introducing A.N.C. and announcing the establishment of the Accra Office of A.N.C.

is final. It conveys the failure of all attempted peaceful solutions, which one after the other have been stubbornly rejected by Apartheid. The clenched fist is a sign of force and violence. It is a mark of the determination of the people to enter an armed struggle. This means total sacrifice.

The reward for this is nothing short of seizure of total political and economic power. The African people will not sacrifice their lives for fractions and shares. They will die for Power in its totality. The African people want all the land, all the wealth and all the presently existing political power in that country.

It must first be completely captured from the enemy and then they will distribute everything to all the deserving people without any considerations of race, colour or creed. This is the implication of the slogan "Power to the People"; this is what the African National Congress of South Africa stands for.

catastrophic policies of the Apartheid fascist government of Verwoerd and his clique;

- (c) To expose Apartheid, colonialism and imperialism;
- (d) To present the true position of the fighting forces in the country; and most important of all these,
- (e) To request Ghana to give all and every possible assistance, material and otherwise to the cause of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

The African National Congress does not regard the establishment of its office in Accra as just the opening of "another" office. There is a great significance in this event and the A.N.C. will live up to this significance. This is an event which the African people in South Africa have for many years now looked forward to.

On the other hand, Apartheid, colonialism and imperialism will all be shocked to know how close Ghana has now come to the struggle against Verwoerd.



South Africa's women struggle against Apartheid for their country's liberation.

men, peasants and workers, intellectuals and ordinary men, teachers and labourers, the clergy and laymen, students and the illiterate youth, men, women and young people from all walks of South African life, that gave birth to that immortal record of the aims of the struggle in South Africa—the FREEDOM CHARTER.

This document contains the true demands of people of South Africa. The Charter was adopted on June 26, 1955. This imaginative scheme of the future South Africa now forms part of the policy of the African National Congress.

TRIAL

The Freedom Charter was one of the direct causes of the arrest of 156 leaders of the national liberation movement in 1956 on a charge of High Treason. The trial, the longest in South African history, failed after four years.

In 1957, the African National Congress supported a powerful strike which opposed the increase on African workers' bus fares in Johannesburg. The issue was a success. In 1958, Congress organised a strike to protest against the exclusion of the African people from voting in general elections.

In 1961, Congress supported the All-in African Conference, a nation-wide protest which culminated with the three-day general strike of May, 1961. This campaign featured prominently in the 1962 trial of Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

It was during the marathan Treason Trial, when the leadership of the national liberation movement was totally banned from taking part in the activities of the Organisation, thus out away from the masses of the people that some members of the National Congress organised a break-away to form the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Among other complaints the Pan-Africanist Congress alleged that the A.N.C. was communist-inspired and that it was working with member organisations of other races, namely, Indians, Coloureds and Europeans.

SOCIALIST STATE

We find nothing harmful in communism, and it is true we work with organisations of other anti-Apartheid people.

One of the complaints of the Pan-Africanist Congress was that the A.N.C. was not violent. This excuse came at a time when the dissident members knew that the phase of non-violence and the prospects of a peaceful solution had gone; that the A.N.C. was laying the firm foundations of an armed struggle.

The settler minority government was whipping up feelings through the Treason Trial that the African National Congress at the head of the national liberatory

movement had engaged in a plot to overthrow the state by violence (this was very true at that time, and is more so today).

The fascist government further complained that the Congress was working for a change which would ultimately turn South Africa into a socialist state, and that the Freedom Charter was conclusive evidence of this fact.

(This was very true then and is more of a certainty today).

The racist government complained also that Congress was communistic in outlook. (The A.N.C. works with the Communist Party of South Africa as well as with other anti-Apartheid movements, in fact there are leading communists in the high-ranking organs of the A.N.C.).

What is very interesting to the point of making some of us suspicious with the break-away members of the National Congress was the affinity between the allegations which the racist minority Government of settlers was making against the national liberation movement and the complaints which the splinter movement was putting forward.

LEADERSHIP

As we sit here history is busy judging the interests served by the A.N.C. and those served by the P.A.C.

However, 1961 came, the three-day general strike came and passed with the close of an era of peaceful negotiations and non-violent settlement of the Africans' claims.

Congress had led the African people through a long road. It had exhausted every possible chance of the African people attaining national independence by any known methods or tactics of struggle short of a revolution.

It had absolutely convinced everyone that there is no other way except to take up arms and engage in the highest form of sacrifice—to die a worthy death, to die for Freedom, to die for Africa!

To the African National Congress and the African people, therefore, the coming armed struggle is the result of a calculated political development; it is the upshot of a series of political events; it is born, not of boastful prattlings and inexperienced adventurism, no, but of an Organisation which enjoys many decades of expert political experience, an organisation with a leadership so well-trained that it could take over the government of the country, successfully rule; something rare in a struggling country, a leadership with such devotion to the achievement of its objectives, men who accept that fate does not spare the man whose convictions are not matched by his readiness to give them effect.

In 1961, Congress appeared with the slogan "Power to the People". The content of this slogan is dynamic. The message in it

ESTABLISHMENT

At this stage, before I announce the establishment of the Accra Office of the National Congress, I find it the most fitting part of this address to express the gratitude of the 12 million African people of South Africa to that political giant of Africa, Osagyefo the President of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Government, the revolutionary Convention People's Party and our dear brothers and beloved sisters—the African people of Ghana—for having made it possible for the African National Congress to establish an office in this city.

The African people say that they appreciate the glorious work Ghana has so magnificently turned out in the United Nations, in Africa and other international agencies of the world. This belated arrival of the A.N.C. in this region means that the office will have to re-double its efforts and work over-time:

- (a) To popularise the struggle in South Africa;
- (b) To explain the nature of the problems which face the African People as a result of the

CO-OPERATION

In conclusion, I wish and hope that this will be the first step in the expected co-operation between the Convention People's Party and the African National Congress both having socialism as a common goal; the solidarity between the African People of Ghana and the African people of South Africa; the common ties of stock, culture, origin and nationality between these peoples who are merely geographically separated but spiritually united, will henceforth grow from strength to strength and last forever.

Let these two peoples, firmly bound by their oneness of purpose—a determined drive to Socialism, chant in one voice and say: *Down with Apartheid! Down with Ian Smith and his minority government! Down with Salazar! Down with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism! Forward to the victory of South Vietnam! Forward to the Summit Conference of the O.A.U.! Forward to African unity and the Union Government of Africa!*



Nelson Mandela, heroic leader of the African National Congress.

to oppress and exploit the indigenous peoples of the country. The union was also to consolidate the machinery of coercion for the perpetuation of white supremacy.

Another aim of this union was to whittle away the already meagre human rights of the Africans and ensure their permanent subjection to slavery and exploitation.

The aim and objects of the African National Congress were on the other hand to:

- (a) unite the African people,
- (b) politicise them, and
- (c) lead them to national independence.

In South Africa, as in other parts of the continent, there exist various tribes. These tribal groupings kept our people apart. The division of the nation into these sectional affiliations was a feature of very harmful consequences in the military campaigns of 19th century against the European foreign invasion.

The leaders of the African people having ascertained this calamity, decided that the unification of the various tribes into One Nation must be the first and primary aim of the then new Organisation, the African National Congress.

At the same time, Congress realised the importance of political education and training. To this end, new methods of fighting were to be learned and adopted. These included debates, mass meetings, resolutions, memoranda,

This would not only conform to the desirable principle of majority rule, but would also transfer political power into the hands of the African people. The ultimate result of all this would be African Rule.

As early as 1913, the African National Congress led two powerful campaigns, one against the Land Act, (a law to deprive the Africans of the already insufficient land at their disposal) and the other against the extension of the hated Pass Laws to African women.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Deputations were sent to the South African Parliament and also to the British Parliament in protest against this infliction of hardships and constant pruning of the bare human rights of the Africans.

These methods of struggle had, understandably, to continue for a long time because the people were disorganised and disarmed by the settlers.

In the twenties, the leadership position of the African National Congress was threatened by a powerful rival organisation, the Industrial and Commercial Union, which took the country by storm. It did look as if the African National Congress would go down.

But this was not to be the case.

In the forties, the African Democratic Party led by a young and energetic graduate sprang to the reins

was inaugurated and worked within the fold of the African National Congress. This institution became a potential motive force in the Congress.

Without pretending to list all the campaigns of this forceful organisation, the following are some of its activities in the fifties:

May Day 1950, the famous Freedom Day Strike;

June 26, 1950, general strike against the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act and some new Pass Law Act by the minority fascist Government of settlers;

June 26, 1952, launched the campaign for the defiance of Unjust Laws. This was a civil disobedience campaign. During the seven months of this campaign, 8,500 volunteers entered the South African fascist gaols for deliberately defying all manner of Apartheid laws. The campaign attracted world-wide interest in the South African struggle.

It is as a result of this campaign that our struggle became internationalised.

The item on the situation in South Africa arising from the policies of Apartheid was inscribed in the Agenda of the United Nations for the first time that year as a direct result of the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws.

In 1953, started the campaign for the Congress of the People. It is the dominating character of this nation-wide political undertaking which drew strength from farmers and towns-

Social Doctrine of the Vatican and the Twentieth Century (I)

PIUS XII, who had lived a secluded life with his relations, Vatican circles and the Curia Romana which as a result of his autocratic rule became omnipotent, in an atmosphere of intrigue and speculation which even in death did not spare him, passed away on October 9, 1958.

His passing was followed by a period of unease in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church (it remained for years without an "executive", without a secretary of State); grave cases of disobedience and even rebellion were reported from national bishoprics and church communities in different parts of the world.

The passage of time had shattered basic principles governing the strategy of this "political" Pope. The chimera of capitalist "restoration" in the socialist countries, which he, jointly with Atlantic extremists of the Dulles type, had nursed for years, was scattered to the winds by the vitality of Socialism and the developments which set in particularly after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Shattered, too, was the "Carolingian dream" of a Western European as a bellicose outpost of an anti-Soviet atomic crusade under the leadership of Catholic forces—from Italian Christian Democracy to the French MRP, from the Adenauer party to the Belgian Catholic Party and even to Franco and Salazar.

CATHOLICISM

Bandung showed that the representatives of 1,500 million people liberated from colonialism had, in the words of an Italian priest, put Catholicism in the dock together with colonialism, thus sparking off a profound crisis in the costly "missionary" structure.

Excommunications and denunciations of Communists and progressive labour movements (especially in Western Europe) were of no avail. In Italy, for example, only a few months before the death of Pius XII, the Communist Party won another resounding electoral success, extending its political influence to all areas of a country which is overwhelmingly Catholic.

Even in their own religious world, despite the measures of the Holy Office, Catholic trends favouring renovation began to question the structure of the church, the injunctions of the hierarchy and dogma, while Protestants and the Orthodox Church launched an intensive anti-Pope and anti-Roman polemic.

The magisterial halo of the Papacy became dimmed, and the power of attraction of the religious "vocation" began to fail. This was accompanied by a thinning of the clergy both numerically and culturally and by a silent but far-reaching erosion among believers.

In June 1963 *Togliatti*, recalling the papacy of *Pacelli* in connection with the election of Paul VI, wrote in *Rinascita*:

"The framework of Pius XII's political concept was the traditional one in which the Church was assigned the function of preserving the established structure at the very moment when it was changing and disappearing, as a result of the

emergence of entirely new forces, systems, aspirations and habits. For John XXIII's predecessor there were extenuating circumstances (which can be understood)—the situation that took shape after the Second World War when it seemed to the conservative hierarchy that the United States was powerful enough to ensure the stability of the old social systems indefinitely.

This conservative illusion however, failed to evoke a response in the minds and hearts of people; it petered out under the impact of the facts, of the growth and success of the revolutionary movements all over the world. This policy [of John XXIII's predecessor—Ed.] blamed the Church for the failure of the reactionary cold war designs.

CONTRADICTIONS

"Thus the Catholic political movements was overtaken by a crisis which was bound to worsen. The Church had to bear the burden not only of the NATO foreign policy, but also of the fascist dictatorships in Portugal and Spain, of the disintegrating colonial regime, French authoritarianism and German militarism.

The big Catholic parties were rent by contradictions. Aligning oneself with these parties brought into relief the fact that in Italy, for example, 10 or 12 million men and women if not more remained indifferent to the episcopal injunctions and even to excommunication and interdictions. True the ruling classes gained a certain respite. But at what price for the Church?"

On October 28, 1958 after ten fruitless rounds of voting, the 77-year-old Cardinal Roncalli, Patriarch of Venice, who took the name of John XXIII, was elected Pope in succession to *Pacelli*. His election was a compromise; the choice fell on a person of venerable age who was above the factions of the Curia and whom the French bishopric favoured.

PAPAL DIPLOMACY

John was of humble origin; the son of a peasant, he was born in the Catholic province of Bergamo, at the foot of the Alps, north of Milan. In his youth he participated, under the patronage of his bishop, in one of the first "social" battles of Italian catholicism, when he supported the 50-day strike of 800 workers in the village of Ranica for trade union rights.

This social ardour of the young Roncalli naturally was not to the liking of the Vatican. However, a few years later he was included among the leaders of papal diplomacy, and during the interwar years he essayed his first attempt at establishing, far from Rome (in Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey), contact with the people, for the most part non-Catholic, who lived in extreme poverty and who, consequently, were involved in sharp social conflicts.

At the end of 1944 he was transferred to Paris to replace the Papal Nuncio Valeri who had compromised himself with the men of Vichy. Here he was to witness, until his transfer to Venice, the drama of the

worker priests and harsh reprisals—on orders from Rome—against the progressive wing of French Catholicism.

This Pope whom the Conclave had evidently intended should perform the role of only an ordinary administrator until the struggle between the pro- and anti-*Pacelli* forces was settled showed, on the contrary, a profound understanding of the situation in his Church.

He frankly and correctly assessed the conditions in the world of the atomic age, the affirmation of socialist states, and accomplished two things which, despite ebbs, resistance and sabotage, marked a turning point in religious consciousness which unites half a billion adherents in all parts of the world.

Three months after his election he announced the convocation of the Second Ecumenical Council in the Vatican and two months before his death, in April 1963, he issued the encyclical "Pacem in terris".

True, in May 1961, the Pope had published another encyclical on developments in Catholic "social" doctrine—"Mater et magistra". But in this case we have a detailed document elaborated by a number of people, a document which is essentially eclectic and which aims at bringing the various links of the Catholic position into accord with the new requirements, but without in any way impinging on the old above-class principle and the traditional anti-socialism.

REPRISALS

Still, this encyclical no longer has praise—in which Pius XII lavishly indulged—for compulsory syndicalism (corporatism) and for the reprisals and terror measures used by fascist regimes against the economic struggle of the working people and against strikes.

"Pacem in terris" was conceived by John XXIII at the time of the Cuban crisis when he took cautious but firm action—even of a personal nature—with respect to *Kennedy* who had made a dangerous attempt to invade a socialist country in the Caribbean.

This encyclical, especially in "Part V", departed from the traditional and, at times, hypocritical exhortations and pseudo-moralising of many Vatican documents on the issues of peace and co-existence, and made a profound realistic analysis of the concrete reality of today, drawing the conclusion that the only possible basis for real peaceful co-existence is recognition of the legitimacy of the new social experiments by entire peoples and the justice of the aspirations of the working classes and the oppressed peoples for freedom.

This, in the final analysis, signified rejection of the crusades, recognition of political and social pluralism on the international arena and of the need to negotiate between countries with differing regimes; it signified condemnation of the policy of force and the armaments race.

Not only reactionaries both in Italy and America, not only the Bonn revenge-seekers headed by Adenauer, not only the Atlantic extremists and advocates of an "atomic crusade" against Moscow set up a hue and cry.

Even prelates in the Vatican, including Cardinal

Continuing our discussion of religion and its role today, we publish an article by the Italian Marxist LIBERO PIERANTOZZI. We invite readers comments on the points raised in this and earlier articles.

Siri of Genoa, President of the Conference of Italian Bishops, spoke of the "harm" done to the Catholic Church and religion by John XXIII's encyclical.

For these men the Church has always been the bastion of conservatism and religion, the real "opium for the people", an ideology bitterly hostile to the basic demands of the millions, both believers and non-believers.

The reactionary clerical press even went so far as to blame the "pro-Communism" of the Pope for the success of the Communist Party in the general election on April 28, 1963.

In reality "Pacem in terris" is, above all, a document by the head of the Church who realised the danger of the gap between his Church and the world today, a gap which is sapiently the vitality of the Church, and who honestly sought a way to refashion the man of our times, as the protagonist and creator of the new reality.

He sought to define the real position of this man, to understand his orientation, aspirations and vital interests, to review the results, giving an objective appraisal of the difficult path traversed by man, actually beyond the reach of the influence of the ideological canons of the Catholic religion and often even in conflict with its practical organisation which

is associated with those forces trying in every way to hamper the full development of the new social reality.

John XXIII summarised the three salient features of the present-day world:

the socio-economic development of the working classes who are passing from elementary economic demands to demands for full political rights and the right to share the benefit of culture;

women's participation in public life which undermines one of the decisive sectors that makes the Catholic religion a mass phenomenon in some countries;

the affirmation of new communities of free peoples and emphatic rejection of the old division of peoples into ruling and dependent nations.

The path chosen by John XXIII, to enable his church to preserve and extend its contact with millions of people, although a cautious one, shows understanding of this reality and of the concrete aims which set masses in motion and make these masses the real protagonists of history.

Fully aware of the grave mistakes of the past, and realising the difficulties of the situation he inherited, he warned the hierarchy that this movement must not develop without participation by the Catholic Church and certainly not in

open hostility to it.

This was a new line, one showing an unusual understanding of the grave historical backwardness of the Catholic religion which has cost it so many defeats.

At the same time this discourse is wholly compatible with the basic duties devolving on the Pope, which, as hitherto, are to preserve for the Church the space conquered and to win new space, to play a leading and, if possible, decisive role in the bloc of the principal historical forces, which would also make for its consolidation and further expansion.

FEUDAL STRATA

Just as at the end of last century, at the time of Leo XIII the Roman Church decided, belatedly it is true, to abandon the feudal strata who had outlived their day and try at all costs to unite with the bourgeoisie then in the ascendancy in some Catholic countries, so John XXIII, on the basis of his objective evaluation of the role played today by the masses in the historical process, sought through his "Pacem in terris" and the convocation of the Ecumenical Council to galvanise his Church into action and remedy the errors of his predecessors, and to join wherever possible in the political, social and economic reconstruction and renovation taking place in the world which intuition told him were decisive.

Hence the summoning somewhat suddenly of the Ecumenical Council by John XXIII at the beginning of 1959, much to the chagrin of the Curia, and its opening in October 1962, despite obstacles, dissension and attempts to reduce it to a kind of formal celebration.

The purpose was to discuss matters concerning the

internal structure of catholicism, its relations with other denominations and, lastly, the church's attitude to great social, political, and cultural problems of the day.

At this supreme council of the Church three trends crystallised and clashed, depending on the degree of differences with John XXIII's basic concept:

the conservatives who see as inviolable the basic orientation and structure of the Roman Church (apart from minor amendments) as originally defined by the Counter-reform, the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), and maintained right up to the time of the papacy of *Pacelli*;

the moderates who are ready to compromise for a formal modernisation that would leave intact the basic traditional principles;

and lastly, the innovators who advocate a critical rethinking to enable the Church to throw overboard everything anachronistic and out of joint with present-day society which is changing rapidly under the impact of the great social, technical and cultural movements.

The Ecumenical Council was attended by more than 2,000 prelates. Of these 853 were from European countries, 290 from Asia, 273 from Africa, 325 from North America, 465 from Central and South America and 63 from Oceania.

The biggest single contingent was the Italian (385), next came the United States with 196, Brazil 171, France 122, Spain 84, Canada 76, India 71, Germany 58, Mexico 52, Argentina 50, the Congo 44, Colombia 43, Philippines 40, Britain 39 etc.

Church cannot be neutral

Mission in Africa?"

The answer is simple and self-explanatory. Imperial Germany, having been defeated, had to withdraw with all her allies, both political and religious. British Imperialism, the new power, should make sure that her policy was fostered in the Church in her colonies, and she could not do this better than by bringing Missionaries of her own blood.

Hence the Scottish Mission, Wesleyan Church, founded by John Wesley, a Briton, the English Church Mission, the Salvation Army etc. all of British origin.

As Mr. Pat Sloan explained in his article, the Russian Revolutionary Government could not embrace the Orthodox Church because, in the same manner, it became part of the State apparatus of the Tsarist regime.

In citing these examples to support our claim that the Church should use the pulpit "to help in the dissemination of the ethical concepts and values on which our national ideology is based", we are not merely advocating for the operation of the old axiom of "New king new law", or "when in Rome do as the

Romans do".

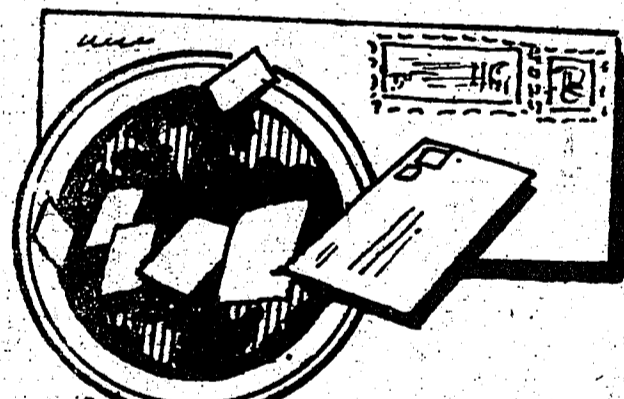
Unlike the imperialist concept of the Church, where religion should serve as the opium of the people thereby making exploitation easy, we see the Church as a vital cohesive instrument of society, an institution which, as *Conscientism* explains, should cater for the moral and ethical requirements of society.

The clarion call to the Church today is therefore to undergo a reform. We say a reform and not a revolution because we still uphold the basic principles upon which religion is founded.

As St. Thomas Aquinas explained, man can only obey the Ten Commandments when society is arranged in a way that there is work and happiness for all. Theft will be reduced to the minimum if not eradicated completely, when, by our socialist planning, there is enough to satisfy the basic requirements of society.

In the same way we shall cease to covet our neighbour's property if scientific socialism succeeds in bridging the wide gap between the rich and the poor.

Tetteh Amakwata,
Accra.



Letters to the editor

THE major issue posed by the speech of the Minister of Communications, Mr. A. J. Dowuona-Hammond at the Methodist Church, Winneba and the article on religion by Mr. Pat Sloan is whether the church must be neutral or play a leading role in our national reconstruction.

The question of the relationship between the State and the Church is of a very long standing. Jesus hit at a solution when He advised his critics to "give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's". But His followers could not use this formula effectively to blend the two powers.

St. Augustine (A.D. 354-430) in his book *The City of God* stated: "the conflict between the spiritual and the temporal was a perpetual one in which the spiritual

would ultimately triumph".

Later on as this strife continued to develop St. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274) in his major work the *Summa Theologica* had the following remark to make:

"the State was not a shadow of the Church but a creation to help the Church. The State should keep up populations, protect and care for roads, establish systems of coinage and help the needy or the poor. It was only when the state had established peace that men can then contemplate on eternal life and salvation".

This progressive idea of St. Thomas Aquinas had a tremendous impact on political thought and practice. Following this principle the missionaries dared not kick against the colonial ideology nor play a neutral role.

Here we ask, "Why was it that after the First World War the Scottish Mission had to replace the Basel

Bulgaria Moves Forward

THE Bulgarian people next week celebrate the 21st. anniversary of people's rule in their country, and as they draw up the balance sheet of the last two decades, pride of place will undoubtedly go to the successes that have been won in industrialisation.

Pre-Second World War Bulgaria was one of the most backward countries in Europe, with little industry and primitive farming.

In 1939, for example, the peak year of the country's economic development under a capitalist system, agriculture accounted for three-quarters of total output, while industry made up the remaining 25 per cent.

Such industry as there was mainly small-scale light

Bulgarian people celebrate 21 years of Progress

by a Spark Correspondent

industry. There was also a food-processing industry. There was scarcely any heavy industry.

In agriculture too primitive, small-scale farming was the rule, with the size of holdings averaging a fraction of an acre, with wooden ploughs drawn by cattle and manual labour aided by the most rudimentary tools the order of the day.

Although nominally independent, Bulgaria, like many other countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe during the pre-war years, was the target for a form of neo-colonialist exploitation by the more advanced industrial coun-

tries of Western Europe—Germany, France and Britain.

Nearly half the capital in all the joint-stock companies registered in Bulgaria in pre-war years belonged to foreign investors, who exercised virtually complete control over the country's natural resources.

Prior to and during the Second World War, Bulgaria's semi-fascist monarchial government waged a campaign of terror and repression against its opponents at home, and collaborated closely with Hitler Germany.

But progressive, freedom-loving Bulgarians, and notably Bulgarian Communists,

collaborators, did it become possible for the Bulgarian people to start to re-shape their future.

After liberation, the Bulgarian people were able to overcome the legacy of the backwardness inherited from the past, and to begin the advance along the road to Socialism, with socialist industrialisation and the development of a mechanised, co-operative farming.

Bulgaria was able to build up her own heavy industry thanks to the planned utilisation of her own resources and thanks also to the co-operation of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries.

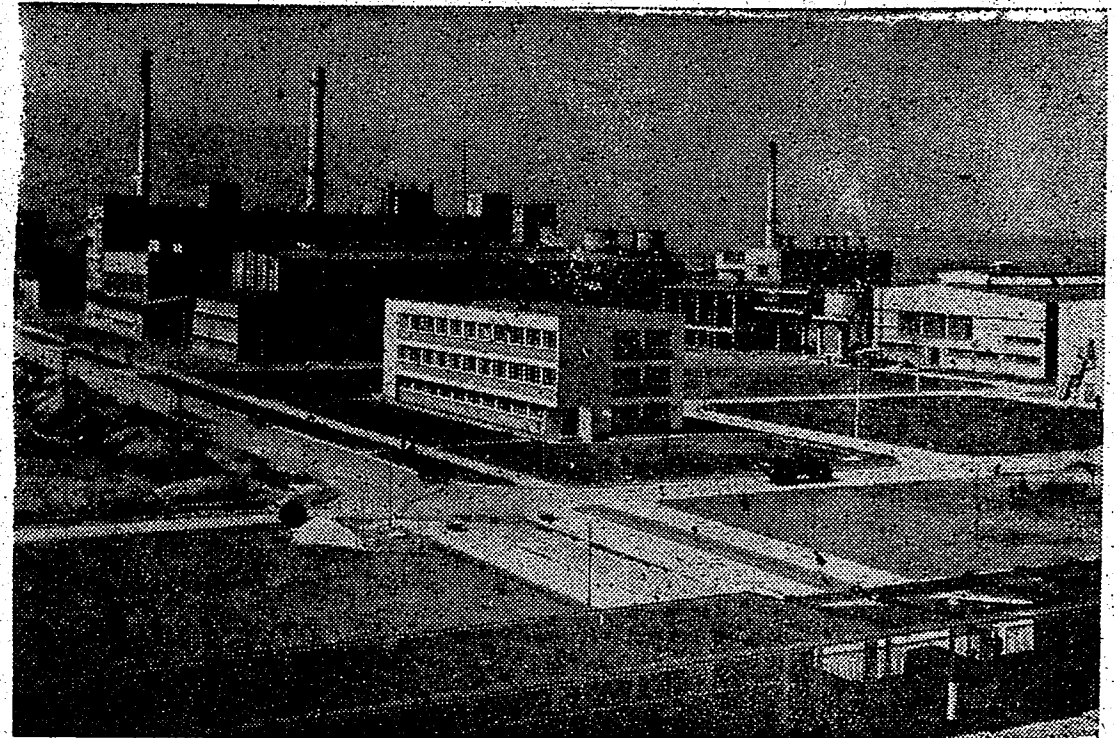
As a result of this tremendous effort, in which the emphasis has been on power, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, engineering and chemicals, Bulgaria's industrial output was in 1964 nineteen times greater than in 1939, while industry accounted for almost one half of the country's national income.

TESTIMONY

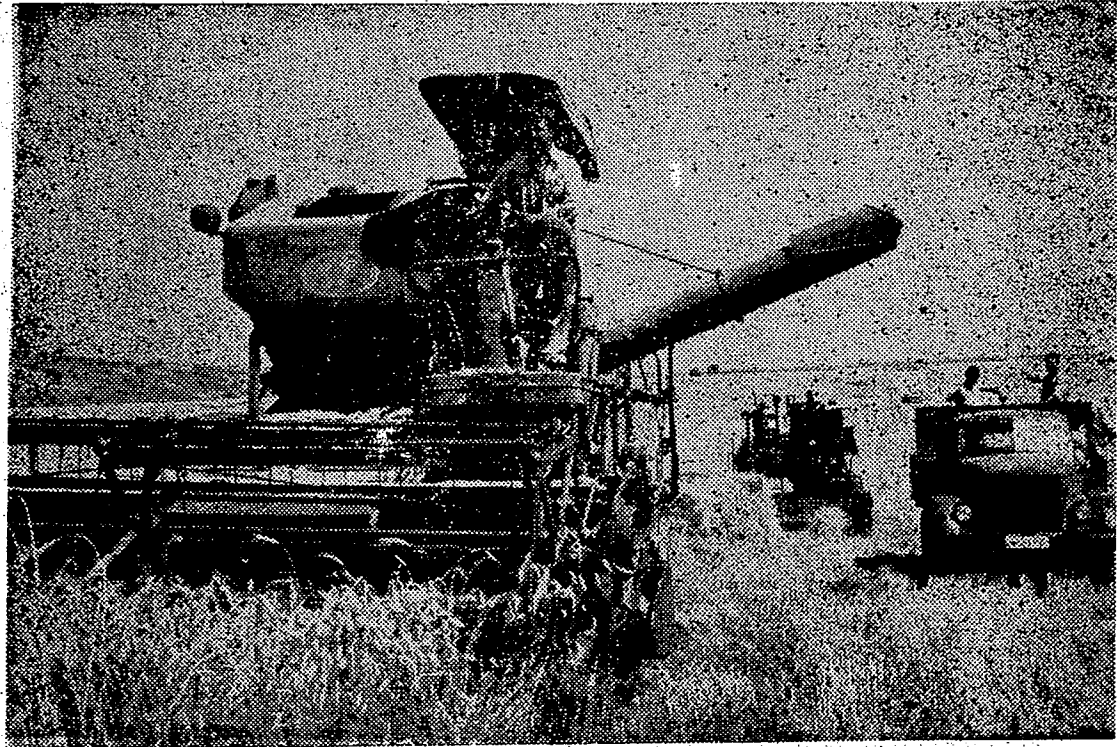
Plants under construction include the Kremikovtsi Iron and Steel Works and the Maritsa-East Power Station. This year Bulgaria will produce 10,000 million kWh of power and about 600,000 tons of steel, as well as a wide variety of non-ferrous metals and engineering equipment.

Eloquent testimony to the progress that has been made is the fact that Bulgarian electric trucks, machine tools and other equipment have been purchased even by the well-known West German firms of Siemens, Mannesman and Krupp.

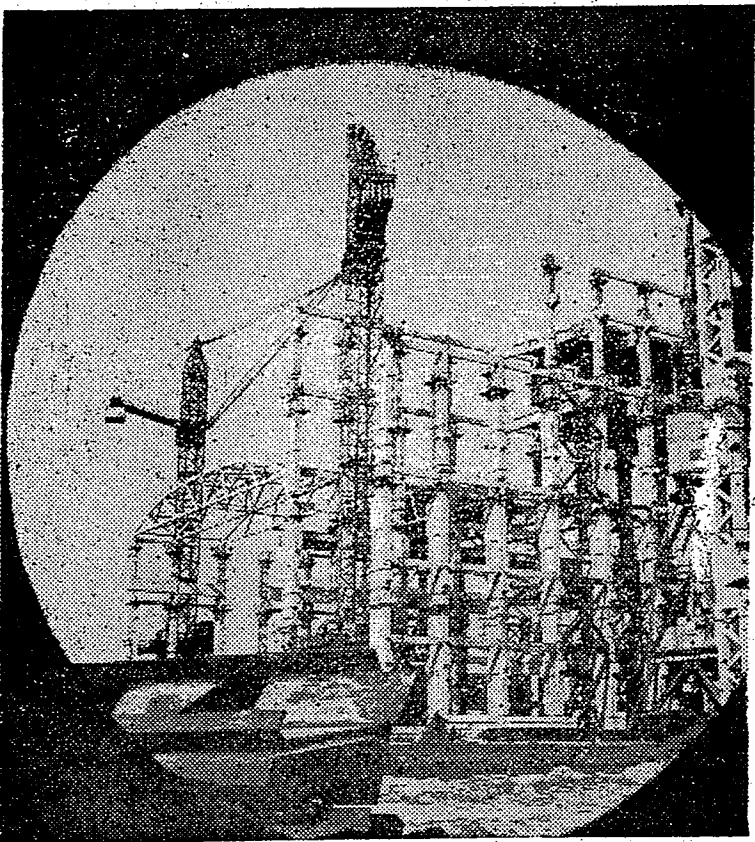
Agricultural development has also been rapid. With the complete adoption of co-operation in farming,



New factories are the most common feature of the Bulgarian sky line. Industrial out last year was 19 times that of 1939, and accounted for almost half the country's national income.



In agriculture efforts are now being constructed on the introduction of more machines to replace the old wooden ploughs drawn by cattle.



All over Bulgaria new factories are being built, using the latest building techniques.

fought back hard, using every form of struggle—underground leaflets and newspapers, strikes, demonstrations and partisan warfare.

The leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the late Georgi Dimitrov, who was later to become the first President of People's Bulgaria, won a special place in the history of the international anti-fascist struggle.

In 1933, arrested by the Nazis and charged with burning the German Reichstag (Parliament), he by his heroic defence exposed the Nazi conspiracy, showing how the Nazis themselves had fired the Reichstag in order to use it as a pretext for their reign of terror.

But only in 1944, after the liberation of Bulgaria, in which Bulgarian anti-fascist freedom fighters fought side by side with the Soviet Army which drove out the Nazi occupation troops and their Bulgarian

efforts are now being concentrated on the introduction of more machines and scientific methods. Agricultural output last year was double that of 1939, and Bulgaria's agricultural produce, in particular her fruit, enjoy a world-wide reputation.

Throughout the twenty-one years of its existence, People's Bulgaria has striven for peace and friendship. It has made particular efforts to bring about friendly relations with its neighbours in South-East Europe, and backed efforts to secure the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

FIRM SUPPORTER

It has been a firm supporter of the national liberation struggle, and teams of Bulgarian builders and engineers are working in many developing countries.

As they celebrate their twenty-first anniversary, the Bulgarian people send warm fraternal greetings to the peoples of the newly-independent countries, and look forward to still closer co-operation with them in every field.



Bulgaria's farm produce, and in particular her fruit enjoys a world-wide reputation for its quality.

Facts about Bulgaria

BULGARIA, which once had to import even ordinary pins and nails, now manufactures and exports to the five continents of the globe, tractors, combine harvesters, lathes, electrical trucks, cranes, ships, refrigeration installations, complete food processing factories etc.

In 1939 Bulgaria exported no engineering products; in 1956 engineering products accounted for 4 per cent of her exports, in 1964 28 per cent and this year the figure will reach 30 per cent.

capitalist. Bulgarian medicine Today Bulgaria is able to produce 1,800 types of drugs, serums and vaccines. Of these 250 are exported to 46 countries—33 of them

cines are in fact purchased by countries which themselves have a developed pharmaceutical industry, such as West Germany, Switzerland, France, the U.S.A., Sweden and Austria—clear testimony to their quality.

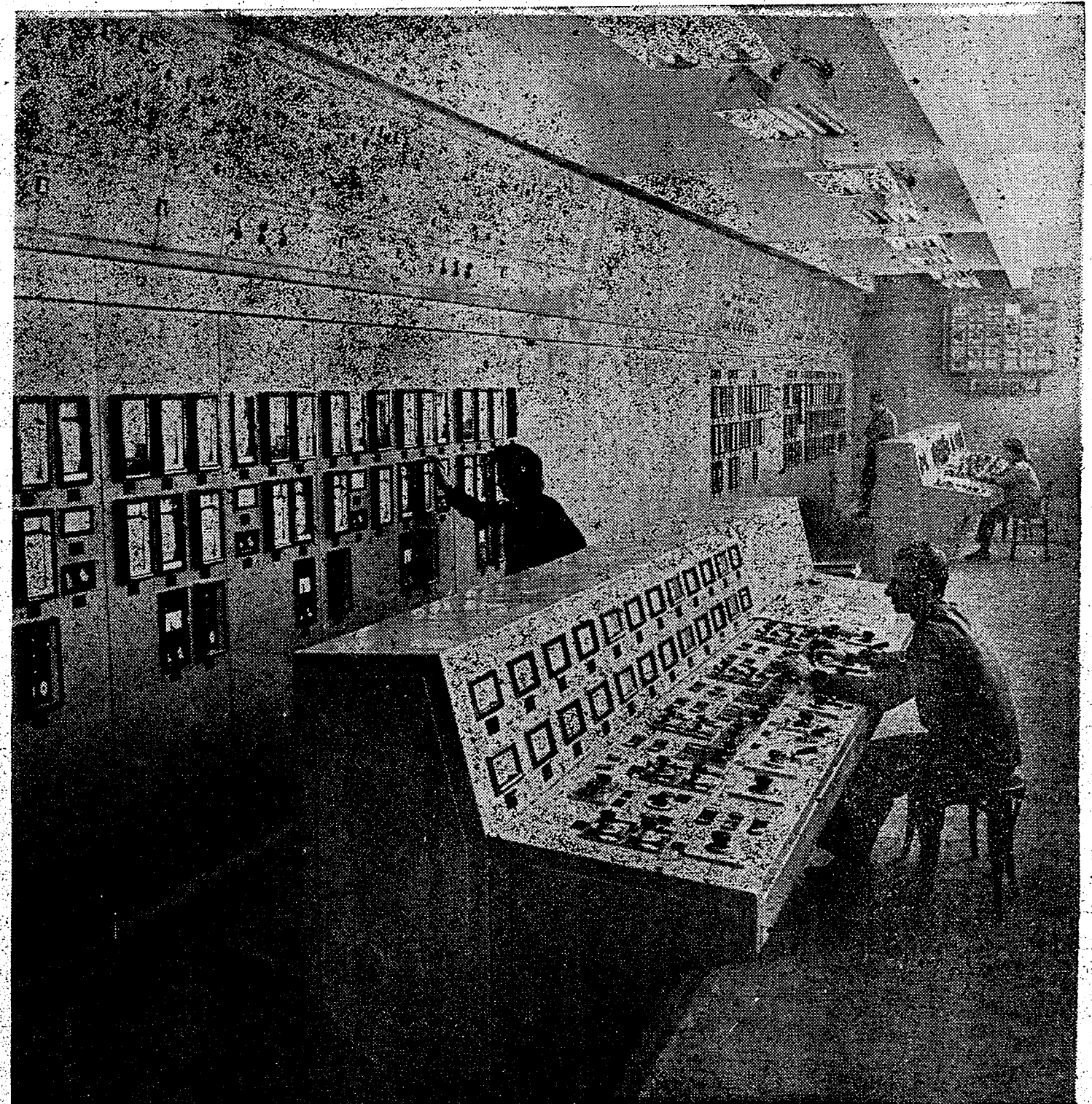
Bulgaria is today the largest exporter of tomatoes and grapes in the world, having surpassed such well-known producers as Italy and Holland. It now exports as many tomatoes in one day as were exported in the whole season in 1939.

Bulgaria is one of the major exporters of tobacco. Her output is second only to that of the United States, while her exports of cigarettes are second only to those of the

United States and Britain. Economic progress has been matched by progress in health, education and other fields. In 1939 the mortality rate was 13.6 per 1,000 of the population; today it is 7.9—one of the lowest in the world. Average expectation of life is now 68 for men and 71 for women.

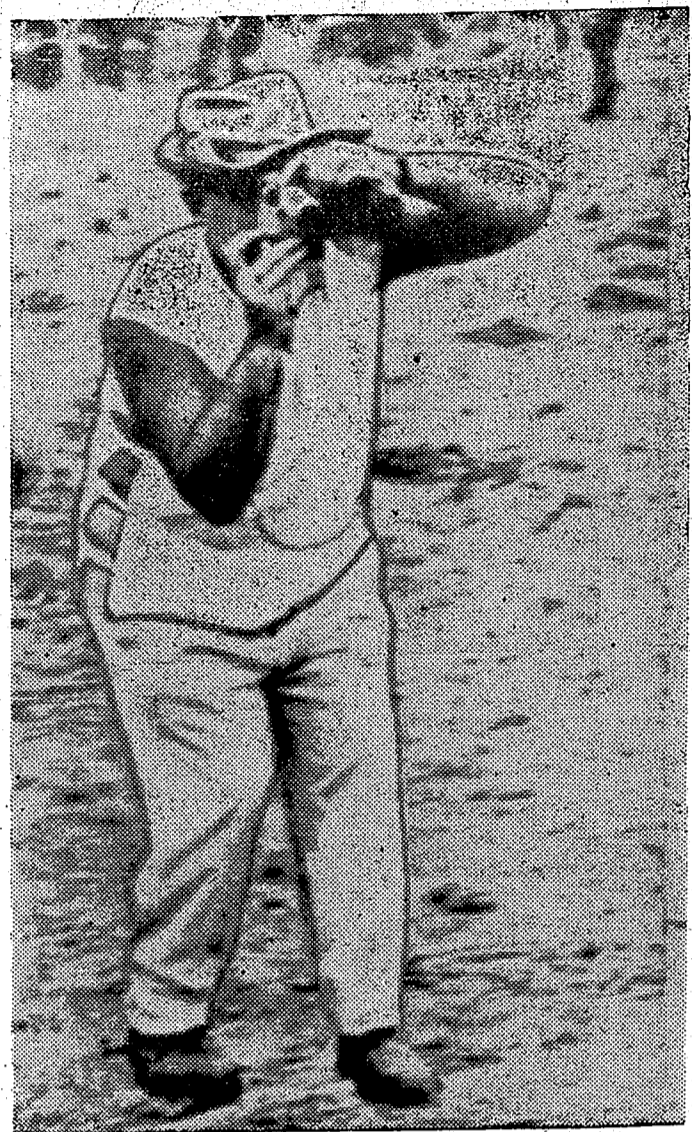
Infant mortality was 134 per 1,000 in 1939. Last year it was down to 32.9. The number of health centers has increased from 995 in 1944 to 3,854 last year—a nearly fourfold increase. The number of hospitals has increased from 175 to 328.

Today all children up to the age of 15 are attending school.



The power industry, which provides the seneus for industrial advance, has been one of the most-rapidly developing branches, with many new power-stations and grid systems coming into operation.

Peeping Tom Ambassador



WE should explain that our picture of Dr. Reichhold, a former West German Ambassador to Ghana, is in fact only half a picture.

It omits the target for the lens of the West German diplomat's expensive camera—an African woman from one of the remotest parts of our country.

We omit it because, unlike the learned doctor from "civilised" Europe, we do not wish to pander to those who find the human form something at which to snigger and smirk.

Our picture—or, to be more exact, our part of a picture—is one of three published in the West German magazine *Der Stern* depicting the former West German Ambassador in the role of "Peeping Tom".

They are apparently selected from among his "family album" compiled during his stay in Ghana and chosen as being especially piquant.

There are many surprising things about the photographs. The first is that a grown-up and (one must assume) educated man

should wish to take such a photograph.

The second surprising thing is that he should allow himself to be photographed taking it; most men prefer to keep such perversions to themselves.

Which leads us to the third, surprising thing—that Dr. Reichhold should permit their publication in a magazine with a five million circulation.

Dr. Reichhold may think that by so doing he succeeds in denigrating Ghana, in demonstrating how "back-

ward" it is.

In fact, he succeeds only in demonstrating his own puerile mentality, which cannot rise above the lower sort of tap-room vulgarity.

During his stay in Ghana Dr. Reichhold frequently protested his desire for closer and more friendly relations between our country and his. Does he seriously believe that his vulgar salacity contributes to that aim?

Would this end have not been better served by photographs, for example, of

the two young women who this year won their wings as Ghana Air Force pilots, or of some of the young women who are learning new skills and new professions in our factories and schools?

Certainly, such pictures would have been more in keeping with the spirit of the new Africa.

But Dr. Reichhold preferred to remain at the level of strip-tease vulgarity—and the strip-tease, we would add, was not an African invention.

Summit Must Act to Aid Southern Rhodesia

By YAW KWAKYE
(Institute of Journalism)

DURING his recent West African tour, the British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Bottomley declared at Enugu, Eastern Nigeria, that the only action Britain was prepared to take if Ian Smith declared Rhodesia independent unilaterally, was to apply economic sanctions.

Why is Mr. Bottomley reluctant to suspend the present Rhodesia Constitution and to use force should Ian Smith defy him? The British Government has taken a similar action before in Guiana. He is reluctant to do the same thing in Rhodesia for two major reasons.

Firstly, he knows that Britain's capitalist and economic hold on Rhodesia is bound to come to an end if majority rule is established in that country.

Secondly, to use force would inevitably result in the shedding of white blood, which Mr. Bottomley cannot afford to do.

Ian Smith declared recently that when he conceded the 15 B-roll seats which

Africans now have in the Rhodesian Parliament in 1961, it was understood that that was the price he was prepared to pay for Rhodesia's independence.

That is why Ian Smith cynically declared in a recent speech that he and the white minority population in Rhodesia "lowered their standards" when they granted the 15 B-roll seats and were not prepared to "lower their standards" any more.

That is why a settler in Rhodesia boldly declared some time ago: "We are in this country [Rhodesia—Ed.] because we represent a higher civilization, because we are better men. It is our only excuse for having taken the land."

How long are we going to stand the insults of racialists and the perpetrators of apartheid? How long are we going to allow Africans to be humiliated by Ian Smith, Verwoerd, Salazar and the other racialists and imperialists?

How long are we going to look outside ourselves for help to fight the enemy?

Has not the supposed helper proved to be the ally

of the enemy?

The sad fact that emerges from Mr. Bottomley's recent speeches is that Britain is not prepared to hand over power to the Africans unless there is mass pressure.

Experience has shown that Britain, France and the other colonial powers concede power to the majority, in a country where there is a substantial European settler community only when forced to do so. Kenya's and Algeria's struggles for independence are examples.

In both instances the struggles were long and brutal, but they were justified. In both instances, Britain and France, recognizing the inevitable, at last bowed before the storm.

Our brothers in Rhodesia cannot win freedom alone. Rhodesia is surrounded by two hostile countries, fascist South Africa and Salazar's Mozambique, both of which are ready to give help to Ian Smith.

Secondly, the people of Rhodesia cannot alone stand against Ian Smith's military might, which the

imperialists have helped him to build over the years.

The people of Rhodesia need the help of all the independent African States to assert their rights and dignity. Not just moral or spiritual help (they have had enough of that) but help if necessary in the form of arms and men.

Help we must, but how? We cannot meet the oppressor except by the full weight of our united strength. This will require an all-embracing African Command, which in turn can effectively come about by a united Africa functioning under a Union Government.

An opportunity will soon present itself for the formation of a Union Government. This is the impending Accra Summit Conference. It is an opportunity which our Heads of State must seize with all their heart and with all the means at their disposal.

As Kwame Nkrumah told the Cairo Summit Conference in July 1964, the Imperialists and racists regard the O.A.U. Charter as token unity; they will not respect it until it assumes the form of a Union Government.

Socialist Parliament

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"If this passion were blended and animated with an equal desire to serve the nation, there would be no need for me to sound any alarm.

"Unfortunately, the desperate rush to 'get rich quick' and to make the most for ourselves is not matched by a commensurate urge to serve Ghana to the best of our capabilities and powers.

"We are inclined to forget that, as citizens, it is not what you take out of your country that counts, but what you put into it."

Let these words be thoroughly understood by every Member of Parliament so that, strengthened by the sense of his own integrity, he can fight ruthlessly against corruption in others.

A new feature of our Parliament is that every Member must now be in employment. We hope as many as possible will be actively engaged in industry, agriculture or their professions.

It is industrial and agricultural production that lays the material basis for our socialist society and Members would do well to strengthen their links in every way with this dynamic force of our social development.

This Parliament exists for one purpose to help to build a socialist society in Ghana. If it fails to develop into an effective instrument of the will of the people it will be swept aside.

If its Members really understand the opening speech which was delivered to them, and set out fearlessly to implement it, they will carry out their responsibilities in a true socialist and Nkrumaist spirit.

Editorial

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Such demands should likewise be rejected by Ghana, for as Kwame Nkrumah declared in his sessional address to Parliament, "neither the machinations of monopolists in the cocoa trade, nor the obstacles placed in our path by those who seek to control foreign currencies and credits, will cause us to slacken or halt our pace of development."

We insist that the I.M.F. demonstrate that it can give financial assistance that meets our needs without at the same time imposing the traditional solutions of international finance capital.

All negotiations must therefore be based on the clear understanding that our Seven-Year Plan does not need re-casting. Ghana wants financial assistance to fulfil its Seven-Year Plan, not "expert advice" on how to re-draw it.

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