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EDITORIAL

THE ISSUES AT STAKE

YES

TODAY, and throughout the ensuing week, the people of this country are flocking and will be flocking to the polls to register their view on the proposed changes to the constitution of the Republic of Ghana. We are indeed, witnessing a history-making event. For the referendum now in progress marks the close of one phase and the opening of a new and higher phase in the African Revolution. The sole aim of the revised constitution is to equip the people of this country with those powers necessary for the successful discharge of their historic mission both inside Ghana and throughout Africa. Accordingly every patriotic Ghanaian must vote 'YES'. This is his duty to himself, to his motherland, to Africa.

A constitution is not an abstract model of perfection existing for all countries and for all times. It is a living organism. It protects the present, reflects the past and contains in itself the means of coping with the future. Therefore it is something constantly evolving and changing, at every stage identifying itself more closely with the interests of the people and making it correspondingly easier for the people to realise their aspirations. And so

it is with the constitution of Ghana.

The Constitution now in the process of revision came into force in 1960 after a nationwide plebiscite. It has served us reasonably well for some three and a half years. But during this short but eventful period in our national life, developments have taken place for which our constitution could not be fully prepared for the simple reason that the Constitution came in advance of these developments. Significant changes have taken place both inside Ghana and on the African continent which our 1960 Constitution did not and could not foresee.

Here at home the enemies of our revolution have changed their strategy and tactics. They have abandoned the idea of running a political party in opposition to the Convention People's Party. This has been forced on them not by any governmental decree but rather by the crushing logic of the people's total loss of faith in them.

In 1956, on the eve of political independence, the people of this country won 72 out of the 104 constituencies in this country. The enemies of the people won the remaining 32 consti-

tuencies. Since then the logic of events has become overwhelming and overbearing for these enemies of the people. There has been a steady stream of defectors from the opposition parties to the C.P.P. In 1960 the people won 101 out of the 104 constituencies.

This total loss of popular support has forced the enemies of the people to make a radical change in their strategy and tactics. Unable to win popular support for their reactionary upper class policies, these capitalist-minded and backward-looking business and traditional elements have resorted to assassination plots against the Head of State and indiscriminate violence directed against the people of this country. In these barbaric exploits the enemies have sought and obtained the active collaboration and tacit commendation of the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Again, since 1960, there has emerged clearly for all to see a class of the 'new rich' within the Convention People's Party. These elements who have amassed wealth through their position in the state machinery constitute the "internal" foes of our socialist revolution.

Both the traditional and the "internal" enemies of our cause have taken upon themselves to set the support of some misguided persons in our state machinery as part

of their plan to overthrow our people's regime. Our recent history has revealed such misguided few in the Army, Police, some key ministries and corporations and in the judiciary.

Opposition to our peoples' advance now comes, not so much from a political party, but from the crafty and subversive use being made of a few highly placed persons in our state machinery.

In Africa, the three years since the coming into force of our Republican Constitution in 1960 have brought tremendous changes. No less than twenty-five African states have achieved political independence. Unfortunately many of these new states are still neo-colonialist in character and orientation.

This fact—that many of the independent African states are neo-colonialist in character and orientation—is of very vital significance to the existence and progress of Ghana. For this fact enables imperialism the more easily and covertly to hatch plots against the sovereignty and progress of Ghana. And these plots against us deepen as we reinforce our efforts in the direction of African Unity. For the organic unity of Africa is antithetical to the positions of imperialism on this continent.

This struggle on the African scene has not been diminished by the

formal acceptance of African unity at Addis Ababa last May. This formal acceptance of African unity has indeed intensified the conflict. For the acceptance of African unity means that Africa cannot be half free half slave. A big battle is therefore going on. Shall Africa be united on the basis of neo-colonialism or of socialism?

Ghana stands by the concept of a united Africa under the banner of socialism. As such, she has arraigned against her the combined might of the imperialist powers and their neo-colonialist agents on the continent of Africa.

These then are the major developments which have taken place since 1960. Even if vaguely envisaged at the time we inaugurated our present constitution, these developments could not have been accurately observed. Hence it was impossible to provide adequately for them. It is therefore necessary to bring our constitution up to date by amending it in a way to allow for these major developments in the political life of Africa, in the social and economic life of Ghana, and in the strategy and tactics of the enemies of the African revolution.

The proposed constitutional changes are few but fundamental. These are:—

1. that the people are the source of all power

and the guardians of the state:

2. that there shall be one national party which will serve as the leading core of all organisations of the people and as the vanguard of the people in their struggle to build a socialist society;

3. that parliament is the corporate representative of the people;

4. that parliament can surrender the sovereignty of Ghana only in furtherance of African unity;

5. that the President can remove a judge of the Supreme Court or of the High Court on grounds that appear to him sufficient.

The proposed changes make socialism as a way of life an entrenched clause in our constitution. And they strengthen the hands of our people in their drive towards socialism, for they rightly recognise that only the broad masses have a vested interest in the early and total triumph of socialism. In other words, the proposed constitutional changes make socialism the avowed national goal. They ensure the supremacy of the people because this is the only sure foundation on which a socialist regime could be built. And they create and remould certain institutions which, controlled by the people, will expedite the drive to socialism.

Despite the opposition in some intellectual circles to them, it is cer-

tain, judging from the reactions of our people, that these constitutional changes will receive a massive 'YES' vote. We could leave it at that. But it is necessary to cross swords with these snooty intellectuals if only to bring it home to them that they do not possess any monopoly of knowledge.

Their first argument is that the President needs not remove judges. They of course argue from what they consider to be the practice in Britain and U.S.A. This argument is wholly wrong and without foundation. In both Britain and U.S.A., the Executive has powers to remove judges whose activities the Chief Executive regards as not conducive to the general good. And far from these judges being insulated from politics as is erroneously claimed, many avenues exist through which judges in these countries are made to feel the pulse of the nation.

An even more fundamental argument is that a social institution—and the judiciary is a social institution—must serve the general aims and objectives of the society which creates it. Is it conceivable that the Ghanaian people should choose the goal of socialism and then allow an institution set up by them to pursue a course inimical to socialism?

These few intellectuals of the colonial breed

Continued on page 6

The Capitalist Economy in 1963

It is our view that the capitalist path of development is grotesquely outmoded and simply cannot solve the problems of developing countries. A. Belchuck, a correspondent of NEW TIMES, has analysed capitalist economy in 1963. For those who think they can hold on to capitalism, we recommend this searching article. —EDITOR.

THE capitalist economy develops in leap-like cycles: boom-crisis—recovery. What were the chief characteristics of the process in 1963? In the fifties and early sixties the highest growth rates were achieved in continental Western Europe and Japan. They were held up as a glaring example of the possibilities latent in capitalism. The United States, in contrast, lost the advantages it enjoyed during the war and in the early years after it and began to lag behind continental Western Europe and Japan in rate of economic growth.

The position changed in 1962 and 1963, when the U.S. output gain surpassed Western Europe's. Beginning with the second quarter of last year, both the U.S. and Canada resumed the economic climb interrupted by the 1960—61 recession and nearly seven-month stagnation (July 1962—February 1963). The second quarter of last year also saw a resumption of the climb in Britain, which in the previous two years had been going through a period of stagnation and showed practically no increase in industrial output. On the other hand, industrial expansion in Western Europe and Japan gradually slowed down.

Does this imply that the United States and Britain have taken over the lead, and that their economies have captured the "dynamism" which in earlier years was characteristic of Western Europe and Japan? No, the U.S. and Britain might somewhat improve their position in the capitalist world, but only relatively, compared with the substantial deceleration of economic growth in Western Europe and Japan. A repetition of the situation of the fifties, this time with the U.S. and Britain in the lead, is not on the cards.

NOTICEABLE DECLINE IN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES

At first glance, the 1963 record might suggest different tendencies in the U.S. and Britain on the one hand, and continental Western Europe and Japan on the other. Closer examination, however, will reveal many more common features than at any time since World War II. First, there has been a noticeable decline in the growth differential between industrial capitalist countries. According to preliminary estimates, industrial output in the U.S. rose about 5 per cent last year, and by an average of 3.5-4 per cent in Western Europe.

Second, in both cases the factors bolstering the economy and those tending to weaken it are more or less the same. The buoyancy factors were greater output in automobiles, expansion in building and in such industries as electrical engineering, chemicals, oil products, and also more government spending, chiefly for military purposes. The weakening factors were a drop in private investments and slower growth of exports and consumer demand.

Britain's production and export gain last year was a very modest one: output rose by about 2.5 per cent, or less than the Common Market average. The United States registered a higher figure, but there are symptoms that it has reached the maximum and that the rate of growth will decline.

The present production increase, of which American economists are so proud, could not appreciably reduce unemployment, and the number of fully unemployed is above four

million. Besides, much industrial capacity lies idle, though it could be used to increase production by \$30,000 million or even \$40,000 million a year: A huge army of unemployed and idle industrial capacity are characteristic of modern capitalism even in good business periods.

There is continued deterioration at another nerve centre of the U.S. economy: the balance of payments deficit has topped the 1962 figure of \$2,200 million; the drain on gold continues, increasing the danger to the dollar.

Higher consumer demand is an important factor in keeping the capitalist economy on an even keel, but in the United States the growth of consumer demand was slower than in 1962.

Expansion in the automobile industry has played a very special part in America's economic development over the past two years. But again, the outlook for further expansion is not bright. Automobile sales were increased by artificially stimulating credit buying. The consumer credit debt now stands at nearly \$70,000 million, and American economists predict near-stagnation in automobile sales in 1964.

DROP OF TOTAL INVESTMENTS

The continued increase of government spending, a traditional means of invigorating the capitalist economy, is likewise being held up due to a number of causes which will be discussed further on.

In Britain, where the economic position improved somewhat last year, these weak links are even more numerous than in the United States. For instance, total investments dropped by approximately 5 per cent despite a fairly substantial increase (nearly 9 per cent) in government investments. Consumer demand increased to a smaller degree than in 1962. The position in engineering has deteriorated, and shipbuilding and steel are still in difficult straits. The most important supporting factor was expansion of exports, but even the most optimistic forecasts are for no more than a 4 per cent advance in 1964.

In short, there are no grounds to suppose that the U.S. and Britain will, in the next few years, replace continental Western Europe and Japan in rate of economic development.

WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN: DECLINING GROWTH RATE

In both areas the economy has been supported chiefly by bigger production in automobiles, oil products, chemicals, electrical engineering and electric power. However, advances in these industries cannot obscure the process of gradual deceleration, which in the past two and a half years has made itself felt in Western Europe (with the exception of Britain in 1963) and Japan. That process can be traced in the following figures showing annual percentage gains in industrial output:

	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Great Britain	5.1	6.9	1.3	0.9	2.5
G.F.R.	7.6	11.2	5.9	4.8	3.5
France	1	8.9	5.4	6.0	5
Italy	11	15.3	10.9	9.9	5
Sweden	6	7.5	3.4	1.7	1.5
Belgium	4	6.7	4.5	5.2	4
Holland	9	13.8	1.6	3.1	3
Japan	24	25.8	19.2	8.1	7.5

The general trend towards a weaker economy, despite a certain upturn in the U.S. and Britain, stands out clearly enough. And there is no evidence that this trend will change within the next few years. The "dynamic" period is drawing to a close.

WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMY

That is evidenced by developments in practically all the industrial countries that set the pace for the world capitalist economy. What we have here, first, is the deteriorating position in private capital investments, spelled out in the figures for Western Europe for the past two years. In 1959-61, private investments increased by 10, 15, even 20 per cent annually, whereas in 1962 the average was only 3.5 per cent, and last year the figure was reduced to 0. In several countries investments actually declined. This had an immediate effect on the capital goods industries, causing overproduction in steel, coal, shipbuilding, and latterly also in engineering.

Consumer spending continued to grow both in 1962 and 1963, the result of a certain rise in wages won by dint of hard struggle. In recent months, however, the rise has slowed down, due to employer and government resistance. Last year, apparently, only Italy and Holland registered a faster growth of private consumption.

Export expansion in the past two years failed to stimulate economic growth in

most West-European countries. Doubtlessly, trade in the capitalist world market has passed the rapid-expansion phase. In 1963, exports exerted a noticeable stimulating effect only, perhaps, in Federal Germany and Britain, though even here the increase was a very moderate one. Moreover, it was due not only to "normal" causes (higher production, wider international division of labour), but also to continued and steeper price rises in a number of countries.

Inflation trends have become typical of most West-European nations. The general price rise in the past two years has been two, even three, times faster than in the previous period. In Italy, Denmark and France the rise has been at a rate of 5-8 per cent a year. "Creeping" inflation has not yet developed into a "galloping" inflation, but it is "creeping" at a much faster pace. This undermines currency stability and has a damaging effect on the balance of payments and on the credit and monetary position.

These facts indicate that there is little hope of any considerable improvement

in the West-European economy in the near future. Most bourgeois economists—and they do not incline towards pessimism—believe that, in the best of events, the status quo will be maintained. The forecasts and promises of the European "integrationists" have not been justified: the rate of economic growth in the Common Market countries last year was the lowest since the Market came into being.

PRIMING THE ECONOMY

Whenever there is a slack in the economy all hopes turn to state-monopoly-intervention, mainly to what has become known as "pump priming". The government of practically every industrial capitalist country has sought to exert an "anticyclical" influence on the economy. The most favoured method is to increase government, notably military, expenditure. And it is no accident, of course, that last year NATO expenditure reached an all-time high, placing an additional burden on the working people.

The most ambitious "anticyclical" campaign has been launched in the United States. Among other things it provides for a \$11,000 million tax cut, affecting chiefly the monopolies, over the next two years to encourage investment and raise purchasing power. This, it is believed, will boost the economy. In fact, 88 per cent of American economists polled on

the subject maintain that tax reduction is the surest way of promoting economic activity. Secretary of the Treasury Dillon, has been even more explicit, stating that failure to cut taxes will precipitate a recession in the second half of 1964.

Congress will apparently pass the tax bill, with major or minor amendments. But there are many indications that its stimulating effect is greatly exaggerated. First, less tax revenue is bound to inhibit government spending, notably on supporting business activity. It should be borne in mind also that the U.S. has a deficit budget and a colossal national debt. More deficit and more debt might endanger the whole financial structure. Significantly, President Johnson emphasised, at his December 7 news conference, the need to cut government expenditure.

Second, and more important still, more money at the disposal of business concerns and the population does not always lead to higher investments and higher consumer demand. When economic prospects are bleak everyone tries to spend less and put more away for a rainy day. The low level of private investments is not attributable to lack of funds. The Wall Street journal reports that company profits in the third quarter of 1963 increased by more than 15 per cent, with steel companies recording an even higher figure.

Other capitalist countries rely chiefly on such "classical" stabilizing measures as increased government investments and various credit and monetary policy devices. The British, French and West-German governments intend to invest more in construction and other branches of the economy. That method was applied last year, but it did not prevent stagnation, even decline, in total investments.

A factor militating against these "anticyclical" policies is the mounting inflationary trend (particularly in France and Italy) which compels capitalist governments to restrict the further growth of government expenditure, the main source of inflation.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: END OF THE RAW MATERIALS CRISIS?

For several years now there has been an overproduction of raw materials. Since 1956 prices have fallen steadily or have remained at a very low level. The principal purveyors of raw materials are the economically underdeveloped nations. Most of them have won political independence, but remain part of the capitalist economic system. The raw materials crisis has hit them hard, leaving them with a chronic trade deficit, totalling nearly \$20,000 million for 1955-62. Foreign exchange shortages have compelled them to restrict imports of essential goods. Their foreign trade has grown very slowly, and in some cases has even declined.

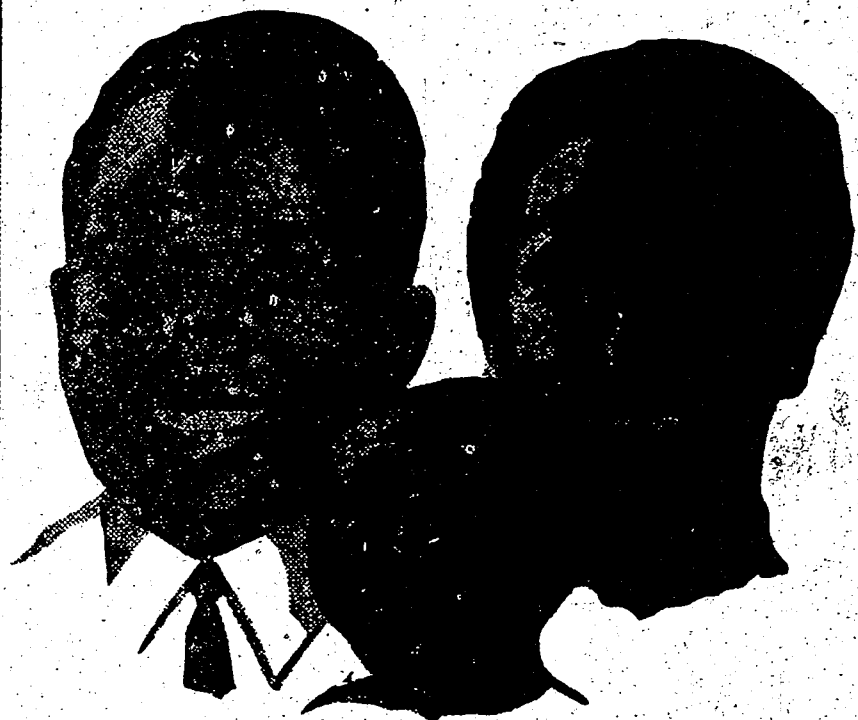
Last year brought a slight improvement: for the first time in seven years, the general price in-

dex of raw materials and foods advanced 6 per cent in the first half of the year. For the underdeveloped nations this has meant more foreign exchange revenue and a somewhat better foreign trade outlook.

It can be safely said that the raw materials crisis has passed its lowest point. But will this lead to a fundamental improvement for the developing countries? The economic decline in Western Europe and Japan, the chief buyers of raw materials and foodstuffs, shows that a stable and sizable rise in raw material prices is hardly likely. Last year's rise was by no means universal and hardly affected many mineral raw materials. Besides, the problems facing the underdeveloped nations are so complex and formidable that last year's greater inflow of foreign exchange cannot seriously improve their position.

There is a distinct trend towards industrialisation in several of the newly independent countries. But the position in most of them is characterised by limited national resources, exploited, moreover, by foreign monopoly concerns, a one-sided economic structure and woefully low living standards.

The over-all conclusion from a survey of the capitalist world economy in 1963 is that the increase in industrial output was everywhere on a moderate scale—about 4.5 per cent according to a preliminary data, or about half of the figure for the socialist countries. In fact, no capitalist country has regained the high rate of previous years. An analysis of general trends suggests that this year, 1964, will bring further deceleration.

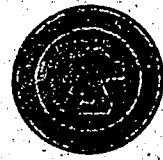


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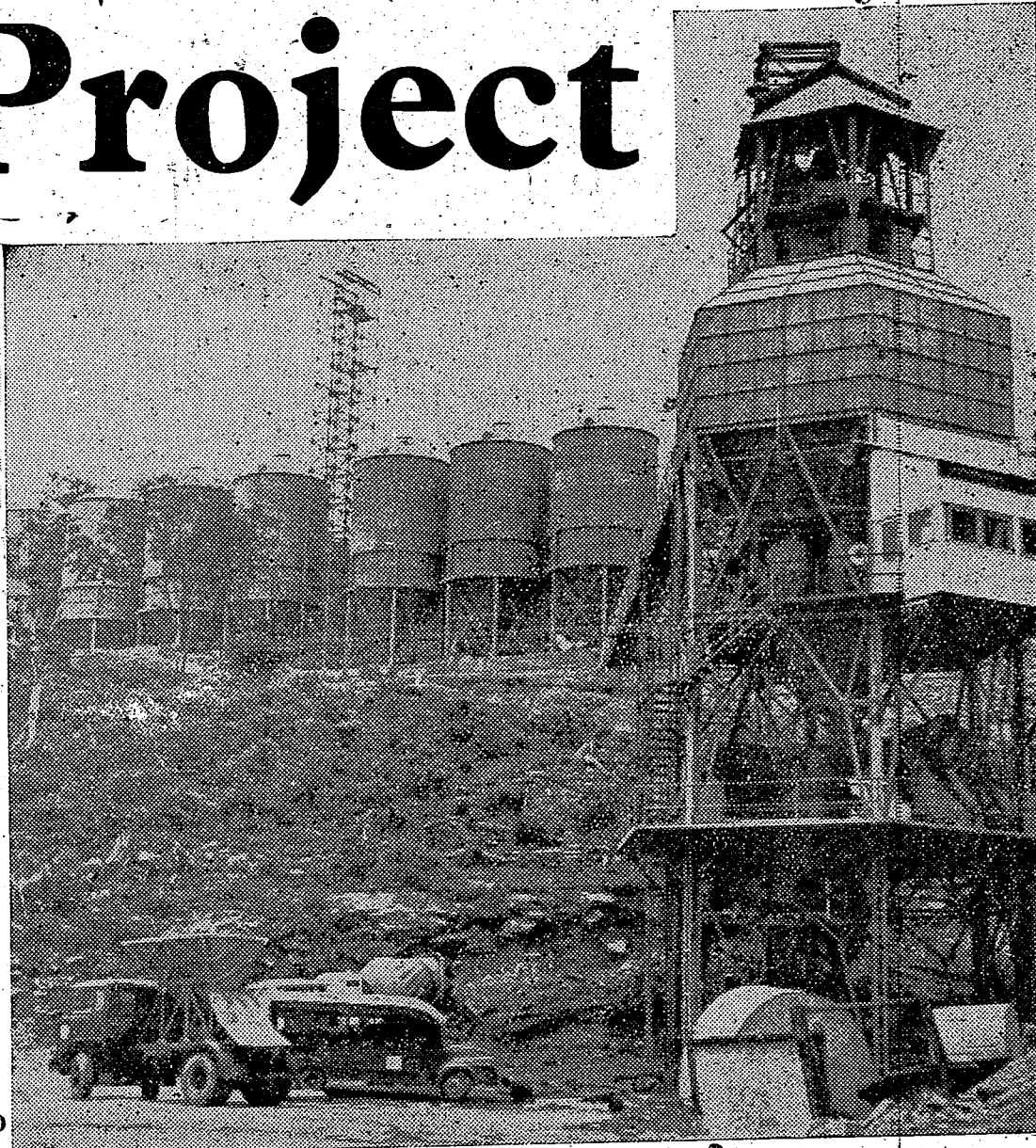
**FOCUS ON
SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT
IN GHANA**

THE web of circumstances in the history of our times has inexorably patterned out the course of development which emergent nations should follow. This course is socialism. It is the only way by which a young nation can hope to build up a firm foundation for rapid development: politically, economically, socially and culturally.

It is this course of socialism which Ghana, under the inspired leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has chosen to pursue.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Volta River Authority for putting at our disposal all the requisites materials which have made the writing of this feature on the colossal Volta River Project possible. —EDITOR

Volta River Project



RESETTLEMENT FARMS

FROM time immemorial, the great Volta has snaked its way unhampered throughout the length of Ghana to Ada, where it empties its waters into the mighty Atlantic. But before long its freedom of movement will be restricted by an engineering feat that is gradually unfolding at Akosombo; and this must be done in the national interest.

The basic objective of constructing a dam at Akosombo is to harness the waters of the Volta, in providing ample supply of electricity for industrial and domestic uses.

The dam will create behind it a vast lake that stretches from Akosombo in the south to a little beyond Yarpei in the Northern Region, and covers an area approximately 3,275 square miles.

As a result, all towns, villages and farms in the area of the projected lake will be flooded. In fact about 600 such towns and villages will be flooded out, and about 80,000 people will be displaced.

One of the major tasks facing the Volta River Authority, therefore, is that of finding new homes and farms for the people to be displaced. The Authority must also try to make the people get used to the new conditions as quickly as possible, and with the least possible interference in their normal way of living.

The Volta River Authority has an elaborate plan for meeting these. It is now actively engaged in resettling the people in 52 well-sited and well-planned new towns. In this major exercise, an opportunity is being taken to improve the standard of living of those concerned. Modern amenities such as schools, postal services, better homes and good water supplies, are being provided by the Volta River Authority. Improved and larger farms are also being planned for the people by the Ministry of Agriculture, with the help of

These acreages are only one-half of the total envisaged for eventual development. The remaining farm families will be introduced to tree crop, pastoral and intensive livestock farming.

Thus the Resettlement Division of the Volta River Authority is now engaged in a giant programme that will completely revolutionise the present subsistence farming pattern of the riverine communities.

The new townships will be provided with farms; and depending on their locations, the people will be introduced to various forms

of agriculture. Most of those in the forest areas will engage in tree crop farming, such as citrus, avocado pears, banana, coffee and oil palm. Farmers in the north and savanna areas will do poultry, livestock and pastoral farming.

In the initial stages, the Ministry of Agriculture will establish nurseries and demonstration plots where farmers will be given practical training by the Agriculture staff of the Resettlement Division in farm mechanisation, fertiliser application, crop protection against pests and other plant diseases, food storage, as well as in modern methods of cattle and poultry breeding. When the farms become well established, they will be handed over to the farmers who will work

were cleared at Bomoden for farming. Further farm site clearing has been done at Nkwakubew and Mpakadan. Two tree crushers, each capable of clearing about 900 acres per month were put into operation to speed up this all-important task.

A 350-acre maize farm which was to serve as a trial in improved farming techniques was recently harvested at Nkwakubew. A combine harvester which picks the cob, de-husks, shells and bags in a single operation was used in harvesting. It is the first of its kind in Ghana. The Nkwakubew farm is one of the largest wholly mechanised agricultural operations in the country. As a result of fertiliser application, good soil selection and pest control the yield per acre was 1½ tons, although the crop was sown 2-3 weeks behind the latest planting date for maize.

have been established at Nkwakubew. There are now available about 150 breeding sows. Eight poultry houses each to hold 2,000 broilers have also been built. A total of 7,700 day-old broiler chicks were brought up within 10-12 weeks in a series of trials and demonstrations on proper handling and feeding techniques; and of these 3,680 were marketed. Six poultry breeding pens, each with a capacity for 1,000 layers were completed. These would facilitate the hatching out of adequate number of day-old chicks for supply to the settler farmers.

IMPROVED STANDARD OF LIVING

The majority of the displaced people being farmers, the Volta River Authority is laying emphasis on agriculture as a means of improving their standard of living.

For the Resettlement Programme, the Ministry of Agriculture has planned that 42 per cent of the resettled farm families should engage in arable crop production. The overall programme provides for the following:—

- 7,000 arable farm families to be provided with 42,000 acres at 6 acres each.
- 3,000 pine-apple farm families to be provided with 9,000 acres at 3 acres each.
- 350 vegetable farm families to be provided with 1,000 acres at 3 acres each.



Prototype dredgers used for pumping out water trapped between the two coffer-dams. 27 such pumps were used in the watering programme which lasted just under 3 weeks.

DEMONSTRATION PURPOSES

Again at Nkwakubew, a 2-acre tobacco plot was established for demonstration purposes. Two acres were also planted to 132 citrus trees and a further 12 acres were put under Gross Michel banana, which will act as shade-cash crop for the oil palm, avocado and citrus demonstration plots.

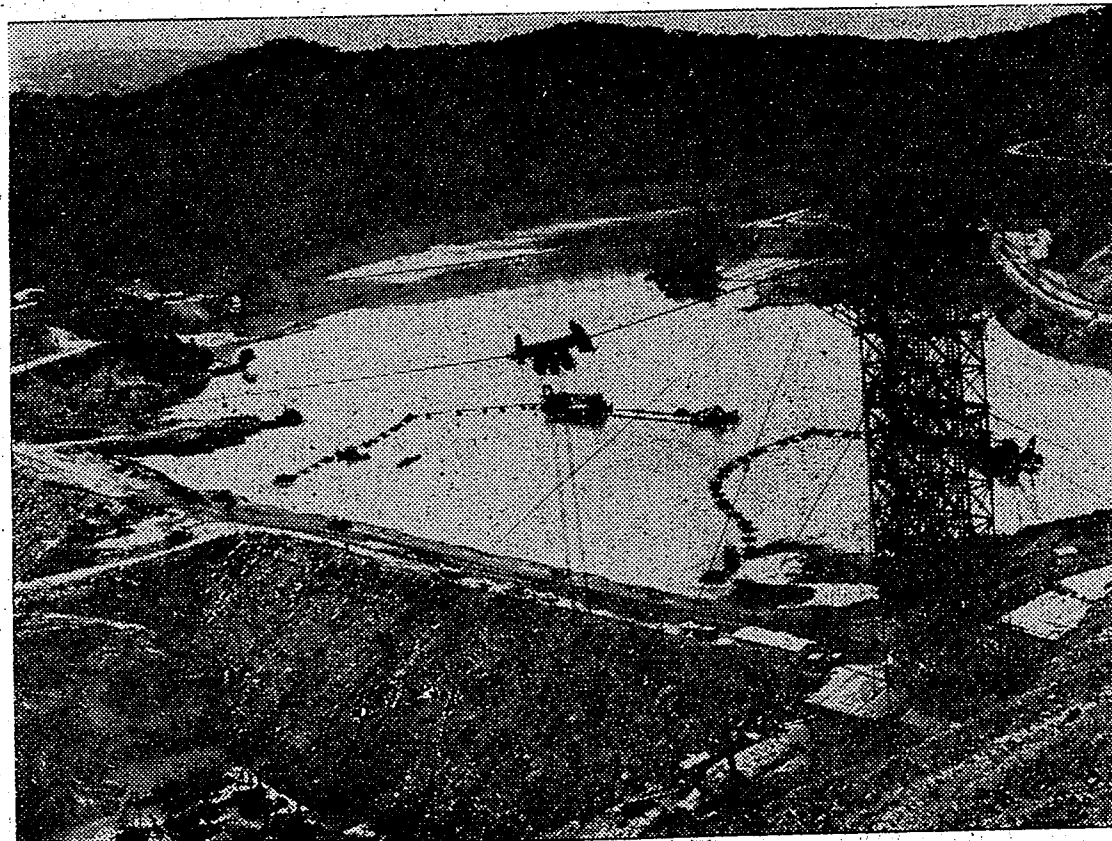
Apart from cash crops six 24-bay breeding sties as well as fifteen 4-bay fattening sties for pig farmers,

The state of affairs at Nkwakubew and Bomoden gives only a glimpse of present operations and those envisaged for other settlement towns. The overall plan for agricultural production for the entire flood basin is as follows:—

ARABLE CROP PRODUCTION

Maize 29,000 tons, groundnut 12,900 tons, tobacco 4,900 tons, cowpeas 4,900 tons, sweet potatoes 29,400

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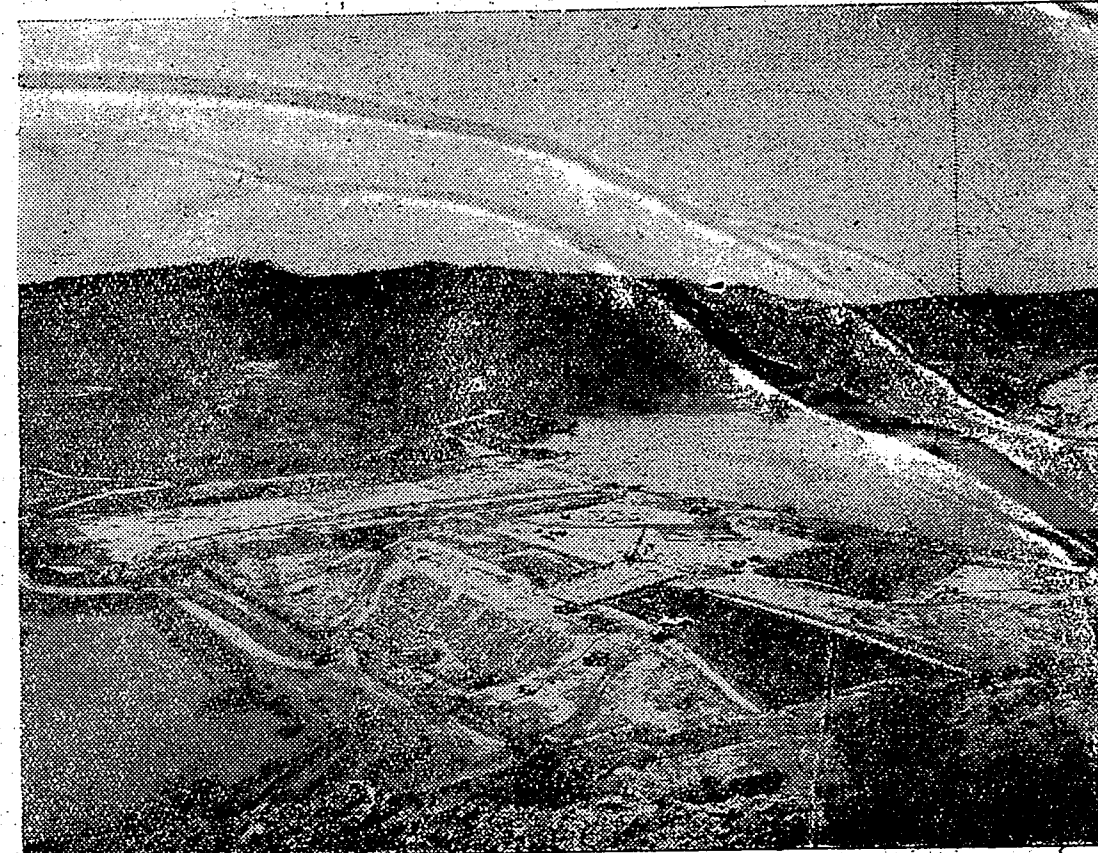
Picture shows the upstream coffer-dam.

in co-operatives under the aegis of the United Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives.

To this end, the Ministry of Agriculture has a plan to place an order for about 400 tractors and other farm machinery which will be used in this enormous agricultural production. The United Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives have also agreed to establish farm machinery serving stations for the benefit of the farmers.

What progress, one might ask, has so far been achieved in the field of resettlement farms since actual site development started about six months ago?

There is much to show and impress the visitor of progress made so far. Farm land demarcations have been made for all but a few of the 52 new settlements. About 3,000 acres



Left and (Middle) are the flume system. Flood waters are made to carry over the flume system while work goes on in the main in the West channel.

The South African Mines—Citadels of Exploitation

EVERY year the President of the Chamber of Mines boasts of the record PRODUCTION OF THE GOLD MINES OF THE Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In 1961 the profits from the gold ore were R.566,900,000 (2 Rand—one pound sterling) and in the first months of 1962 they were R.254,340,000 which was more than 10 per cent higher than the previous year.

Where does all this colossal wealth come from and what is it used for? Who benefits from this ever growing pile of riches? Is it the hundreds of Africans from the "Reserves", from Basutoland and Swaziland, from Mozambique and Nyasaland? Is it these people driven by the poverty of the countryside into the cities of Johannesburg (Goli) and Welkom and the mining towns of the Witwatersrand and Orange Free State to work long hours underground for a pittance, risking their lives as did the miners of West Driefontein last year, who died when a lift broke down? Certainly not.

Their wages are the lowest of all manual workers. They are herded into compounds like animals to sleep on stone benches without the elementary needs of a human being. Not a penny of the profits finds its way into their pockets.

SHARES AND DIVIDENDS

Who then gets these hundreds of millions of rands?

We have only to read the words of the various chairmen of companies at their annual shareholders meetings to get the answer. Here are announced the dividends which the company directors will pay out of the profits of their mines to the shareholders. It is into the pockets of these people that the wealth obtained at such cost, by the sweat and toil of the exploited African workers, disappears. Not only have

these shareholders never worked on a mine. Many do not even live in South Africa. Their meetings take place in London or New York, as well as Johannesburg.

The London Times carries long reports and accounts of the proceedings and affairs of the Mining Companies. Many of the directors and board members of the various companies (and it is usual for one man to be a director of many companies) are members of the British ruling class—men like the banker Sir Charles Hambro, Lord Bracken, Sir Francis de Guigand, Sir R. Leeper and Lord Robins.

It is not surprising to find that these people are active supporters of South African Foundation, and the newly formed South African Society in London, organisations comprised of leading capitalists and government officials, whose aim is to whitewash the policies of apartheid in the eyes of the world.

RICHES FOR THE FEW

The most notorious and powerful mining millionaire is Harry Oppenheimer, once a member of the United Party "Opposition", now the leading light of the "Progressive" Party, which pretends to the outside world that it favours abolition of the colour bar but whose policies are identical with those of the reactionary Sir Roy Welensky, of the now buried Central African Federation. Both want and need the continuation of white capitalist domination on the one hand, while they attempt to satisfy world opinion by allowing a few privileges to Africans who toe their line and who are encouraged to exploit their fellow Africans.

It is obvious why the franchise in Zimbabwe (or Southern Rhodesia as the whites call it) has been extended to the few Africans who possess a sizeable income. The idea is to create an African middle class which will help the big white capitalists maintain their supremacy. This has been repeatedly stated by Harry Oppenheimer himself, the man who directly controls the great companies of De Beers (diamonds), the Anglo American Gold Mining Group and the huge Rhodesian copper interests. Indirectly, he has some control and considerable influence on the chief mining interests in Katanga. In 1961, Anglo-American gold mining profits were R16.8 million and in 1962 De Beers diamond sales amounted to R.192.6 million. The mining magnates are not satisfied with

the control of the mines, they also have extensive interests in other industries and banks—e.g. Oppenheimer is Chairman of African Explosives and Chemicals (directly connected with I.C.I.), which is manufacturing armaments for the Verwoerd Government. This man is reputed to have a personal fortune of 200 million rand.

This fortune, accumulated by Oppenheimer and his father, Sir Ernest, is derived from the sweat and the toil, the hunger and the death, of the hundreds of thousands of African workers, whose wages still stand today, as they have done for over 60 years, at not more than an average of £4 a month.

CAPITALIST ALLIANCE

Nowhere is the connection between apartheid and capitalist exploitation better seen than in the field of the gold mining industry. The economy of South Africa has staged a temporary recovery from the setbacks due to the emergency in 1960, when many of us spent months in detention, and the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961, largely because the profits from the gold mines continue to flow into the country without interruption.

South Africa is by far the largest producer of gold in the world; in 1961 it was estimated that it produced 65.6 per cent of the world's total production. It is impossible to get the governments of Britain and America, both imperialist governments, to boycott South African gold, since the ruling classes of these countries depend for the very existence on the wealth they obtain this way. This fact needs continual stressing, especially since various freedom fighters think that they will get these states to lower the price of gold and thus effect the huge profits from the mines. Here is something on which the capitalists and governments of the imperialist powers, as well as the South African bosses of mines and industry, the Afrikaner Nationalists' government, and the so-called opposition parties all stand united.

Admittedly, there is rivalry between these various groups of exploiters. The British and South African rulers would like to see the price of gold raised to make their profits even greater, while the Americans have their own reasons for opposing this step. But that the ownership of the mines should remain in the hands of the exploiters, that profits should go up to be shared among the few while wages are kept at starvation levels, this is the basic principle on which they all agree. The U.S.A. imperialists have now increased their interests in our

gold mines. More companies with U.S.A. control have been formed to exploit the mines. American millionaire, Engelhard, is now an important figure on the South African capitalist scene.

Nor is it only the gold mines themselves which benefit the colonial type exploiters. The secondary industries and of course the other heavy industries, have always depended largely on the growth of the mines. It is not surprising to find that the directors of big companies making machinery and heavy equipment are at one with the mine-owners in seeing the gold mines as the key to the South African capitalist economy. Other minerals like uranium, cobalt, iron and coal are controlled in the same way by the same bosses.

We know, however that a truly independent socialist South Africa economy does not depend on gold—which is only dug up in Johannesburg to be buried again in the vaults of London banks or in the coffers of Fort Knox in the U.S.A. We have enough wealth in the land, in machinery and other more useful minerals to more than satisfy

the needs of all our people, and help our brother states in Africa and Asia.

APARTHEID LINKS

The "government" itself relies on the taxes it gets from the mines to keep itself in power and to continue its policies of oppression. The strength of the economy is reflected in the gold reserves which now stand at the highest figure they have ever been—R.450 million. But we must remember how the gold reserves and the share-profits and prices dropped dramatically after Sharpeville, where 69 of our African brothers were brutally slaughtered by the white fascists. The Verwoerd government's policies (which however hold within them the seeds of their own decay) are directed to ensuring that the wealth of the country continues to grow and remain in the hands of the ruling class.

That is why Africans are to be allowed into the towns only if the industrial bosses and the mines require their labour. All others are to be returned to the deserts of Bantustans. In return for their labour, without which no gold can be produced, the workers get no rights whatsoever.

This is the real nature of the whole rotten apartheid system: the "Bantustans" are kept in a state of miserable poverty, so that to feed their families, the men are forced into the towns where they are re-

cruited for the slave labour of the mines and factories. Job reservation prevents them from selling their labour and skills where they choose. The complicated and vicious network of the Pass laws makes sure that the worker is under the complete control of his boss. He is refused permission to work and sent back to the reserves just as it suits the authorities and the industrial bosses. He is forbidden to strike and his trade unions are not recognised, so that he cannot improve his conditions. The laws which make up and administer this twin system of political and economic domination, of baaskap and oppression, are made by an all-white "Parliament", only acting in the interests of the bosses, the mine and factory owners and all the others whose profits are made from the labour of the workers. In the face of the combined forces of oppression, the government capitalist bosses in South Africa, exploiters from imperialist countries, and a state machine—the all-white army and police—geared to assisting them with force whenever the people attempt to put right the many wrongs, what can the workers do to obtain their rights? There is only one way now—we must organise to fight back. The whole system must be ended; the people who through their labour produce the vast wealth lining the pockets of the rich, must smash the system and seize power and the means of production for themselves.

The next article will discuss the past struggles of the African mine workers and the inhuman conditions under which they are forced to live and work.

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Volta River Project

(Continued from page 3)

tons, yam 80,800 tons, millet 6,800 tons, legume hay 300,000 tons. These are expected to yield £G6,445,000 per annum.

Livestock Production

Average annual output of pigs 127,200
Average annual output of poultry 3,720,000
Expected value £G3,396,400 per annum.

Pastoral Livestock (Goats)

Total annual output of Kete Krachi, Brong-Ahafo, Gonja and other areas 400,000
Expected value £G1,545,000

Tree-crop Production

Oil Palm, citrus, avocado, mango and pine-apple production from the Ewe-Guan, Buem-Akan and Pal areas will yield £G5,910,000. Farms in the Kwahu, South Afram and Akwamu areas will yield £G4,600,000.

It is obvious, then, that the resettled farmers will have nothing to lose. On the contrary they have everything to gain in their new settlement towns—modern homes, schools, postal services, good water supplies, improved and larger farms, and so on.

The Volta River Authority, on its part, is working hard according to schedule, in order that these noble goals might be realised for the good of all concerned.

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The issues at stake

Continued from page 1

foam in the mouth against the one party state. Here again, they cite Britain and U.S.A. as their paragon. Indeed, there are multi-party systems in Britain and U.S.A. But is it not more in keeping with the facts that only two parties in either country are seriously concerned with state power? These are the Conservative Party and the Labour Party in Britain; the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in U.S.A. Where precisely lies the difference between these parties? It does not matter which of them is in office, the society over which they rule remains basically capitalist. For the masses in these countries, the choice is not between capitalism and socialism. It is between one group of capitalists and another.

In a socialist society, there are no economic groups because the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned by the entire people. Hence there is no need for the multi-party system. The need for constructive criticism is met through inner party democracy, democratic centralism and an alert party press and people. Already there are numerous instances here in Ghana of how a party press can openly criticise administrative failings and secure speedy redress. This should bring it home to the doubting Thomases that the one-party system accommodates and thrives on honest and constructive criticism.

Nor can the few ivory tower critics who are misled by the mischievous applause of a few imperialist agents in our midst fare any better when we come to consider their argument that the President has become too powerful.

Our President, Osa-

gyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, is a servant of the people and he wants to remain so. Was it not he who refused Parliament's unanimous resolution calling on him to become Life President of the Republic of Ghana? Was it not he who insisted in a speech to the National Assembly last October that we are a people's parliamentary democracy and, as such, the people's right to elect their leaders periodically must be upheld at all times?

The students of constitutions are invited to search our constitution most carefully. Far from seeing our President as a master they will discover that he exercises no powers other than those conferred upon him either by our constitution or by an Act of Parliament.

Looked at from another angle, the proposed constitutional changes have two objectives. The first is to consolidate the tremendous gains already made by our socialist revolution. The second is to pave the way for a smoother and faster advance to our goal of a socialist society.

What are these gains?

They are many and spectacular. By any standard, they are impressive. And it is these achievements here in Ghana that constitute so serious a challenge to the positions of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout Africa.

Ghana has the highest per capita national income in tropical Africa.

There has been a great upsurge in the national economy since independence. Our cocoa output which once stood at 120,000 tons a year has now hit the impressive figure of over 300,000 tons a year. Our road network is the most impressive in all Africa.

We are successfully carrying through the vast hydro-electric pro-

ject on the Volta by providing fifty per cent of the capital from our own resources—a position without precedence in all Africa. In the brief period of under six years, a new port and industrial complex has arisen in Tema and has already evoked the praise of all fair-minded visitors to Ghana. Now we are on the verge of launching our 7-year development plan which will provide for investment to the tune of over £1,000 million, most of it coming from our own resources.

Our advance in the field of the national economy has been matched by big strides we have made in the field of education and culture. Education is now free except in secondary schools. Even university education is entirely free.

No other African country has given so much in so short a time to all without discrimination based on birth or wealth. Social services are within the reach of all.

We have completely Africanised our public services even though we had to pay the high price of over £1 million in retirement benefits and compensations to expatriates in order to achieve this enviable position which has brought dignity and opportunity for our kith and kin in these services.

We have broken the backbone of capitalist-controlled economic institutions in our country. We are the only West African country with a wide control of commercial banking in the hands of the state. The Black Star Shipping Line has largely supplanted the imperialist shipping lines. The state, through the Ghana National Trading Corporation, now has a big and direct foothold in wholesale and retail trade within the country. The purchase and sale overseas of our cocoa is now entirely in our hands and despite falling world prices we have maintained a steady price here at home for our cocoa farmers.

We have done all this and more without excessive borrowing from overseas. We have maintained a stable currency. We have kept our credit worthiness. We have not been forced to devalue our currency.

These are some of the gains we have made here at home.

Abroad, the record is equally impressive. Ghana spearheaded the 1958 First Conference of Independent African states and the All African People's Conference of the same year. The result was 24 independent African states in less than three years.

We went to the assistance of Guinea in 1958. This help should not be counted merely in terms of money. It was a great victory for downtrodden Africa. For it proved that through joint effort here on the African continent, African states can get along without the paternalism of European or American powers. It broke the myth that the blackman cannot survive without the white capitalist.

Ghana recognised and assisted the Provisional Government of Algeria even when others were afraid to do so. Our far sighted stand helped to speed the complete liberation of Algeria from French colonial rule.

And we have become known everywhere as the originator, the architect and the foremost protagonist of that concept of African Unity that reaches its climax in a continental union government which will permit Africa's rapid modernisation without a crippling dependence on non-African powers.

In the world, small as we are numerically, Ghana has made a contribution far in excess of any other African country. We have helped to forge the African and Asian powers in the United Nations into a mighty force against imperialism and for peace. We have made positive contributions to the easing of world tension and to the cause of world peace. For this our Leader was awarded the coveted Lenin prize for peace. Above all, we have enhanced the African personality and enabled the blackman for the first time in centuries to walk with his head erect.

* * *

The referendum now in process is of interest not only to Ghana but to all Africa. We are out to create a constitution that will protect the gains we have made. A constitution that will make it easier for us to progress along our chosen road of socialism. With our homeland fortified against the internal enemies of socialism, we shall be in a better and stronger position to carry out our historic mission both in Africa and throughout the world.

Vote 'YES' and enable Ghana, the lodestar of Africa to shine with even greater brilliance.

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Tereshkova in Ghana

ON the invitation of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, Russian Cosmonaut Mrs Valentina Nikolaeva-Tereshkova this week started a four-day visit to Ghana.

Born of peasant parentage in 1937 in the picturesque village of Maslennikovo, former textile worker Valentina struck world headlines and imprinted her name on the golden sands of fame and glory when she became the world's first woman cosmonaut with her three-day 48-orbit flight in Vostok-6.

Everywhere in Ghana, thousands have been surging in their numbers to accord a resounding Akwaaba to Valentina, that brave heroine of unbounding courage and achievement, whose exploits symbolise the triumph of scientific socialism, the propelling force behind the startling successes of the great Soviet people in science and technology.

As a sign of her endearment to the warm

hearts of Ghanaians, Osagyefo the President has awarded the nation's highest honour, the Order of the Volta, to Mrs. Nikolaeva-Tereshkova, an honour she richly deserves "by her bravery, endurance and exemplary courage as the first woman astronaut".

Valentina grew up with the painful bitterness of a fatherless child and very soon she was compelled to find employment after receiving a very basic education. As a bond builder in the Yavoslavl Tyre Works, she organised a parachute group in the shop Komsomol organisation and before her epic flight, she had made over 126 jumps by day and by night. This was the brave young woman, who, fired by zeal and enthusiasm with the flight of Yuri Gagarin, the world's first Cosmonaut, applied and became a member of the cosmonauts' group.

Life for the woman in Tsarist Russia was grim.

She had to be content without rights. Today, under the blazing aegis of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union working with the great revolutionary instrument of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet woman, brought up in the exhilarating bowels of socialism, is an active builder of the peoples' happiness. Materially and spiritually she takes part in all constructive activities and she stands shoulder to shoulder with men in all affairs, knowing full well that the condition for the development of all is the condition for the development of each.

Now, a Soviet woman, given equal opportunity as only socialism can afford, has blazed an enviable trail and record, staying, in fact, longer in space than the duration of all American space-men put together.

Valentina Nikolaeva-Tereshkova's life and exploits firmly reassure

Africa's young nations that socialism offers immense opportunities for our working people to develop their talents and potentialities in the service of their states.

Herein lies the challenge of Valentina's visit to Africa. Not our men only, but our women must also be capable of bravery, boundless courage and infinite devotion to our people. We must all be prepared to discharge serious, responsible and honourable tasks in the cause of our great African revolution, carving indelible names and memories to our heritage and civilisation.

Ghana especially is inspired by the great achievements the Soviet Union has recorded in science, agriculture, industry and technology since the great October Revolution staged by the Communist Party under the immortal leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Ghanaians can not but accept the great challenge Valentina's visit brings us.

We wish her a safe journey home and happy memories of Ghana.

