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EDITORIAL

O.A.U. and U.N.O.

THE deliberations and resolutions of the Heads of State meeting in Accra last week, will affect many aspects of African life and world affairs in the immediate future.

The Conference holds important lessons for all of who wish to see the growth of Continental Union Government.

The principle of Union Government was accepted and it would be very difficult, given the mood of the African people, for any Government to vote against it.

Diversion of the O.A.U. into forms of activity and organisation which do not fulfil the true function is endangering the formation of Union Government.

We are particularly concerned at the way in which the relations between the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations are developing.

The Secretary-General's Report revealed that there has been the proliferation of Commissions and Agencies of the O.A.U. which parallel the United Nations Commissions and Agencies almost directly.

This has led to the growth of the attitude that the Organisation of African Unity exists to be a regional organisation of the United Nations.

The United Nations Agencies are using the O.A.U. as a convenient subordinate organisation for their activities and their aims. This situation must be reversed.

The O.A.U. is not a regional organisation of the United Nations. It is not even a miniature United Nations operating in the African continent.

The O.A.U. exists to liberate this continent from imperialism; to eradicate colonialism and to get rid of the domination of monopoly capitalism which still exploits us and directs our economies.

The United Nations exists as a world body, to foster a variety of forms of co-operation between all kinds of states, with differing economic and social systems.

* * *

It reflects the international balance of forces, and while it can be developed and changed, it not in any way capable, as yet, of playing the decisive anti-imperialist, non-capitalist role that the O.A.U. must play.

The United Nations, on the contrary must be seen as an organisation which is powerfully influenced by the O.A.U. an organisation which can be called upon to assist our work, but under the firm political and ideological guidance of the O.A.U. Secretariat.

A concrete example of what we are driving at is to be seen in the Conference on Nigerian Labour at present being organised. The body which has been called on to take the responsibility for this is the International Labour Organisation. We have nothing against the I.L.O. in general, but it is our firm conviction that the body which should be responsible for such a Conference should be the All-African Federation of Trade Unions, who, if they feel it necessary could call on the I.L.O. for assistance.

To go through the notions of agreeing to African Unity and yet take actions which distort its development or hold it up, is useless at best, hypocritical at worst.

The Organisation of African Unity, is not only a Governmental body, with its Secretary-General and its specialised commissions operating like those of the United Nations. The O.A.U. is the organisation of the mass of the people, mobilising them for action in a way that the United Nations never can and is not intended to do.

It is necessary to demand an immediate change of emphasis. In Africa the O.A.U. is the highest form of anti-imperialist struggle, it draws its power, not only from the support of Governments but from the grass roots of the mass organisations of the people.

It is the growth of the O.A.U. towards Continental Union Government which will be a power in transforming the U.N. into a more active agent for peace and liberation. The U.N. cannot play the anti-imperialist role in Africa which belongs uniquely to the O.A.U.

'DOUBLE-THINK'

by 'The Economist'

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

IF asked to describe the

policies of his journal, the editor of that London weekly "The Economist" would probably describe them as "independent", meaning, presumably, "independent" of Conservative, Liberal and Labour.

For one thing is certain: "The Economist" is not "independent" of British Big Business, or of British imperialism—indeed, it could well be described as the mouthpiece of, among others, those who are doing well out of Africa.

It has no sympathy at all for the African Liberation Movement. It is always ready to advance "practical", "sensible" and "reasonable" arguments to justify the continuation, in one form or another, of white domination.

'REASONABLE'?

Consider its position on Rhodesia. Discussing the outcome of Mr. Wilson's visit in its issue of October 30th, it refers to what it terms "one very encouraging thought indeed."

What is this great "thought"? "That the African states and (with luck) the African nationalists inside Rhodesia might be willing to accept the sort of settlement that reasonable men in Britain see as right and fair."

Connoisseurs of "Economist" double-think will note with approval that use of the term "reasonable men"; "reasonable men" are those who agree with "The Economist".

For it does not require too careful a reading to see that the settlement which, according to "The Economist", "reasonable men in Britain see as right and fair" means a settlement on the basis of the existing 1961 Constitution—in other words, the continuation of White domination and Smith's apartheid-type regime.

True, even "The Economist" has to concede that this Constitution is "admittedly loaded"—but it nevertheless chides Rhodesia's African leaders for failing to pursue what (again in characteristic "Economist" double-think style) it calls "a sensible policy" of co-operating in its application.

Notice that what is "sensible" and "reason-

able" always, despite the sweet words, boils down to the same thing in the end; the acceptance of continued White domination.

For no-one can seriously believe that the 1961 Constitution can open the way to the achievement of African majority rule, to the winning of the simple democratic right of one man, one vote for Rhodesia's four million Africans

UNUSUAL

If any proof be needed, it is this: if it could open the way to African majority rule, to one man, one vote, Mr. Smith would never have accepted it, because Mr. Smith is an avowed opponent of African majority rule.

"The Economist"—one of the most ardent British apologists for the campaign of U.S. terror bombing in Vietnam, and ever ready to back the use of force in, for example, Aden or British Guiana—finds itself in an unusual position as regards Rhodesia.

It admits that a unilateral declaration of independence by Mr. Smith would be a "white rebellion"—but for what must be the first time in its life it opposes the use of force to suppress a rebellion.

Why such restraint, why such delicacy? Presumably because it is a "white" rebellion, as opposed to a "black", "brown" or "yellow" one.

CONTRAST

In contrast to what it describes as the "sensible policy" of Africans collaborating with their oppressors, "The Economist" believes that it was "silly" of the Organisation of African Unity to vote for sanctions against Britain in the event of Britain giving Rhodesia to Mr. Smith.

Just why the O.A.U.'s action was "silly", "The Economist" does not explain. Presumably it believes it would be more "sensible" for the O.A.U. to do nothing while Rhodesia's African majority are betrayed into the

hands of the settler minority.

But "The Economist" does not like the Organisation of African Unity. As the mouthpiece of those who are doing well out of Africa—doing well, be it noted, thanks above all to Africa's weakness,

marked a new stage in the advance towards a united Africa completely free from every kind of foreign domination and influence. Even "The Economist's" correspondent concedes that it was "an impressive conference".

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ing advantage of what it conceives as an opportunity for an attack on the idea of African unity and its champion, Kwame Nkrumah.

Just as those who tried to prevent the Accra meeting did not dare to attack the O.A.U. itself, but directed their attacks against Ghana and its President, so those who oppose African unity direct their attacks against Ghana and its President.

On the grounds that the motion to have Ghana's proposal for an executive council examined by a committee did not get the necessary two-thirds majority, it alleges that "this was the worst ever defeat for Dr. Nkrumah's union government

policy... The summit meeting indicated that he is in a minority of one about union government."

The first thing that needs to be said is that "The Economist's" report does not mention the fact that the meeting unanimously decided that Ghana's proposal for an executive council should be studied by member-governments in time for next year's meeting.

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Ian Smith, an avowed opponent of African majority rule, would never have accepted the 1961 Constitution if it opened the way to one man, one vote.

EIGHTEEN VOTES

The second point is that what "The Economist" calls the "so unpopular" proposal for a seven-nation (not six, as "The Economist's" claims) committee to examine the executive council plan secured eighteen votes—those of states representing the overwhelming majority of the population of our continent.

Only five voted against, while five were absent.

It was clearly not "so unpopular" as "The Economist" would have its readers believe.

Only if it is claimed that seventeen of the eighteen states which voted for the establishment of a committee to study the executive council proposal were opposed to the idea of African unity can it be said that Kwame Nkrumah was "in a minority of one about union government".

But not even "The Economist" ventures to make such a claim.

MALICE

"The Economist" allowed itself to be carried away by its own malice not only when discussing the voting at the Summit meeting, but also when discussing its consequences. It declares that this "worst ever defeat" would have "serious repercussions in Ghana itself"—a thinly-veiled expression of hope that plans directed against Kwame Nkrumah will succeed.

But the hopes of "The Economist" will not be realised. Kwame Nkrumah will continue his fight for the unity that "The Economist" fears so much. The attacks of "The Economist" are the best proof of the justice and effectiveness of that fight.

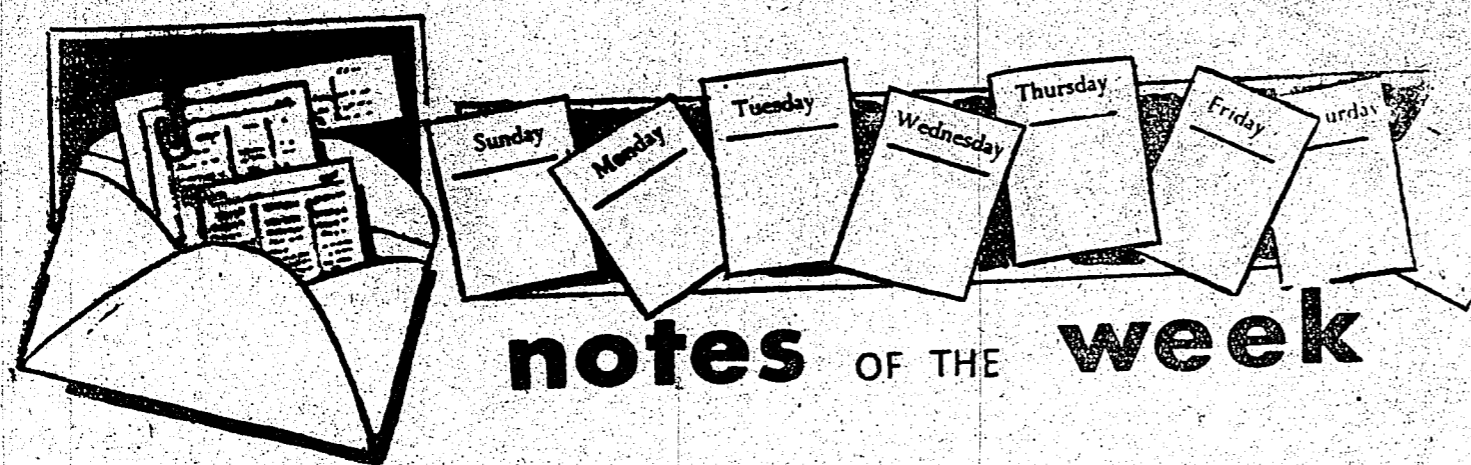
AGAINST GHANA

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MAJORITY

Despite their campaign of slander and vilification, Heads of State and Government representing the largest states and the overwhelming majority of the people of our continent gathered in Accra. Their deliberations



THE United Nations Trade and Development Board meeting last week in New York has taken the decision to recommend to the United Nations General Assembly the establishing of UNCTAD Headquarters in Geneva.

UNCTAD is the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It has among other tasks a major responsibility for trying to find solutions to the trade problems of developing states.

It is well known that the African states were anxious to offer facilities for headquarters to UNCTAD in our continent. To have won agreement on this would have been very important. It would have helped to create an atmosphere in which the developing countries could begin to look for more positive results from the Conference's work.

It is not a trivial question of prestige. London and Geneva, the two cities in Western Europe which were considered, are well known as important centres of world capitalism. Through the banking houses of the City of London and Geneva a large volume of capitalist world trade is conducted.

These two cities, have become symbolic of the unequal relationship which operate to the disadvantage of the developing states. So far UNCTAD has not been able to affect the level of world prices for primary products or the unequal trade terms which operate between the capitalist countries and the newly independent states. There is a sense of a lack of urgency which is reinforced by the decision to stay in Europe, in

one of the major centres of world capitalist banking.

To have established the UNCTAD Headquarters in a developing country, would have brought the Conference more closely in touch with the realities of the problems they are supposed to help to solve.

Such a decision would have been an important and reassuring gesture that the Western countries are actually prepared to go out of their way,

THE American Government is betraying its alarm at the growing movement of protest in the United States against its war in Viet Nam. It is prosecuting the young men who have refused to answer their conscription call and is trying to organise demonstrations in support of its policy.

It is worried that the growing protest movement in the United States itself will be a major contribution to America's total political isolation on this question.

The protest has been joined by Professors of American Universities appealing to President Johnson to bring an end to the war, because of the terrible suffering being inflicted on the people of Viet Nam and because of the brutalising effect on the American people.

The terrible blunder perpetrated by the United States Air Force last week, serves to spotlight in V.N. the suffering and the danger to world peace. Through a map reading error, U.S. planes bombed a village in South Vietnam, which is not occupied by the National Liberation Front, but is under the control of the Ameri-

and even, initially, tackle possible organisational, inconveniences in the search for real solutions to the problems of the primary producers.

The developing states tried first to settle the question of principle. They argued for a resolution which without deciding the actual country, would determine that the Headquarters should be situated in a developing state. The 54 nation Conference unfortunately rejected this move.

cans and South Vietnamese themselves.

Forty-eight civilians were killed and fifty-five were wounded. We have already called attention to the types of weapons being used against civilian populations in Viet Nam. In this instance the weapons were fragmentation bombs, which explode and burst over a wide range inflicting terrible open wounds and white phosphorous bombs which inflict horrible burns.

These are the barbaric being used to 'save' the people of Vietnam for 'civilisation.'

The accident exposes yet again the character of the war being fought; a highly equipped modern airforce is inflicting death, and suffering on defenceless villagers. It is perhaps useful to ponder over another lesson which ought to be drawn from this. We know that the possibilities of world war arise from incidents arising from these so-called limited wars. If such a tragic mistake can come from a map reading error what other even more terrible accidents hang over us.

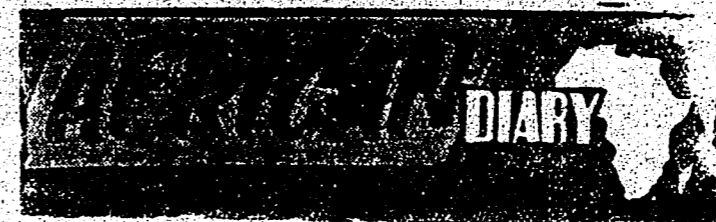
In this case the reading of the numbers on the maps were

The decision to settle in Geneva is to be deplored, not only because of the function of the Conference itself, but because a step has been taken which once more emphasises the overconcentration of U.N. Agencies in the United States and Western Europe. If the United Nations is to be a world body it should take steps more actively to involve the participation of the new members, the developing countries.

double checked because one of the pilots thought there might be an error; he was told everything was perfectly in order and he carried out his mission. The danger of nuclear warfare by such accidents is ever present. Recently two American servicemen were arrested and tried for attempting to fly aircraft on a bombing mission of the North Vietnam capital which was completely unauthorised. They got as far as actually starting up the planes.

This most recent American blunder must alarm all thinking people who recognise the acute danger of world war developing from such situations.

Mr. Cabot Lodge, American Ambassador, to what the U.S. Government chooses to pretend is a Government in South Vietnam, expressed his regret at the bombing and described himself as "deeply saddened by the accident". Let him multiply his sadness a thousand fold and he will perhaps begin to understand the misery being inflicted daily by his government on the heroic peoples of Vietnam fighting for their freedom.



OCTOBER 15:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Many African delegates attending the present United Nations General Assembly in New York, have taken a strong stand against the British Government's mild attitude towards the few white settlers in Southern Rhodesia, who want to declare independence unilaterally. A Tanzania delegate said today that independence for Southern Rhodesia should only be on the basis of majority rule and about this principle there should be no compromise.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The former Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, will fly to Leopoldville tomorrow from a European exile, a report from Brussels, Belgium, has said today.

MALAWI: Malawi has accused the United States of harbouring Mr. Harry Chipembere, a former junior Minister of Malawi, and warned "we do not want friends who are opportunists."

CONGO (Leopoldville): An Egyptian newspaper *Al Akhbar*, has said the removal of Mr. Moise Tshombe of the Congo (Leopoldville) was a "victory not only for the Congolese alone but for all the African people."

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea has said his Government "is as strong as ever and determined to maintain socialism". He added that diversionary elements were wasting their time in trying to restore Capitalism.

GHANA: The Council of African Foreign Ministers in Accra, today called upon the O.A.U. to consider the formation of a nucleus of an African Military Force for "the purpose of ensuring peace and for the enforcement of the rule of law".

TUNISIA: Mr. Mongi Slim, Personal Representative of President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, has arrived in Accra to attend the Accra Summit of African Heads of State and Government, he was met at the airport by Mr. N. A. Welbeck, Minister of State for Party, Pro-

paganda and Mr. Krobo Eusei, Chief of State Protocol.

BASUTOLAND: The pro-apartheid Prime Minister of Basutoland, Chief Leabua Jonathan, was today admitted in hospital in Maseru with suspected lung congestion.

MALAWI: Premier Kamuzu Banda of Malawi will become Malawi's first President, when Malawi becomes a Republic on July 6 next year. He was elected President designate at the annual Conference of the ruling Malawi People's Congress at Lilangwe, Central Malawi today.

NIGERIA: Alhaji D. S. Adegbenro, one of the leaders of the United Progressive Grand Alliance Party of Nigeria appeared in the Ibadan High Court today with nine other U.P.G.A. leaders charged with illegally assuming office in Western Nigeria.

CONGO (Brazzaville): President Alphonse Massamba-Debat of the Congo (Brazzaville) returned home today after a few days' private visit to Paris, France, where he had an hour's meeting with French President Charles de Gaulle.

OCTOBER 16:

NIGERIA: President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria left Lagos today for London, Britain, for medical treatment, the State House announced this in Lagos today.

OCTOBER 17:

TOGO: Official circles in Lome, Togo, have expressed great surprise at the rejection by the European Community's Development Fund of an application by the Togo Government for financial aid in building a new road.

ALGERIA: The Afro-Asian conference preparatory committee will meet in Algiers again on Tuesday to continue discussion on the heads of state conference scheduled to open in Algerian Capital on November 5, an Algerian Foreign Ministry spokesman announced today.

OCTOBER 18:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Ministerial Council of the O.A.U. meeting in Accra today unanimously adopted an important resolution on Southern Rhodesia which was believed to deal with the application of the necessary measures to counteract the declaration of unilateral independence by the settler regime of Ian Smith.

GHANA: The Administrative Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr. Diallo Telli, declared in Accra today that "whatever the situation, nothing can prevent the Heads of State from meeting on Thursday"—the opening date of the Organisation of African Unity Summit Conference in Accra.

* The Deputy High Commissioner of the United Nations Commission for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, has arrived in Accra by air from Geneva, Switzerland, to attend the O.A.U. Summit as an observer.

OCTOBER 19:

UPPER-VOLTA: President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta has married Nathalie Monaco at a special ceremony, at the Ouagadougou town-hall.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Tunisian weekly *Jeune Afrique* has described the dismissal of Tshombe's Government last week as a "victory for all decent Africans".

ZANZIBAR: All major road imports to Zanzibar will in future be channelled through the State-owned External Trading Co-operative, it was officially announced in Zanzibar today.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: A former Rhodesian white settler Prime Minister Reginald Garfield Todd, said today that he planned to appeal against the two-month restriction order clamped on him today but added "I don't think it will do any good."

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: A British Labour Member of Parliament, Mr. Eric Heffer, has called on the British Government to be prepared to send troops to protect "all races in Rhodesia who require protection" should Ian Smith take the fatal decision of declaring independence unilaterally.

NIGERIA: Western Nigeria's Government-owned Radio station at Ibadan was put off the air for about 15 minutes today by a bomb scare.

* Members of Nigeria's Federal Parliament last Monday walked across the floor and almost came to blows while other Members threw papers across the chambers and banged desks.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA: An International Conference on the question of South-West Africa will be held in London next March under the patronage of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri of India and Mr. Eric Williams of Trinidad.

GHANA: Several messages of good wishes and solidarity to President Kwame Nkrumah and other Heads of State and Government attending the Organisation of African Unity conference have been received at the Office of the President in Accra.

OCTOBER 20:

GHANA: The fifth ordinary session of the Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity which began last Wednesday is expected to conclude its deliberations today.

LIBERIA: President William Tubman of Liberia has called for the revision of the Charter of the O.A.U. to make it more effective to meet with the changing times.

NIGERIA: Alhaji Sir Adebakur Tafawa Balewa, has declared in Lagos that the "future of the country is very gloomy if Nigerians failed to respect the constitution and law courts."

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Racist Rhodesian settler spokesman Ian Smith today said he had sent a letter to British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, on the Rhodesian issue, but said the content would only be published after the letter had reached Mr. Wilson in London.

The Hand of the U.S.A. in Africa

IN "Neo-Colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism," (to which all page references in this article refer) Dr. Kwame Nkrumah sums up his argument with the words: "Primary and basic is the need for an all-union government on the much divided continent of Africa", "a strengthening of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation" and, in addition, we must now "seek the adherence on an increasingly formal basis of our Latin American brothers" (p. 253). The writer has under no illusions as to the basic fact in the world today, that unity of all liberation forces everywhere is essential.

This is necessary because all the liberation forces everywhere have to fight against imperialism, and neo-colonialism, "the worst form of imperialism" (p. xi) is today a universal threat to the newly emergent states. "All the methods of neo-colonialists have pointed in one direction, the ancient, accepted one of all minority ruling classes throughout history—divide and rule."

imperialist world itself" (p. 253). In giving voice to such a wide, all-embracing programme of unity, Kwame Nkrumah was not simply expressing some remote broad ideal, he was being completely realistic, down-to-earth, in recognising the necessary condition for the complete liberation of humanity and of African with- in humanity—a necessity forced upon him by the hard facts of experience and of the forces at work in the world today.

In *Neo-colonialism* he examines and exposes these forces, he shows their inter-connections as well as their inner conflicts, and while he recognises the fact that the imperialist powers that still exploit Africa and the rest of the world are many, he is forced to reveal. The extent to which the U.S.A.—American finance and monopoly capital—today dominated the imperialist world, so that Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Belgium and the rest are all to some degree, even if still fighting a rearguard action in defence of their own "imperialist independence", today the puppets of American monopoly capital in its exploitation of the world.

This process is of course a slow and a gradual one, and even now "the City of London is only slowly giving way to Wall Street as the symbol of world money power. It hopes to recast itself by spreading into the European Common Market even though it must do so in alliance with and subordination to, American financial mono-

poly... The dominating influence is held by the ubiquitous American formations of Morgan and Rockefeller, with their British and European associates following behind...

"Because of their late start, German and American capitalism pressed forward with the amalgamation of industrial combines and the monopoly of finance capital more hurriedly than did either Britain and France..."

IMPERIALISM

Here we have "a sign of the struggle for survival of the older imperialisms against the fierce questing of the more powerful aggressiveness of American imperialism." (pp.46-7). As one of the aspects of this American aggressiveness is to clothe every act of exploitation as if it were "aid", the following passage from Professor Benham's *Economic Aid to Underdeveloped Countries* is very apt:

"It is pleasant to feel that you are helping your neighbours, and at the same time increasing your own profits." And Kwame Nkrumah's comment on this is also worthy of record: "Before the decline of colonialism what today is known as aid was simply foreign invest-

ment" (p.51). The mechanisms by which American finance capital has penetrated and is penetrating all the non-Socialist economies of the world is far too complicated to be examined in detail here, though it is thoroughly explored in *Neo-colonialism*.

Suffice it to examine one single headline, one of many such, announcing that "Morgan Grenfell participates in new French bank." (*Financial Times*, London, 18.12.62)

First fact: "Morgan Grenfell & Co. acts affectively as the London end of the important American banking house of J.P. Morgan & Co. which, in 1956, already owned one-third of the British company." Now, in France, the new bank will be called Morgan et Cie and "70 per cent of the capital of 10 million new francs is held by the Morgan Guaranty International Finance Corporation, and 15 per cent by Morgan Grenfell."

SOCIETE GENERALE

The remaining 15 per cent goes to two Dutch banks. Morgan et Cie is closely tied, by interlocking directorates, with four British insurance companies. A report in the *Financial Times* of July 26, 1963, showed that France's second largest bank the Société Générale, was shortly to take over "the network of the Banque Commerciale Africaine in Senegal, Ivory Coast, Cameroun and Congo Republic." The Société Générale, in its turn, shares with other

unnamed European financial institutions and Morgan Guaranty Corporation Trust the ownership of the Bankers International Corporation, which has constituted itself the core of a so-called "African Banking Group" which is supported by the American Federal Reserve Board, thus giving its approval of the extension of Morgan banking interests into Africa. (see pp. 69-71).

FINANCE

The octopus-like tentacles of American finance capital thus extend not only where the names of Morgan or Rockefeller are blazoned, but through a myriad of subsidiary banking houses, insurance companies and other interests.

These inter-penetrates throughout the capitalist world while one of their richest sources of profit is Africa.

Africa is a source of profit because it is still a source of vast supplies of cheap labour, while the natural resources of the country, though as yet but modestly developed, have provided both food and agricultural raw materials, and its mines have provided gold and diamonds, bauxite and uranium, to the giant industrial monopolies of imperialism.

Some of these monopolies have their headquarters officially in Africa, especially in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Congo. Others have been located in Britain, Belgium, France U.S.A. and other countries, but all have this feature in common: They are interconnected by financial links

and even while each one is a monopoly in its own particular field, there is both inter-connection, co-operation and rivalry between them.

Again, as with finance, it is utterly impossible in this article to trace the complex combinations of these many companies that exploit Africa. Suffice it to say that ample details are given in Chapters 7 to 16 of *Neo-Colonialism*.

The next outcome of this exploitation of Africa is illustrated, above all, in the field of mining:

"According to the 1962 Statistical Abstract of the United States, U.S. miners earn an average of \$2.70 an hour, which is twenty-seven times the amount earned by South African miners." (pp.120 and 234)

WAGE-EARNERS

It should not be forgotten in Africa, however envious workers may feel of their comrades in the U.S.A. that these wage-earners of the U.S.A. have had their own struggle to fight, and only as a result of their trade union organisation did they ever come to the point at which they could squeeze from their employers the wages which they now earn.

The fact that the employers can afford to pay them such wages is, of course, a by-product of imperialist exploitation, for it is from either colonial super-profits that crumbs from the rich men's table are made available to the American workers.

Continued on page 2

'The Test we should apply'

Is a State based on Racial Principles?

As unfortunately the time at our disposal is limited, I thought it might be best if I began by speaking frankly about the Southern Rhodesian situation as I see it.

There is no need for me to describe in detail the shortcomings of the 1961 Rhodesian constitution.

I agree with all the criticism which the British Labour Party then made.

The official spokesman of the British Labour Party asked the British Parliament to condemn it on the ground that it was a bad constitution, and I need not go into details of debates at which both you, Mr. Prime Minister, and you, Sir Elwyn (Sir Elwyn Jones—British Attorney-General—Ed.) were present.

I would like, however, to remind you of what was said by Mr. Dugdale who had been the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs in Lord Acland's administration.

CONDEMNATION

He quoted the verdict of the Roman Catholic Archbishop and bishops of Southern Rhodesia.

You will remember he gave details of the account which they gave in a pastoral letter as to the appalling conditions of the African people of the colony and he quoted their conclusion in which they said:

"Such a state of affairs cries to heavens for vengeance and even in the natural order can only breed crime and chaos".

Quite frankly after the wholesale condemnation of this constitution, I am unable to understand why apparently the British Government are now trying to persuade the African people of the colony to work this constitution.

The British Labour Party quite rightly, in my view, denounced it in 1961 root and branch.

You will remember that the safeguards against discrimination which it provides were described by the present British Home Secretary as "very nearly illusory".

You will remember he concluded by saying:

"I hope I do not exaggerate my language. I have considered it carefully".

I must say that in my view the racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia is, as the British Chancellor of the Exchequer said when condemning in the British Parliament the 1961 Constitution, on a par with that of South Africa.

You will remember that he said:

"To go to Bulawayo or to Fort Victoria is to feel oneself in South Africa".

I myself consider that what he said is only the bare truth.

The discrimination against the African population of the colony is among the most barbarous, shameful and disgusting in the world.

It has been described by speaker after speaker in the British House of Commons and I am sure that therefore there is no need to labour further the point.

I would like, however, to say something about how the present negotiations in Southern Rhodesia appear to me to match up with the decisions which we all came to at the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

COMMUNIQUE

If I may begin by quoting one of the first paragraphs in our final communique to which we all agreed unanimously. Let me read it:—

"The Prime Ministers recognised that the Commonwealth, as a multi-racial association, is opposed to discrimination on grounds of race or colour, and they took the opportunity of their meeting to reaffirm the declaration in their communique of 1964, that "for all Commonwealth Governments, it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people,

Kwame Nkrumah's statement to Mr. Harold Wilson on the Rhodesian situation during the British Prime Minister's stop-over in Accra on his way to London on October 31st, 1965.

irrespective of race colour or creed.

The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens."

Quite frankly, I cannot see how the present negotiations in Southern Rhodesia fit in with this statement of principle.

I am compelled to say that it seems to me that they are aimed primarily at finding a formula under which the existing constitution can be allowed to continue in being.

As I see it the issue of a

If it is based on racial principles then our attitude to it would be the same whether it was declared unilaterally or whether it was set up by an Act of the British Parliament.

I am certain that it is the view of all African states that under no circumstances could they permit a second South Africa to be established in the African continent.

Therefore, irrespective of whether such a state was established by unilateral action or by the Act of British Parliament, African states would be forced to oppose it in one form or the other, if necessary.

In view of the trend of negotiations in Southern Rhodesia, I consider that it is necessary for the African

the British crown as head of the Commonwealth.

My Government stands by the resolution on Southern Rhodesia unanimously adopted by the assembly of African Heads of State and Government which met last week in Accra.

Among things this resolution declared that the United Kingdom Government as the administering power having the sole responsibility for the present situation in Southern Rhodesia, should do the following things:

First, the British Government should suspend the 1961 Constitution which has, of course, been condemned not only by the British Labour Party but also by the United Nations.

Minister does not appear even to have brought it to the notice of the Southern Rhodesian authorities during his recent visit.

To my mind, it is quite illogical to appeal on the one hand to the African leaders to adopt constitutional methods and not to appeal on the other hand to the settler regime to release them from restriction. The third point of the resolution of the Organisation of African Unity was that the British Government should hold a constitutional conference with a view to the participation of the representatives of the entire population of Southern Rhodesia with a view to adopting a new constitution guaranteeing universal adult suffrage on the basis of one man one vote, free elections and national independence.

In connection with this point of the resolution, I must refer again to another undertaking which the British Government gave to us at the Prime Ministers meeting.

Our final communique recorded that in the process of seeking to reach agreement on Rhodesia's advance to inde-



solemn undertakings which they gave to the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth.

I remember very well that at the Prime Ministers Conference, we were assured that the British Government would, whatever happened stick to the principle of one man, one vote in regard to Southern Rhodesia.

In case it is suggested my recollection is at fault, let me quote from our final communique.

The passage concerned reads as follows:—

"In this connection they—that is to say the other Heads of Government of the Commonwealth—"welcome the statement of the British Government... that the principle of "one man one vote" was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia."

I am bound to say that from everything which has been published about the present negotiations it appears that the British Government has abandoned this vital principle and is prepared to go

back on its solemn undertaking to the Commonwealth Heads of Government.

I hope I am wrong about this and that the British Government will make it clear that they stand by the undertaking which they gave to the Commonwealth.

Before concluding these remarks, there is one other matter to which I must refer, and that is the announced refusal of the British Government under any circumstances to use armed force in Southern Rhodesia.

I am astounded that the British Government should have said that they would not give armed protection in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence to those in Rhodesia who resisted an illegal seizure of power.

So far as I know this is the first time in history that any country, great or small, has declared in advance that those who are prepared to risk their lives in defending the legal government will receive no support from the forces of the law and order of the country against whom the revolt is directed.



A police dog attacking an African demonstrator outside Government House, Salisbury, when Mr. Wilson conferred with Mr. Joshua Nkomo. The Nationalist leader was flown into the grounds of the building by helicopter.

unilateral declaration of independence in only one aspect of the matter. The settler regime only wishes for independence so that they can be assured that they can continue unimpeded their present policy of suppression and exploitation of the African population.

If the British Government is prepared to abandon the principles set out in our communique then, of course, the settlers would agree.

It seems to me the compromise which is at present being suggested is that there should be agreement on a constitution which would be merely a modified form of the 1961 constitution.

It is my duty to issue a serious warning as to the grave consequences which would flow from any attempt by the British Government to set up a racialist state in the heart of Africa. The test that we should apply is whether or not the state is based on racial principles.

states now to start making practical plans as to how they can deal militarily, if necessary, with the situation.

I hope that you will appreciate that I speak with a full sense of responsibility and realising the grave issues involved.

In any event, I would like to make it absolutely clear that Ghana would not recognise any independent state set up in Southern Rhodesia unless that state was based on the principle of majority rule.

Irrespective of whether it was created by an Act of the British Parliament or unilaterally by the settlers, Ghana would oppose its entry into the Commonwealth, the United Nations and all other international bodies.

If the British Parliament were to provide that the British crown should be the titular sovereign of a racial independent Southern Rhodesia then Ghana would no longer be able to recognise

The British Government should also take all measures necessary including the use of armed force, if required, so as to take over the administration of the colony.

Secondly, the resolution asks that the British Government should secure the release of the nationalist leaders, Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. Sithole, and the many others who are imprisoned, or restricted because of their advocacy of justice for the African inhabitants of the colony.

In regard to this part of the resolution, I should mention that at our Commonwealth Prime Ministers meeting an appeal was also made and recorded in our communique "for the immediate release of all detained or restricted African leaders as a first step to diminishing tension and preparing the way for a constitutional conference".

I much regret that not only has this appeal gone unheeded but that the British Prime

Minister does not appear even to have brought it to the notice of the Southern Rhodesian authorities during his recent visit.

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U.S.A. in Africa

Continued from page 2

It is on the basis of such a situation that the reactionary policy of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the I.C.F.T.U. are possible; and it is on exactly the same basis that Labour's Foreign Minister of 1945, Ernest Bevin, assured the British workers that "we need the Empire."

There was a time, more than a hundred years ago, when Karl Marx foresaw the workers' revolution in the capitalist countries as sparking off the liberation of the colonial peoples.

"In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

So wrote Marx in the Communist Manifesto of 1848.

But at that time Marx did not foresee the extent to which imperialism would be able to corrupt part of its own working class into supporting it or at least passively accepting it.

The colonial peoples have decided not to wait for their liberation by a Socialist Revolution in the imperial countries. Inspired by the first Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, and by the vast growth of the Socialist world after 1945, the colonial peoples have forged ahead with their struggle for independence.

As a result, Kwame Nkrumah is today able to write as follows:

"When Africa becomes economically free and politically united, the monopolists will come face to face with their own working class in their own countries, and a new struggle will arise within which the liquidation and collapse of imperialism will be complete." (p.256).

Thus, while the Proletarian Revolution in imperial Russia was the starting point, and many new Socialist states have since been created, the independence struggle has not waited for Socialism to spread to the imperialist citadels of the world before claiming full independence.

In the world as it now stands, who can prophesy where the next revolt or revolution will be—in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, or in the very heart of one of the imperialist countries themselves? France perhaps, or Portugal?

The general course of history is clear, but its ups and downs, its zig-zags, its retreats the better to advance, are all in the detail unpredictable. But one thing is clear, the tempo of the struggle of the oppressed peoples has now caught up with and even surpassed the tempo at which the Socialist Revolution is spreading in the developed countries.

And the imperialists know

Continued on page 4

Recent Economic Changes In Socialist Countries (2)

BEFORE describing the new or proposed changes, another brief excursion into history seems to be desirable, in order to make clear what has been the traditional role of the enterprise, and also the part played by "net income" or profit as an accounting category and an incentive (of which bourgeois journalists seem to be perversely ignorant).

As far back as the early '20s in the days of Lenin, the principle of operational and financial independence of the individual enterprise was established on the principle of what was known as *Khozraschet* (meaning responsibility for its own outlays and expenditures and for balancing these with the financial receipts resulting from its activities).

This principle was again affirmed in 1928 on the eve of the First Five Year Plan and remained as an unchallenged principle throughout the pre-war decade and after.

To balance its accounts and show a profit was one, at least, of the necessary conditions of successful performance, by an enterprise.

DIRECTOR'S FUND

Moreover, in the later '30s (1936) a specific profit incentive was added in the shape of the Director's Fund (later called the Enterprise Fund); payments into it being made as a certain proportion of profits, and expenditures from it being designed for purposes beneficial to the enterprise, including bonuses to its staff.

Thus profit as a criterion of successful productive activity has always existed and is an original Leninist principle (just as is the use of "material incentives" generally, i.e. "payment by results").

True, it came in the '30s to be increasingly overlaid, both as a criterion and an incentive, by quantitative plan-targets and bonuses geared to their fulfilment; also by a series of other incentive payments geared to other so-called "qualitative indices" (introduced at various times in attempts to redress the purely quantitative bias of the plan-fulfilment incentive).

Moreover, payments into and from the Enterprise Fund were hedged in by various conditions (e.g. prior fulfilment of the main targets and indices); its use for incentive purposes was subject in the U.S.S.R. to a pretty low ceiling (5 per cent of the total wage-bill) and so had comparatively little influence; and in some cases the Fund came to be used as a source for financing investment-expenditures initiated by the management rather than for incentive payments, collective or individual.

This is why the question of resurrecting it in a new and more comprehensive form has come upon the agenda in recent years; moreover, of relating it in some way or other to the size of the total capital employed by an enterprise (its "basic and turnover funds") i.e. treating it for purposes of calculation as a profit-rate.

DIFFERENT

After all that has recently been written (by Liberman himself and others) it should hardly be necessary to emphasise that profit as the net income of a socialist enterprise has an altogether different significance from profit as economic category under capitalism.

But in view of the confusing talk of so many bourgeois commentators, and of those with Chinese Party leanings, this perhaps needs underlining.

For one thing, when selling-price is fixed (i.e. fixed by higher authority) the enterprise cannot make a profit by restricting output and raising its price; it can only do so by enlarging its output to the maximum and by lowering costs (i.e. being more efficient than the plan budgeted for).

This comes out clearly in several of the documents in a very interesting and timely collection entitled *Planification*, published in June of this

year by *Recherches Internationales a la lumiere du Marxisme in Paris*.

For example Liberman in his contribution to the *Pravda* discussion of September 1964, declares:

"Our profit, if one starts from the fact that prices correctly reflect the average costs of production of the branch of industry is nothing else but the effect of increasing productivity of social labour expressed in a money form. That is why we can, in basing ourselves on profitability, encourage real efficiency of production. At the same time encouragement is not enrichment. Profit cannot be transformed into capital, since no one can privately acquire means of production with his bonus, neither the manager nor the trade union nor individuals."

And in his original and much-quoted article in *Pravda* of September 9, 1962, he declared:

"Our profit has nothing in common with capitalist profit. The nature of categories such as profit, price, money are quite different with us. Our profit with planned prices and utilisation of net income for the good of the whole of society is the result and at the same time the measure of the real effectiveness of labour expenditures."

Similarly an article by Sukharevsky (from *Kommunist*), after maintaining that "the index of profit possesses various advantages over that of (reducing) prime cost from the standpoint of stimulating enterprises", goes on to say that

"the level of profit reflects at the same time quantitative and qualitative indices of the functioning of an enterprise."

"If the prime cost per unit of production remains unchanged when the volume of production is increased, the mass of profit increases. The lowering of prime cost does not depend as directly as the size of profit on the extension of production."

"... The size of profit depends on the realisation of production at least by the wholesale centres. The cost of production without taking account of whether production has been sold or remains in the depots of the producing enterprise."

Actually, the tendency towards some decentralisation in planning is to be dated from the middle '50s.

Yugoslavia as early as 1951 (three years after her unfortunate, Stalin-provoked, break with the Soviet Union) initiated an extensive decentralisation which gave individual enterprises as much independence as Soviet "trusts" had enjoyed during the NEP period in the '20s and which also made wages and salaries vary (above a basic wage) with the "net income" of the enterprise in which the workers in question were employed.

REDUCE TARGETS

At the same time long-term (e.g. five year) planning was terminated.

Elsewhere it was in the course of 1956 that moves were first made (notably in Poland and to a smaller extent in Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.) to reduce the number of targets fixed in the central plan and also the number of products allocated at topmost levels, leaving the remainder to be determined at some lower level (in USSR mostly at the level of the separate republics).

Curiously, at this time economic discussion mainly centred on the question of price policy (also on the use of mathematical methods) although in Poland there was

The second article by MAURICE DOBB, lecturer and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, discussing the real significance of the latest economic developments in the socialist countries, which some allege represent a "return to capitalism and the profit motive".

also some discussion of so-called "economic models" or modes of economic functioning, in a socialist economy (e.g. the work of Professor W. Brus).

In 1957 in the Soviet Union came Khrushchov's sweeping decentralisation on a regional basis: substituting control and administration by over a hundred regional economic councils (*Sovnarkhoze*) for that of the previous highly centralised all Union Ministries.

MINOR EFFECT

At the same time more responsibility was assigned to republican Gosplans (e.g. in fixing prices and in controlling the wholesale sale-and-purchase organisations of various industries).

But this change, sweeping as it was, had no more than a minor effect upon the independence of individual enterprise.

The activities of the latter were still bounded by various indices and "limits" imposed upon them from above, and the bulk of their supplies were still subject to allocation quotas fixed by higher authorities although there was some contracted for directly between enterprises and the appropriate trading agencies, especially in the case of consumer's goods).

In Czechoslovakia in 1957-58 there was an extensive decentralisation which had a very considerable effect in increasing the powers of enterprises.

As a result of it, something approaching two-thirds of all industrial investment undertaken came from funds at the disposal, either directly or indirectly, of industrial enterprises (i.e. either enterprises themselves or associations of enterprises for certain common purposes).

In addition to the kind of criticisms we have mentioned of existing success-indicators and incentives, there has been a strong demand for the financial results of industrial enterprises to be related to the size of their capital, since the technical equipment of an enterprise so largely determines the results it is capable of achieving.

There have also been demands that central allocation of supplies should yield place (save for things in specially short supply) to a more flexible system under which enterprises are free to obtain the supplies they need (and to dispose of their products) by direct contract with other enterprises and organisations.

DISCUSSION

In September 1962 *Pravda* launched the well-known discussion opened by the contribution of Professor Liberman entitled "Plan, Profit, Premiums". He called for a new system whereby enterprises should be freed from "petty tutelage" and a mass of detailed regulations (he spoke of "costly efforts to influence production by non-economic administrative methods").

At the same time they should be governed by an incentive system such that "what is advantageous to society is advantageous to each enterprise" and what is disadvantageous to society is disadvantageous for the personnel of enterprises."

He proposed an incentive scheme under which bonuses to the enterprise and its members should be proportional to its income, or profitability.

Once this was introduced, the enterprise would be encouraged to draw up its own production plan.

"It is the enterprise itself which knows and can best discover its own potentialities"; and under such a scheme it would be stimulated to mobilise reserves, not to hide them, to raise labour productivity and to cease hoarding idle man-power or equipment. It would be stimulated to win the custom of consumers by producing what was in demand, and by attention to quality and the initiation of new products and varieties.

("Note that the system we propose will oblige enterprises only to produce what can be realised and purchased, enterprises will be led to calculate the effectiveness of modern techniques and cease to ask unthinkingly for no-matter-what new equipment at the expense of the State").

Two years later, after some experimentation in the interim, the discussion was reopened in *Pravda*, this time with an article by Trapeznikov, an automation expert and a corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences, in which the substitution of economic for administrative measures of direction and the introduction of a new incentive-system along the lines of the Liberman scheme was strongly urged.

The upshot was that the system was extended to 400

enterprises in consumer goods industries, mainly clothing. Latest news is that all textile and shoe factories in the Leningrad and Moscow regions are about to go over to it. The enterprises set up their own shops (as has happened for some time in Yugoslavia). The signs are that the system will be extended more widely in the near future.

In Czechoslovakia the proposals of Professor Otá Sik, which were adopted in principle by the C.C. of Czechoslovak C.P. in January of this year, bear a cousinly resemblance to the Liberman scheme, although they have one or two special features of their own.

CRUCIAL STEP

They can be regarded as a crucial step beyond the decentralisation measures of 1957-8. Like the Liberman scheme, they provide for incentives to the enterprise related to its net revenue or profitability, and for enterprises to frame their own annual plans within the framework of the investment—and out put-trends laid down in the long-term plan.

The profit of an enterprise will be subject to a prior tax (payable into the State Budget) proportioned to the enter-

prises capital.

Purchasing organisations and enterprises will be free to choose and to change their own supplies, thus strengthening consumer's control over production; and producing enterprises will be free to change both the materials and the technical methods they use at their discretion.

Provision is also made for a more flexible system of Price-fixing as well as an early reform of existing prices.

There are to be three categories of price; firstly products whose prices will be centrally fixed by the planning bodies as heretofore; secondly products where the actual price paid may be fixed contractually by enterprises with-in certain "price-limits" established by the price-fixing authority; thirdly products of which the prices will be left uncontrolled and free to vary with the market situation (e.g. luxury items and grades, special order lines).

The intention is that the new system, after some concrete elaboration in the course of this year, should come into general operation at the beginning of 1966.

In East Germany new methods of planning and of management were adopted by the Council of Ministers of the G.D.R. as far back as July 1963 (extracts from the relevant official document on the change are reproduced in the aforementioned collection *Planification*, pp.167-199).

This also stresses the use of "economic levers" to raise productivity, to improve quality and to bring output into

conformity with needs; and to this end it provides for an incentive-system of bonuses related to profits after payment of a tax proportional to the productive capital (It is stated that "profit should effectively become the criterion for judging the good management of enterprises and of groups of enterprises").

Enterprises are also to have at their disposal "rationalisation funds" for financing technical innovation.

Commodity-money relations (i.e. contractual relations of sale and purchase) between enterprises are to replace the old centralised allocations of supplies.

SIMILARITIES

Prices, however, are to be controlled by a State organ "empowered to sanction the prices of the main products of each branch of industry; these prices to be based on exact calculation of the costs before and after fabrication."

Similar changes are about to be discussed in Hungary; and Poland is also preparing to introduce changes in a similar direction.

These latter include improved incentives at the enterprise-level geared to profitability, greater price-flexibility, payment by enterprises of a percentage on fixed capital; power to the associations of enterprises to undertake investment out of their own accumulated funds, and more financing of investment via credits instead of by direct grants.

The similarities to be found between all these schemes are due partly, of course, to the influence of discussion and experience in one country upon the others.

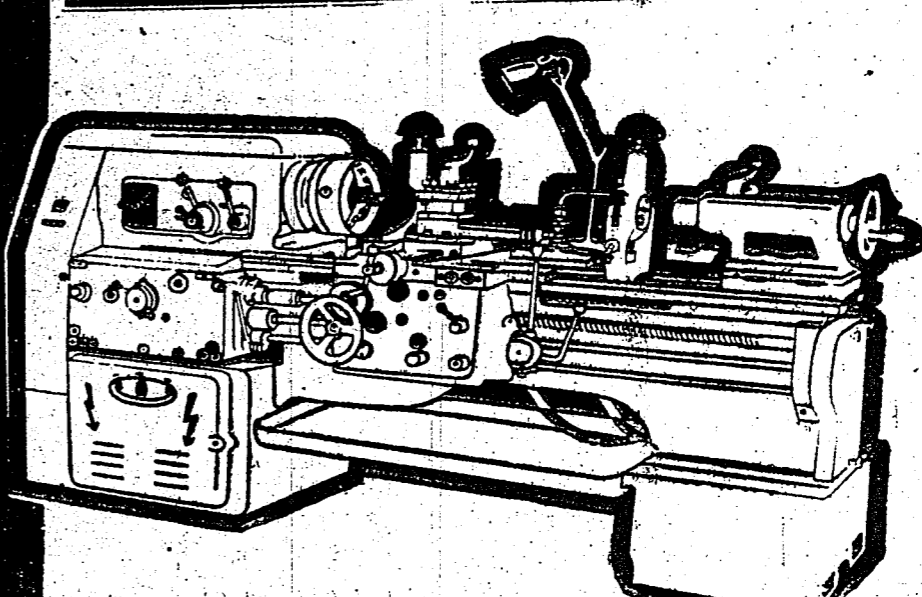
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CO-OPERATIVE PATTERN FOR THE FUTURE

I HAVE always believed that "There can be no socialism without co-operation." The constitution of the Convention People's Party takes this point of view. In all the socialist countries the Co-operative Movement plays an important economic role.

Even in capitalist countries, for example, Britain and America, the co-operatives compete favourably with private enterprises.

The Co-operative Movement in Ghana began in 1928 through Government initiative and encouragement. The Department of Agriculture concentrated on helping farmers to improve the quality of cocoa by teaching improved methods of fermentation.

So the benefits of Co-operative association were established and became a formidable lever in the development of the Co-operative Movement during subsequent years.

COCOA

It is quite understandable that for a very considerable period in the early history of Ghana's Co-operative Movement all activity centered on cocoa marketing.

The then colonial Government was mainly interested in encouraging the supply of good quality cocoa to feed the chocolate factories of Western Europe and so Cocoa Marketing Co-operatives were encouraged.

But the idea of Co-operation, in the sense of working together, was not imported root and branch into Ghana by the colonialists.

Long before the white men arrived on the shores of the then Gold Coast, the idea of working together had permeated every aspect of our lives.

Life in any typical Ghanaian village is a development of the Co-operative idea and bears witness to the fact that the Ghanaian regards himself as his brother's keeper.

The C.P.P. is a workers' organisation which aims at the overthrow of all forces militating against the aspirations of the people of Ghana. The Party is a fusion of all classes in the country under our only Leader, Osagyefo, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

LIVING STANDARD

One of the Wings of the Party is the Co-operative Movement. It aims at increasing the living standard of the farmer and worker.

In the reconstruction of the country into an industrial economy, we need to maintain our subsistence economy during the period of "Work and Happiness".

Thus the Movement is expected to organise and bring together, for example, the individual peasant farmers into a community of farmers whose interests are the political, economic and social well-being of all farmers in the country.

Every member of the Party

should be asked to join at least one of the local Co-operative Societies in his area. The Party functionaries should carry the message "Join the Co-operative" to all Party members in the country.

The Convention People's Party and its Government attach great importance to the development of a strong, efficient and stable Co-operative Movement in Ghana.

The creation of the Ministry of Co-operatives is a clear manifestation of the recognition of the Co-operatives as a sector of the country's economy.

The Ministry has a Minister of non-cabinet rank assisted by a Registrar of Co-operatives, and a Deputy Registrar. It has also Principal Co-operative Officers, assisted by Senior Co-operative Officers, Co-operative Officers, and Assistant Co-operative Officers as well as Clerical Officers.

The Ministry controls the general policy and activities of the Central Co-operative Council, the supreme Council of the Ghana Co-operative Movement.

"Co-operation is the voluntary association of human beings for the promotion of their economic, political and social welfare in the community in which they live."

EDUCATED

This means that, to be able to achieve these objectives, a member of a Co-operative Society should be educated to understand the principles of co-operation, the structure of the movement and the benefits to be derived from co-operation.

The Ghana Co-operative Movement has adopted the following principles to suit the socialist aspirations of the people:

- (a) Open Membership,
- (b) One man one vote,
- (c) Equitable contribution towards share capital of the society,
- (d) Dividend on purchases or patronage,
- (e) Compulsory membership of the C.P.P.
- (f) Religious neutrality,
- (g) Democratic control,
- (h) Strict cash trading,
- (i) Co-operative education of members and
- (j) Sale of unadulterated goods at controlled prices.

The Ghana Co-operative Movement is made up of a Council and Sub-Councils reflecting the various co-operative activities envisaged for the development of Co-operation. The new structure is as follows:

THE CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE COUNCIL

This Council is the Supreme Authority and Administrative Organ of the whole Ghana Co-operative Movement.

(a) acts as the mouthpiece and spokesman for the entire Co-operative Movement.

(b) is responsible for general policy at home and abroad on all Co-operative matters,

(c) represents the Movement (at all international meetings).

(d) conducts publicity and education on behalf of the Movement,

(e) is responsible for preparations for Annual Delegates Congresses and Annual Reports embodying the Statement of Account of the whole Movement to be pre-

by **B. K. SENKYIRE**

Minister of Co-operatives

Ghana Co-operative Movement will launch the following ventures:—

Co-operative Collective Farming: These will be encouraged in the savanna areas of the Northern and Upper Regions and along the coastal plains where there is the possibility of introducing modern mechanised farming.

LARGE AREAS

These collective farms can assist in producing more foodstuffs to keep down cost of living and thereby eradicate food shortages.

Under this scheme, large areas of land will be ac-

The intention is to organise craftsmen in each Co-operative district as members of these societies to build houses for the farmers and workers within the district.

The specifications of a particular member's house will be the choice of the member concerned. But he will have to fulfil certain conditions before it can be built.

These are the initial payment of a certain percentage of the cost and the mortgaging of the house to the Co-operative Society to recoup the expenditure involved. The mortgage will serve as a sufficient collateral security for the cost of the house.

HEALTH

Chemist Co-operative Societies: Although the Ghana Government is actively engaged in the building of well equipped hospitals, health centres and clinics, there are still some "quack drug stores" in almost every village in the country.

This menaces the health of the people in the countryside. It is proposed to organise Co-operative Chemist Societies alongside the Consumer Co-operative Societies to contribute to the health services.

Co-operative Kiosks and Mobile Vans: To supplement a countrywide establishment of consumer co-operatives, it is intended to establish Co-operative Kiosks at vantage points such as the Housing Estates areas, workshop and Factory areas.

In addition to these Kiosks, Co-operative Mobile Vans will augment the sale of essential consumer goods and foodstuffs in the suburbs of our cities.

DUTIES

A member of a Co-operative Society is sure to reap benefits if he participates actively and honestly in his Society. These include:

(a) **Dividend on purchases or patronage** i.e. return of some portion of the profit of a Society according to his volume of business a member has done with it.

(b) **Smaller overhead expenses.** A member contributes less to the expenses of the society than he would to his own business.

(c) **Cheap Transportation:** A member has the advantage of using Co-operative Transport at a lower cost than for his own private business.

(d) **Equitable distribution of consumer goods to members at controlled prices.** Co-operative Societies deal in the sale of members of unadulterated consumer goods, determinable the real needs of the members.

(e) **Social advancement of the village or town of the society.** These benefits enhance the social advancement of the members.

(f) **Co-operative Education** is a supplement to the Party's mass education programme to educate members in the principles of Co-operation and socialist economic reconstruction.

CONTRIBUTION

A co-operative member has these duties:—

(a) **Payment of 25 pesewas membership fee**

(b) **Payment of C250 minimum share towards the Share Capital of the Society.** This does not limit the share holding of a more enthusiastic member but no one member can hold more than 5% share of his society's total share capital.



THIS IS WHAT GHANA IS DOING

resented to each Annual Delegates' Congress.

This Council will be composed of representatives from each of these Sub-Councils:—

- (1) The Agricultural Co-operative Council (U.G.F.C.C.)
- (2) The Industrial Co-operative Council
- (3) The Consumers Co-operative Council
- (4) Transport Co-operative Council
- (5) Fish and Fish Marketing Co-operative Council
- (6) Distillers Co-operative Council
- (7) The Credit and Mutual Assistance Co-operative Council.

PRIMARY CO-OPS

Primary Co-operative Societies are established according to the needs of the people. It is also possible to establish District and Regional Co-operative Unions of each kind of Co-operative Society throughout the country, comprising the Primary Societies.

The Regional Unions will also be composed of the District Unions. The Regional Unions will constitute the different kinds of the respective Sub-Councils.

It is intended that the

quired, ploughed, and apportioned among Co-operative Farmers. Each farmer will be directed as to what crop to grow on his or her plot.

The marketing of the crops of the individual farmers will be done collectively and centrally through their Co-operative Society and each farmer will be paid the value of his production, less cost of hiring of farming equipment, tractor services etc.

WATER SUPPLY

It is expected that these farms will cultivate crops throughout the year. To do this, it will be necessary to ensure the supply of water for irrigating the farms during the dry season. Dams will therefore have to be constructed on the farms.

Village Housing Co-operative Societies: The Party's policy of building houses for the people is a laudable socialist idea. This policy, will supplement the work of the State Housing Corporation by the formation of Co-operative Housing Societies in the villages and towns throughout the country.

(b) **Secretarial Practice.**

The present Co-operative Ordinance of 1937 is colonialist. Its provisions are based on capitalist ideals which Nkrumaist philosophy abhors.

A new Co-operative Act will be introduced in line with our Socialist revolution and the development of an efficient Co-operative Movement.

AFRICAN CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE

The Ghana Co-operative Movement, an integral wing of the Convention People's Party must, strongly support the Party's policy of non-alignment and the organisation of African Unity as the means to continental Union Government for Africa. The Co-operative Movement must be partisan, contributing towards this goal.

It is hoped the Ghana Co-operative Movement will advocate the establishment of an "African Co-operative Alliance" embracing all Co-operative Movements in African States as an organ of the Organisation of African Unity to develop Co-operation in Africa.

It may be possible to hold the first "All-African Co-operative Movements Conference" in due course to implement this.

TRAINING STAFF

There can only be an effective Co-operative Movement if there is a systematic and intensive Co-operative Education of the masses as a prelude to the establishment of Co-operative Societies in the country.

The Ghana Co-operative College trains both the staff of all Co-operative Societies and members.

This college can serve Ghana and the whole of Africa. Over 100 Co-operative Officers from Africa are sent to the Co-operative College in England each year to be trained.

But British Co-operation is mainly Consumer, so these African Officers are not being trained in agricultural Co-operation which is greatly needed in Africa.

NEW PROGRAMME

In conclusion, although the Ghana Co-operative Movement is twenty-seven years old, its development has been retarded because of our struggle for independence and absolute sovereignty.

For, Osagyefo has repeatedly said, "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added unto you."

It is not surprising at this stage of our economic revolution, that Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah stresses that "the Ministry of Co-operatives should foster and encourage the growth of a strong, stable and efficient Co-operative Movement in Ghana to enable the Co-operatives to make their contribution towards the achievement of the targets of the Seven-Year Development Plan."

With these directives from our dynamic Leader, the Ghana Co-operative Movement has been encouraged to implement its new programme for the promotion of Agricultural, Industrial, Consumers, Fishing, Transport, Distillers and Credit and Mutual Assistance Co-operative Societies throughout Ghana.

This is the surest way the Ghana Co-operative Movement can effectively contribute towards the achievement of a stable economy within our socialist economic reconstruction both in Ghana and Africa.

CO-OPERATIVE ACT

The Ghana Co-operative College will therefore train Officers in Agricultural, Industrial, Transport, Fishing and Consumers Co-operation. Subjects for the college should include:—

(a) Principles of Co-operation

(b) Co-operative Law

(c) Economics of Co-operation

(d) Field work and Economic Survey

(e) Social Science and Political Institutions in Ghana and Africa

(f) Nkrumaism (Scientific Socialism)

(g) Book-keeping and Accounts and



"The movement is expected to organise and bring together, for example, the individual peasant farmers into a community of farmers."

48TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

FIRST BREACH IN THE IMPERIALIST FRONT

by A Spark Correspondent



V. I. Lenin—Founder of the first Socialist State.

THE Soviet people, and scientific socialists throughout the world, on Sunday celebrate the 48th anniversary of an event which changed the course of history—the victory of the 1917 Socialist Revolution in Russia.

History had seen many revolutions before that of 1917. But all had replaced one form of exploitation by another, leaving political power and the means of production in the hands of the exploiters.

The 1917 Socialist Revolution, however, for the first

been an imperialist country. Described as "a prison of the nations", it held in subjection scores of oppressed nationalities.

Under the leadership of Lenin, its founder, the new state liberated all the subject nationalities oppressed by Tsarism.

No distinction was made between "advanced" and "backward" peoples. No concession was made to theories of "tutelage" or "gradual advance to self-government" by "primitive" peoples at a low stage of development.

"The Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union composed of free nations. In order to avoid misunderstanding on this question, the declaration offers to the workers and peasants of every nationality the right to make their own decision in their own authorised Soviet Congress: do they wish, and on what grounds, to participate in the federal government and other federal Soviet institutions?"

The reality of this right of secession was demonstrated in practice in the case of Finland, a former colony of Tsarist Russia which in 1918 demanded and at once received complete independence.

Not only did the revolution—successful thanks in no small measure to the alliance of the workers and peasants of Russia itself on the one hand and the oppressed na-

tion marked the first breach in the hitherto world-wide system of imperialist domination.

The young Socialist state not only gave inspiration—it also gave assistance to peoples fighting against imperialism.

It aided Afghanistan in its fight against British colonialism; it aided the Turkish Government of Mustafa Kemal at a time when the fate of the Turkish Revolution hung by a thread; it aided the Mongolian people and sent arms and military experts to help the Chinese revolutionaries.

In more recent years, the existence of the Soviet Union, now joined by other socialist states, was an important factor contributing to the success of the national liberation struggle throughout Asia and Africa.

It is not therefore surprising that during their years of colonial rule the imperialist



Muzat Kabanbayeva, D.Sc. (Philology), a staff member of the Institute of Linguistics of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, is pictured here with his wife, Gulnisa.

fields of scientific and industrial development was, a bare fifty-eight years ago, an underdeveloped country.

The transformation was made possible by the application of the principles of scientific socialism. It was socialism which assured the Soviet economy of rates of

growth far in excess of those achieved by capitalism.

Today, the developing countries can see in the shape of the Soviet Union, what can be achieved in the field of economic and social progress by a country which takes the socialist road of development. In the words of Kwame

Nkrumah in a message to the Soviet people, "the growth of Soviet industry, the phenomenal achievements of your country in agriculture and in the cultural field which I was able to see for myself, strengthen our hope and belief in the indisputable of our own efforts in this direction."



Using radioactive isotopes the scientists of the Clinical and Experimental Surgery Institute of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences do research into the regeneration of destroyed cells and individual organs.

time placed political power and the ownership of the means of production in the hands of the working people.

A state of a completely new type was born in Russia—a Soviet socialist state—and a new type of democracy—democracy for the working people—introduced.

Pre-revolutionary Russia, the Russia of the Tsars, had

All without exception received at once full equality of rights, and complete national freedom, including the right to secede.

The Declaration of the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held in January, 1918, less than four months after the birth of the new state of workers and peasants, declared:

nationalities on the other—bring freedom to the peoples enslaved by Tsarism.

The new state also renounced the special rights and privileges which the Tsarist Government enjoyed in such countries as Ghana and Iran, thanks to unequal treaties imposed on these countries.

By putting an end to national oppression in Russia, the 1917 Socialist Revolution gave an object lesson to the whole world.

It made the peoples formerly oppressed by Tsarism really free and equal. It not only gave these nations political liberty, political equality; by uprooting capitalism and establishing the popular ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, it also gave them the means of overcoming their economic and cultural backwardness.

The result is that, for example, the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, such as Uzbekistan, are now in the forefront of social progress, with advanced industrialised economies and standards of living which are the highest in Asia.

It is not therefore surprising that the 1917 Revolution has served as a source of inspiration for the colonial and dependent peoples in their struggle for liberation from imperialism. The 1917 Revolu-

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Economic Changes

Continued from page 4

In particular it has been influenced by the growing tendency to re-think critically the accepted precepts and dogmas of the past period.

But this influence has by no means been of a oneway kind: and thinking and discussion have been too independent for any mechanical copying of one country by others such as occurred in personality cult days.

The old and dogmatic modes of thinking in defiance of experience, which have obstructed change (and which form the basis of absurd Chinese charges of "bourgeois tendencies") have not entirely disappeared but are rapidly dissolving.

Basically the similarity in solutions is due evidently to the similarity of problems in

socialist countries that have achieved a high level of industrialisation and face a new stage of development.

What gives these solutions a vital interest as an enrichment of Marxism is that they represent the working out (in the spirit of scientific discussion and hold experimentation) of new, more decentralised models of socialist economy, whereby market relations (and the Khozraschot autonomy of enterprises) play a larger rôle within the framework of planning (which governs the major relations and general structure of development).

For the present writer, these changes possess a quality of excitement; and he hopes that they will also appear exciting to, at least, his fellow economists.

Hand of the U.S.A. in Africa

Continued from page 3

this. The colonialists that remain, and the neo-colonialists that have taken their place, know this. And this is why they are alarmed.

They recognised their "inability to rule any longer by old methods" (p.253). But their ingenuity in putting it across by new methods is not yet exhausted.

This is why any study of the hand of the U.S. octopus must not concentrate alone on its financial and monopolistic aspects, but must turn as well to its ideological aspects which are far from negligible.

"Perhaps the chief executor of U.S. psychological warfare is the United States Information Agency (U.S.I.A.). Even for the wealthiest nation on earth, the U.S. lavishes an unusual amount of men, materials and money on this vehicle for its neo-colonial aims."

"The U.S.I.A. is staffed by some 12,000 persons to the tune of more than \$130 million a year. It has more than seventy editorial staffs working on publications abroad. Of its network comprising 110 radio stations, 60 are outside the U.S."

"Programmes are broadcast for Africa by American stations in Morocco, Eritrea, Liberia, Crete, and Barcelona, Spain, as well as from offshore stations on American ships. In Africa alone the U.S.I.A. transmits about thirty territorial and national radio programmes."

"The U.S.I.A. boasts more than 120 branches in about 100 countries, 50 of which are in Africa alone." (p.249-50). It has cinemas, libraries, information centres, and it is backed fully by the American Government diplomatically.

"To ensure its agency a complete monopoly in pro-

paganda, for instance, many agreements for economic co-operation offered by the U.S. include a demand that Americans be granted preferential rights to disseminate information." It has even caused the governments of Togo and Congo (Leopoldville) not to "permit Russian information centres." (p.250).

Radiating out around the U.S.I.A. is a solar system of other organisations all of which are working along similar lines: the Peace Corps, the New Businessmen Corps, Moral Re-Armament, Jehova's Witnesses, "even the cinema stories of fabulous Hollywood are loaded", and then, of course, for appeal to the workers of the world, is the influence of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. through the ICFTU.

Ideological influences are dangerous enough. But the USA today is not content with ideological influence. One of the aspects of neo-colonialism that must never be overlooked, for it can be the most menacing of all, is the strategy of military bases.

"If the base can be situated in a country which is so constituted economically that it cannot survive without substantial 'aid' from the military power who owns the base, then, so it is argued, the security of the base can be assured."

However, so great is the unpopularity of such bases that "throughout Africa these bases are disappearing." (p.23)

But while "bases" as such may be disappearing, neo-colonialist techniques are not. These include, in addition to those already mentioned above, "stationing troops in former colonies and the supplying of 'advisers' of one sort or another. Sometimes a num-

ber of 'rights' are demanded: land concessions, prospecting rights for minerals and/or oil; the 'right' to collect customs, to carry out administration, to issue paper money; to be exempted from customs duties and/or taxes for expatriate enterprises; and, above all, the 'right' to provide 'aid'"; (p.246)

A recent example in the field of oil is given by Nigeria: "In 1962 petroleum and petroleum products contributed 9.9 per cent to Nigeria's exports, but it is Shell-BP that hopes to reap most of the benefits." (p.13). Shell is American, BP is British, Nigerian petroleum is to be processed in Europe.

And so we come back, once again, to the octopus of monopoly capitalism in its exploitation of Africa, and the fingers of American monopoly capital in every sphere of capitalist-business through the world.

But Africa is awakening. And the USA realises this fact. Hence the *Wall Street Journal* of May 12, 1965, wrote as follows on the steady trend towards the increasing hunger of the vast majority of the world's population:

"Unless the present decline can be reversed... the United States and other wealthy industrial powers of the West face the distinct possibility in the words of British economist Barbara Ward, 'of a sort of international class war'." (pp.xviii-xix)

When the *Wall Street Journal* quotes a leading mouthpiece of the British *Economist* (both of which are journals of monopoly capital) as making such an ominous forecast, this is indeed the "writing on the wall".