

THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL

THE NEXT PHASE (1)

"IDEAS become power when they seize hold of the people" so says Lenin. We can add that ideas like credence, when magnified by the people are rendered irresistible.

The result of the referendum has clearly shown that socialism has seized the masses of Ghana. The demonstration of absolute confidence in the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah has rendered the cause of socialism in Africa irresistible.

The question at the moment is: What is the next phase? There is only one way left open. The people must go forward. Backward their march can never go. The present phase must glide irresistibly away from the past towards a future where the captive aspirations of the people for a full life shall sparkle like gems in all the glory of the oncoming future in which the people's power shall be enthroned in wondrous splendour.

What is the full life of the people? The vital elements which determine this category are: Standards of consumption of the staple foodstuffs and consumer manufactures, housing and work, labour conditions, facilities for rest and leisure, ability to acquire an education, health service facilities and social maintenance, provisions for free and all round development of the individual. These are dependent, however, on the level of the productive forces of the society and on the predominant form of production relations.

It is a fact that, to a great extent, the people of Ghana have already started enjoying essential aspects of a full life. But the new phase demands more. The phase opens new vestiges for a radically improving living standard and it calls for more sacrifice and harder work. Through this column we shall examine to the fullest possible level the requirements of the next stage of the Ghana revolution.

We stand by the absolute fundamental of socialism that the immediate phase of achieving a socialist level of national welfare, and our immediate aim, should be to establish abundance and fully to satisfy popular requirements for 'basic' products and services. It should be specially emphasised that the creation of an abundance of products, even with a very high level of technological development, requires great effort and expenditure of much natural wealth and material values which we have already created and which cannot always be speedily restored. Therefore, the movement to abundance and distribution according to needs permits of no squandering of existing material and cultural values.

How do we ensure that the people feel the 'presence' of a new phase? Lenin helps us in an answer to a question: Will the Bolsheviks retain power?

"When the last common workman, every unemployed worker, every cook, every ruined peasant sees, not from the paper, but with his own eyes, that the proletarian power is not cringing before the rich, but is helping the poor, that this power is not afraid of revolutionary measures, that it takes products from the parasites and gives them to the hungry, that it forcibly moves the homeless into the dwellings of the rich, that it forces the rich to pay for milk, but does not give them a drop of it until the children of all the poor families have received adequate supplies, that the land is passing into the hands of the toilers, that the factories and banks are coming under the control of the workers, that serious and immediate punishment is meted out to the rich who conceal their riches—when the poor see and feel this, no forces of international finance capital manipulating hundreds of billions will be able to conquer the people's revolution; on the contrary, 'it' will conquer the whole world, for in all countries the Socialist revolution is maturing."

We spark off to the next phase.

IDRIS COX ON

Socialist Ideas In Africa

Mr. Fenner Brockway, the British M.P., with a well-deserved record as a staunch opponent of colonialism has published a book on AFRICAN SOCIALISM. To him there are four trends in socialist theory in Africa. He talks of "communism or Marxist-Leninism, African Marxism, African Pragmatic Socialism, and African Democratic Socialism". But he has not been able to give any clear definition of his "four trends".

It is our duty to spotlight and destroy any attempt to revise or even deny some fundamentals of socialism under the guise of creating an "AFRICAN SOCIALISM".

We accept the view that we should find out the institutional forms best suited to the building of socialism in Africa but we hold strongly to the fact that the principles of socialist doctrine are universally valid.

Mr. Brockway's AFRICAN SOCIALISM is a hotch-potch of pragmatism-cum-metaphysics plastered over with idiosyncracies.

We agree with him however that Kwame Nkrumah is the only Marxist leader in Africa.

Mr. Idris Cox, the eminent journalist has allowed us to publish his views on the development of socialism in Africa. He intends publishing this same article in the February issue of MARXISM TODAY.

WITHIN the past seven years the number of independent States in Africa has trebled. In 1957, there were only 9—following the achievement of independence by Kenya and Zanzibar in December 1963, there are now 34. With the exception of South Africa (which is "independent" only for the European minority) these independent states account for over 80 per cent of the African territory, and 85 per cent of its population.

This rapid change began with the achievement of independence by Ghana in March, 1957. By the end of 1960, 17 more African countries had won political independence. In the last three years seven more African countries have become independent, and Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will follow suit in 1964, leaving only South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and a few small colonies to win their freedom.

The newly independent states are still faced with big problems. Experience has proved that political independence alone cannot

Dr. Nkrumah put this issue bluntly in the course of his speech at the Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of State in May, 1963, when he said:

"Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believe that African Governments could cure the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent, we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilised against us."



Arab Socialism?

remove the heritage of colonialism. Moreover, imperialism finds new ways in which to tighten its economic grip, retain its political influence, and exercise its domination. The independent states will have to wage an ever sharper struggle against the strategy of neo-colonialism.

The timeliness of this warning was revealed soon after when President Abbe Youlou of the Republic of Congo (formerly French) was overthrown in August, 1963, and President Maga of Dahomey was forced to resign in October, 1963. In both cases the armed revolt

against them was supported by the trade unions.

NEXT STEPS

What is the next step forward for the independent African states? This is now the subject of intense discussion, not only in Africa, but in the new states in Asia, in the socialist world, and even in Britain.

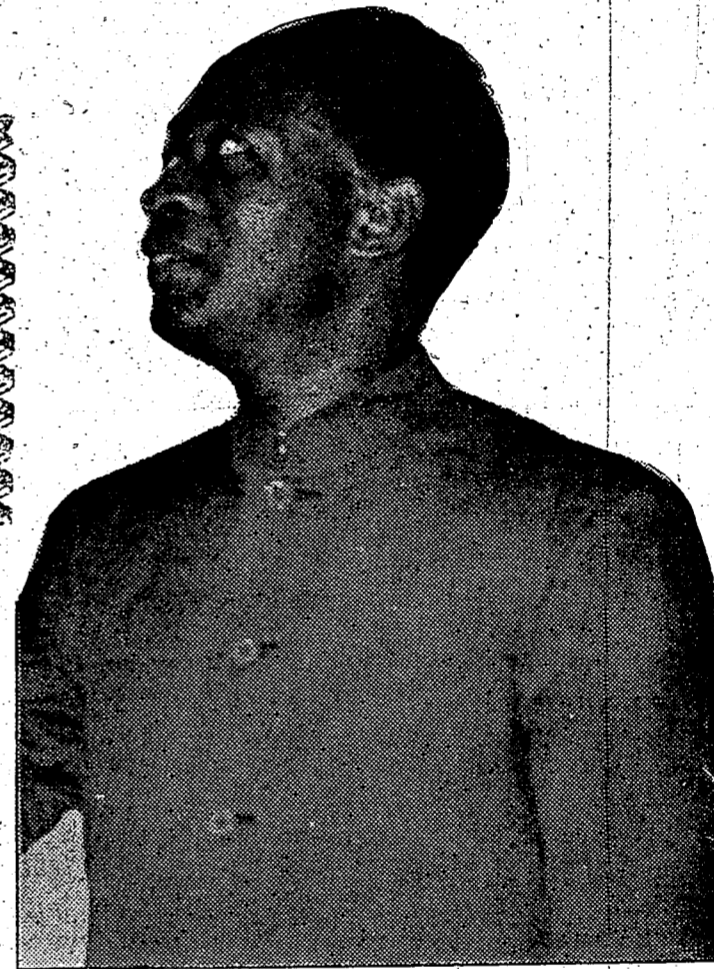
Will the new African states take the path of



Pragmatic Socialism?

capitalist development, or will they advance on the socialist road? Can they find a "neutral" road which is neither capitalist nor socialist?

Some of the new African states are only just emerging from tribal society, and



Ghana has taken to the road of Scientific Socialism

are only in the earliest stage of building a new nation. Will they be able to "jump" stages of economic and social development and by-pass the path of capitalist development?

Is there a "new" path of development which is peculiar to African conditions?

First, on the prospects of capitalist development in the new African states. In most of them the economic grip of overseas monopoly firms is still strong. The aim of the imperialists was not to build up an independent and balanced national economy, but to extract the maximum amount of natural and mineral wealth, drain away colossal profits, and get the maximum benefit from the declining prices of raw materials and primary products in return for increasing prices for the capital and manufactured goods exported to these countries. This is still the aim, and practice, of imperialism.

Colonial rule has always been the biggest obstacle to the growth of an independent national economy. The acceptance of continued imperialist domination will not promote the economic development of the new African states. There is ample evidence in Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and even Nigeria, that

only after achieving political independence has it been possible to embark upon the rapid growth of an independent and balanced national economy.

In any case, open advocacy of imperialist rule is no longer possible in Africa. It has become a "dirty word" among the mass of its peoples. Not



African Socialism?

only are they opposed to imperialism, but they are also opposed to the capitalist path of development. They are seeking a different road, and are convinced that Africa has something new to contribute to the world.

Continued on page 5

WHY THE REFERENDUM?

THE CONSTITUTION OF A STATE IS SACRED IT IS THAT WHICH MUST ULTIMATELY BE HELD TO REPRESENT THE GENERAL WILL OF THE PEOPLE. IT IS THE FINAL SANCTION AND ULTIMATE ARBITER OF ALL ACTIONS PRIVATE, PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL.

From A Special Correspondent

Increasingly, constitutions have been incorporating preambles which represent in nutshell form the basic objectives, guarantees, and ideology accepted by the people.

No Constitution can however be said to be perfect in relation to its preamble. No Constitution can be held to forestall all possible aggression on its stated objectives and guarantees. Hence, even though a Constitution may be workable for a while, situations may arise which show up some inadequacy in the provisions of the Constitution. When such situations are very serious, amendments to the constitution must be sought.

The Constitution however is the expression of the synthetic will of the people and any amendments to it must specifically and in detail be authorised by the people alone. There is no other valid way of changing a Constitution.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution of Ghana have been grouped under four heads affecting the Preamble, Parliament, the Judiciary, the Party. Suggestions affecting the status of each are serious suggestions, and if

they impinge upon an already accepted Constitution, they can take effect only after they have been adopted through a referendum.

The proposed constitutional amendments are in fact of great importance.

PREAMBLE

In the proposed amendment which affects the preamble, the national aspiration of Ghana is towards a socially just society. Even though such a society must be held to be desirable by all good and thinking men, so fastidious is the wish of our Government headed by Osagyefo, for constitutional methods that such a proposal is to be decided by a referendum. Indubitably, there will be a massive YES for the creation of a socially just society.

The social-economic system which in the shortest possible time promotes the just society is known as

socialism. So many heads, so many opinions, however; and too many persons have meant too many things by the term. In his New Year's Eve message, however, Osagyefo explained that when he calls for a socialist society he calls for a society in which the major means of production, distribution and exchange shall be vested in the people.

Now why is this necessary? It is necessary first in order to ensure that people are not exploited in order, that is to say, to ensure that private owners of major means of production do not rob their employees and the people at large in the form of markets of their fair rewards and means. Public ownership of the major means of production, distribution and exchange is therefore necessary to ensure that employees win fair rewards for their labour and that the people at large in the form of markets are not cheated through arbitrarily high prices. Public ownership of the major means of production, distribution and exchange is necessary, second, in order that private owners of such means should not use the threat of insecurity of employment to bully employees or the Government. Public ownership will best ensure that there is security of tenure in employment, and that the purpose of industry is to serve the nation.

In this connection, it must be noted that already in the public sector of the economy, it is not possible to lay off staff. A socialist Government will be bound to recognise the right of all to live, and the concomitant right of all to earn their living. This is why our Government has made it impossible for State Corporations and other State Institutions to lay off even redundant labour.

LACK OF INDIVIDUAL CAPITAL
Of course, there do not exist in Ghana at the moment individuals who command enough capital to own a major means of production. It is possible however that there are some who hope to own such means. The actual absence of private capitalists here makes the particular proposed

amendment relating to socialism most opportune. In countries like the United States of America and to a lesser extent the United Kingdom, where there are private capitalists, various institutions like Trade Unions and tax laws have been devised to prevent certain excesses on the part of the capitalists. But the latter are powerful, and by legal but illegitimate means can obstruct the Government in its proper task of promoting the welfare of all. There is no need why we should cultivate and encourage a problem and then apply an imperfect solution to it. We are in our country placed at a point in history when we can arrange the economic life of our society in a healthy and just way.

The second category of proposed amendments relates to Parliament. According to this proposal, Parliament is to become a body corporate, responsible for legislation in the total interest of the nation, and not paradoxically for individual constituencies. Parliament

is to become in a true sense a national assembly entrusted with sole legislative power on behalf of the nation.

THE PARTY MACHINERY

Responsible for nominations to the National Assembly will be a Party Machinery. Since the National Assembly is to be a body corporate, it is essential that the people as a whole should have opportunities of influencing the list of nominations by a free expression of their will. It is therefore important that sections of the population should not be left out by affiliation to parties which have no likelihood of coming into power. This is the supreme justification of a one party system, that it is meant to make unnecessary that discrimination against other party affiliates which accompanies a multi-party system. The importance of this in a young, small underdeveloped country, certainly not bursting at the seams with talent, is considerable and great. So, fellow-countrymen, let us all unite with in one party, join our ta-

lents and develop our country, Ghana.

Affiliation to the one-party may not necessarily carry one creed with it beyond the belief that in concert we can create a Ghana fashioned on principles of honesty, hard-work, and social justice.

The final proposal relates to the judiciary; and the intention of this proposal is to ensure that the Chief Executive really has supervision through the constituted organs of the state over all public offices. The state is that chief organ which has been set up by society to arrange the public life of society. The state in its turn sets up ancillary organs including the Judiciary. The state must therefore set up the ancillary organs including the Judiciary in such a way as to ensure that the aims and ideals of society accepted in the preamble to the Constitution are always served.

This is why the Chief Executive as Head of State must have supervisory powers in particular over the more important ancillary organs.

Fellow-countrymen, let us all as one man go to the booth and vote for a socially just and rational society.

Military Arrangements in Africa

WESTERN bloc powers are feverishly engaged in the work of creating military networks covering the whole of Africa. These military arrangements are directed against the African movements for liberation from colonial rule, for complete independence and for the social security of the entire people.

They are also meant to safeguard the various imperialist "spheres of influence" in the face of growing conflict between British, U.S. and French imperialisms.

While General de Gaulle's plan of a unified defence system covering all French-speaking African states is far advanced, President Kennedy and Mr. Harold Macmillan are busy erecting a military network to cover Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Libya, Ethiopia, the colonial territories of East and Central Africa and the Congo.

The French arrangement is based on two special striking forces. A French army of 40,000 officers and men has been created. It is stationed on the French Mediterranean island of Corsica and can be rapidly deployed by air anywhere in Africa.

This force, according to French sources, is to be used principally in dealing with "external aggression" against any of the French-speaking states of Africa. The French National Assembly has voted a little over £52 million to be spent on this force during 1963 alone.

The second French strike force is stationed in the Malagasy Republic in the Indian Ocean and consists of hard-core soldiers of the French Foreign Legion who fought in Vietnam and again in Algeria.

It is believed that these commando-type soldiers, who are not allowed to enter France, are to be used in military action against the movements for complete independence in the Brazzaville Group of African States—Chad, Niger, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Upper Volta, Cameroon, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Malagasy.

FRENCH BASES

These arrangements must be viewed against the background of French military bases dotted all over Africa in Tunisia, Morocco, Sahara, Algeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Malagasy (see Map).

By handing over token army and naval units to African Governments which have proved themselves to be pro-France, and by relying on a highly mobile strike force based in Corsica, General de Gaulle hopes to meet Africa's hostile feelings against foreign military bases while at the same time retaining effective military control over France's former colonies in Africa.

Britain and U.S.A. are also busily engaged putting together their own military network in Africa over and above their support for Verwoerd's South Africa through NATO.

On December 21 last year, an 8-man U.S. military mission headed by Lieutenant General Louis Truman visited the Congo to "study whether the U.S. could fill specific requests for military equipment."

Members of the Congolese Chamber of Deputies protested against this Mission which they described as "a threat to the sovereignty of the Congo."

U.S.—BRITISH MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS

Anglo-American grip on the military arrangements in Liberia, Libya, and Ethiopia continued unrelaxed.

There is a noticeable integration between the British and U.S. military arrangements in Africa particularly since the abandonment of Britain's "Skybolt" rocket and the substitution for it of the U.S. Polaris submarine. In addition to the one in Kano (Northern Nigeria) another satellite tracking station, part of the U.S. space research programme, is being set up in Lagos.

This time it is a ship to be permanently anchored in Lagos harbour. An official announcement in Lagos on January 11 and carried by the British news agency Reuters referred to a new U.S. satellite to be put into orbit 22,300 miles above the equator and said: "The satellite would be above Madagascar and out of range of radio from the U.S. and the ship in Lagos would be able to

maintain continuous tracking and send command signals."

This programme known as "Syncom" is organised by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) of the U.S. It integrates Nigeria completely into the strategic communications system of U.S.A.

A third move announced in Lagos on February 5 by the Federal Ministry of Defence is the signing of an agreement between the Governments of Nigeria and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). This agreement provides for the construction in Nigeria by West Germany of an armaments and munitions factory.

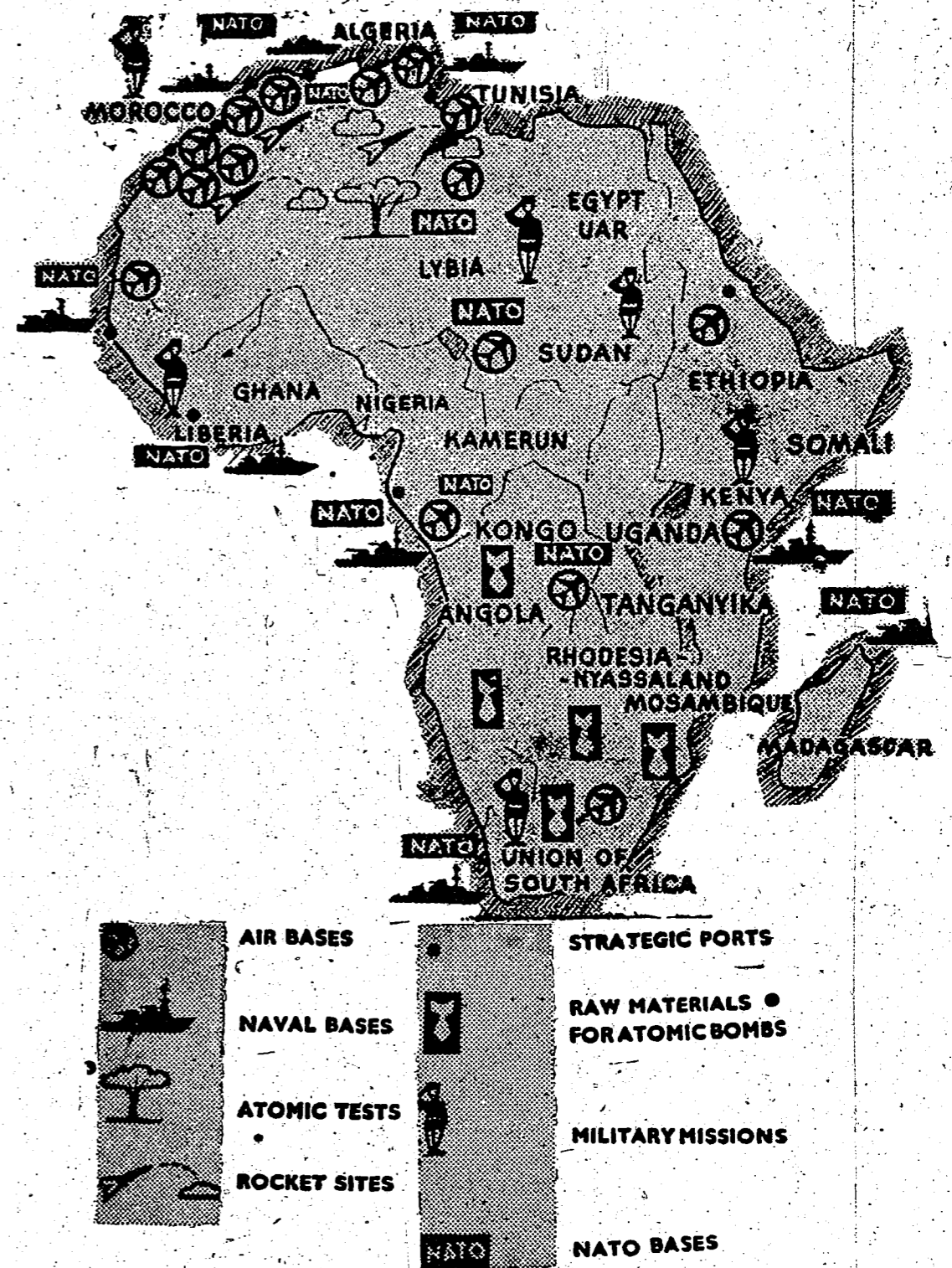
The work will be completed in 1964. According to the official announcement, the site of the plant, its output and other details were being kept secret for security reasons.

It will be recalled that West Germany is a member of NATO. As such its military agreements must be known to and sanctioned by the leading members of NATO especially U.S.A. and Britain.

COMBINED SYSTEMS

Meanwhile intense diplomatic activity is being directed towards linking the French and Anglo-American military systems in Africa. The latest move in this direction was made in the January 24-26 Lagos Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Monrovia Group of African States.

On the initiative of Nigeria's Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaja Wachuku, the meeting recommended that a joint "defence plan" be worked out and placed be-



fore the Addis Ababa Conference of African States in May.

This move, it is pointed out, is in line with the U.S. efforts to establish an "international security guarantee" in Africa. In essence the aim of this scheme is

to entrust Britain, France and U.S.A. with the security of Africa. Mr. Arnold Rivkin, top diplomat attached to the U.S. State Department, has written in his book *Africa and the West* that "Africa must decide... to seek security without arms through an

international guarantee negotiated among the major powers inside or outside the U.N. framework". He concluded: "It remains for the United States to press its initiative in the United Nations, among its allies, and directly with the independent African states".

Aden is one of British strategic bases (Malta, Cyprus, Aden, Kenya, Singapore) safeguarding the oil profits. 57.5 per cent of U.K. oil comes from the Middle East and the combined profits of Shell and B.P. for 1962 were £149,925,000.

"OPERATION GUNBOAT WAS LAUNCHED" Drilling for oil to Commence ADEN by D. J. Brent

from THE INSIDE..

SEVERAL weeks before the much publicised bomb incident at Aden a not so well publicised British-officered expeditionary force, supported by frigates standing offshore, quietly invaded the "possibly" oil-rich Mahra State, part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. Operation Gunboat was launched but a few days after the President of America's Standard Oil Company had visited the area following promising geological surveys; drilling for oil is now to commence.

Following the now standard pattern in the Middle East, the major share of the profits will go to the American Rockefeller and Morgans, the British public will foot the bill—Britain's security bill in the E.A.P. before this was costing over £500,000 a year—and the lives of more British troops will be endangered.

On Saturday morning, January 4, 1964, a B.B.C. news item briefly indicated that yet another British-officered expeditionary force had gone into action in one of the Protectorate States, north of Aden, bordering the Yemen, to quell the recalcitrant natives who still oppose the South Arabia Federation. Operation Nutcracker with R.A.F. aircraft support has already produced several casualties. At the same time, as a result of Operation Gunboat, talks are now in progress with the Mahra (see above) and two other Sultanates to federate and then join the South Arabia Federation—of their own free will of course.

WHAT IT COSTS:

A few days before the bomb incident, a further 250 British servicemen were flown to Aden following a strike of the majority of the 7,000 Arab workers at the Aden Base.

history repeats itself, often and with monotonous regularity in the struggle of imperialism to gain any means of retaining its colonies.

There must be something rotten happening in the State of Aden today, as well as a ray of understanding penetrating the Tory ranks, when a Tory M.P., in tabling a motion on the situation in Aden, in the Commons, has to caution the Government "against giving the impression that the incident is being used by the federal authorities as an excuse and a cover under which to work out arrangements... to obstruct constitutional advance and the political rights of all political parties working for a greater Yemen". Subsequent events showed that the caution was not only necessary but that it was being ignored by the Government and its stooges the Federal authorities.

of unpopular federations... and also of the futility of maintaining military bases in a country once it has become hostile to British interests".

Opposition in Aden against the Federation has been expressed by both political and industrial actions. Following the formation of the People's Socialist Party, a political struggle has been waged for a free and independent Aden and is being fully supported by several leading independent political leaders. Several appeals have been made to the United Nations culminating in a 2,000 word memorandum to Mr. Duncan Sandys and to Sir Kennedy Trevas, the British High Commissioner for South Arabia, with copies also sent to the U.N. Secretary-General.

DEFINITE DATE

It demanded "a definite date for the complete independence of South Arabia not later than December 1964", it indicated that the federation had been "forced upon the people in an extremely unsavoury and offensive manner", and stated that to ensure the continuation of Britain's military base in Aden, democratic processes were being strangled in Aden.

The Aden T.U.C.'s main attack has been on the 1960 Industrial Relations Ordinance which legally enforces conciliation and restricts the right to strike. Its strikes for both political purposes and for improved industrial conditions and pay have received overwhelming support from the Adeni workers.

Its appeals to the I.C.F.T.U. (to which it is affiliated) have compelled I.C.F.T.U. on numerous occasions to lodge complaints with the International Labour Organisation against both the British Government and the administration in Aden. As a result of these activities moves are afoot for the formation of a joint council, with representatives of the Aden T.U.C. to advise the Aden Government on labour policies.

BANS, ARRESTS, PRISONS

Following the bomb incident, the talks in London, which were to discuss the new constitution and franchise for Aden, were suspended—according to the present constitution elections must be held before April 25, that is within three months after the present Council's term of office expires—a State of Emergency was declared instead.

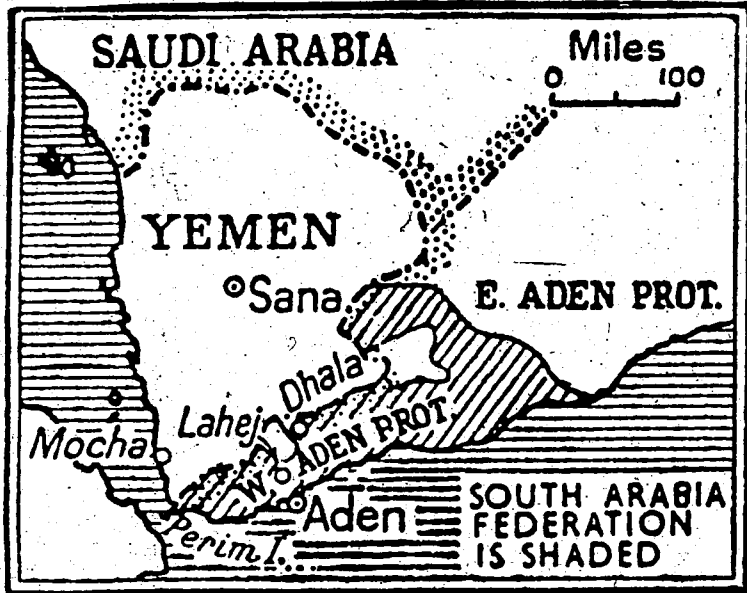
The right of assembly was banned. Hundreds of Aden Yemenis were rounded up and deported. Some

fifty-five trade union leaders, members of the P.S.P., including Abdullah Asnag, its popular secretary, prominent lawyers, members of Justice, the international legal organisation, and the Mayor of Aden State, and opposition member of the

General Assembly had called for the early removal of the British base in Aden, the repeal of all laws restricting public freedoms, for an end to all repressive measures against the people of the Aden Colony and Protectorates, and recom-

had severe repercussions in Aden. The Minister of Labour in the Aden Government resigned immediately and only the prompt response of the High Commissioner to their requests averted the resignation of the whole of the Aden Ca-

who made a fact-finding mission to Aden, whilst confirming on their return that they found no evidence to support allegations of physical torture, said, however, that the conditions of the detainees' imprisonment were far from satisfactory.



There are some 15,000 British troops in Aden and the Persian Gulf area costing the British taxpayer over £11 million a year to maintain. Their job has nothing to do with the defence of Britain or the interests of its people. They are there, and successive Tory Governments have never bothered to deny, much less to hide the fact, solely to help the oil-moguls—nationality no bar providing it is imperialist—preserve their profits.

Who was responsible for throwing the bomb at Aden is still not known, but, judging from the actions and the reign of terror that followed and the benefits it hopes to receive therefrom, it can truly be said that it was a convenient accident for British imperialism. If it had not happened then, something like it would have been made to happen;

What has happened in Aden since its merger into the South Arabia Federation "rushed into being with only minority support from the Adeni members of a legislative council that itself took its mandate from the 1959 elections, in which thanks to an opposition boycott, only a quarter of the possible votes were cast, and pushed through with disdain for Adeni public opinion" (The Economist, 14.12.63)

FORCED MERGER

Shortly before the merger, The Economist (25.8.62) indicated that: "The impetus for the merger is British concern to give political solidarity to the base in Aden... it is doubtful whether the decision to attach Aden to a collection of friendly sheikdoms will add much ballast," and a little later (26.10.62) wisely reminded the Government that it "has already had sad experience

Aden Legislative Council, were arrested and most of them sent to remote jails in tribal sheikdoms, where ideas of Justice are the most primitive.

T.U.C. CONCERN

Fears for their safety and treatment soon found expression from many different quarters. No doubt remembering Lumumba, the U.N. Trusteeship Council voted against Britain's action and called for the immediate release of the arrested leaders and for the end of deportations. Earlier

recommended that they be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

The I.C.F.T.U. immediately indicated its concern in a telegram to the Colonial Secretary as did the T.U.C. General Council. Even the Jordanian trade unions added their protests against the arrests.

The declaration of a state of emergency by the Federal Government—considered as gross interference in Aden's internal affairs—and its refusal to allow a Press inspection of the conditions under which the prisoners were detained, have

binet, sixteen Aden municipal councillors and eighteen Aden representatives in the Federal Legislative Council.

The Chief Minister, on his return from London, has so far resisted the demands made that he resign, giving as his grounds that he would not like to hand over to the Federal Government the power they have, little as it is, he added that his Government's target was to change the Aden constitution from "A to Z".

SOLIDARITY

The three Labour M.P.'s

The demand for the ending of the state of emergency should be re-echoed throughout the labour and trade union movements in this country at the very least.

As in Cyprus and in Kenya, in their different ways, so in Aden it is becoming abundantly clear, even in Tory circles that the only permanent solution is the granting of full, complete and genuine independence. Our Tory backwoodsmen and certain Labour leaders must be convinced of this too. The time is ripe and opportune.

TRADE OR PLUNDER?

THE question of trade is getting ever greater prominence in the world today. It may well be said that there was not a single delegate at the 18th UNO General Assembly session held last autumn who did not touch upon the question of international trade in one way or another. International trade was a major talking point at the fourth conference of the Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Co-operation held in Karachi last December.

One of the main reasons for the heightened interest in trade is the fact that we are on the

eve of a major event—the U.N. Conference for Trade and Development. Representatives from more than 100 countries will converge on Geneva next March to discuss the basic problems of trade between countries and draw up recommendations for the normalisation of the entire system of international trade.

And it is by no means accidental that this conference will give prominence to the emerging nations for whom trade is not simply a means of commodity exchange or a way of getting the goods they lack. For

these countries, trade is the main means of financing their economic development, of stepping up their economic and social progress.

Today, when the developing nations have elaborated and are carrying into life programmes to facilitate their economic progress their requirements in the import of machines and equipments for the industrial enterprises under construction have increased several-fold; they also have to meet their ever growing requirements in the import of manufactured goods and in the servi-

ces of foreign engineers, technicians and other specialists. All this, however, calls for payment, and for the most part in foreign currency. Foreign currency is also needed to pay for freight and insurance, as well as for the purchase of licences for the production of various commodities.

The main source of foreign currency revenue for the under-developed countries is what they receive from the sale of their own products on the world market. However, the nega-

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Finish With Colonialism!

POSTERS on the hoardings and in schools show little starving children, from Asia or Africa, with large sad eyes and swollen bellies.

The look on their faces and the condition of their puny bodies are an unanswerable condemnation of the colonial system from which some still suffer and others are only now emerging.

The majority of the people of the world live in such regions—in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the West Indies. Most of them are hungry and poor, and this has been their fate throughout the many decades of colonial rule.

But what is important for the British people to grasp today is that the peoples of these vast territories are determined to end this appalling situation. And what the British people must grasp, too, is that if we let our rulers continue to resist the awakened peoples, then we will have to bear additional burdens and sacrifices.

Only some two per cent of mankind still remains under direct colonial rule. In under twenty years, fifty former colonies have broken their chains of oppression and set up new independent states.

The people in these territories have ended their long nightmare of brutal colonial oppression and national humiliation, and are now establishing themselves as masters in their own homes. They want to put an end to starvation wages and poverty, to abolish ill-health, illiteracy and bad housing.

DETERMINED TO END ROBBERY

They will no longer tolerate being the victims of racial discrimination, neither at home nor when they emigrate to Britain. They are determined to assist the liberation of their brothers still under colonial rule.

For many years Tory, Liberal and right-wing Labour politicians have tried to persuade the British people that the inhabitants of these territories were poor because their lands lacked resources, that the colonial people were incapable of running their own affairs, and that British control was essential to assist these countries to make progress.

History has already given its verdict on these myths. The peoples of Africa and Asia are increasingly taking affairs into their own hands and are demonstrating to the whole world that, as independent peoples, they can make more rapid progress than was ever thought possible when they were still colonies.

The cause of their poverty is robbery—robbery by the big imperialist firms in whose interests the colonial system was established. This, the peoples are now determined to end, and foreign colonial rule is being swept aside.

In this new situation two big questions face the British people.

* Are we going to stand by and see ourselves dragged into a crisis and possible wars through the blind and desperate efforts of our rulers to maintain their economic and political domination over the remaining colonies?

* What are we going to do in order to establish new relations of friendship and mutual economic benefit with the newly independent states? These two challenges are among the most important political issues which will determine the future well-

being and peace of the British people.

IN BRITAIN'S INTERESTS

The Communist Party is the only political party which has always opposed imperialism and all forms of colonial rule and exploitation. It fully supports the efforts of the colonial and newly independent peoples.

We have consistently stood by the peoples of Africa and Asia, and have never hesitated in that cause to oppose our own government and the military actions they have taken.

In acting thus, we have defended the best interests of the British people, too.

Those who oppress and exploit the peoples of Africa and Asia are the same rich Tories who exploit the British people.

Big monopoly firms such as Unilever, Shell, ICI, British Petroleum, British-American Tobacco Company, Imperial Tobacco Company, Courtaulds, Rhokana Corporation (copper), Rhodesian Anglo-American (copper), British South Africa (mining rights and land), and Dunlop Rubber, made between them over £300 million in profits in 1962.

These profits were made both out of the British people and out of the low-paid labour and cheap raw materials in the colonies and former colonies.

The reactionary military officers, police officials and judges who have helped to oppress the peoples of Asia and Africa, often drowning their struggles in blood, are representatives of the same class and same state institutions which attack peaceful demonstrations in Britain, help landlords to evict tenants and frequently hand out heavy prison sentences to British people demonstrating for their rights.

Each struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia against the British Tory rulers is a struggle against the very forces of big business, landlordism, robbery and reaction which stand in the way of progress in Britain.

In championing the interests of the colonial and former colonial peoples, the Communist Party has championed the true interests of the British people themselves.

That is why we now rejoice in the historic advances of the national liberation movement.

TORIES MENACE BRITAIN

The Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties still strive to maintain the outdated system of imperialism. This policy distorts British economy and hampers the expansion of our industries and social services.

It gives rise to a gigantic arms programme and preparation for nuclear war, as well as huge overseas military expenditure, now running at over £249 million a year, which result in crushing burdens on the British

people. Heavy taxation, direct and indirect, cuts in social services, higher social insurance contributions, insufficient housing and educational facilities—all these can be laid at the door of the imperialist system.

Britain's present serious economic situation and the manoeuvres of our corrupt and reactionary government, are an expression of the imperialist system. It is this which lies at the root of the critical problems facing the British people. Britain's future can be assured only by close co-operation with the national liberation struggle to end the system of imperialism.

The Tories strive to maintain this system by economic and political domination of the newly-independent states, by armed measures of repression against the national liberation movements, and by imposing new burdens on the British people.

They sent troops to South-East Asia to force through their Federation plan. They spent £100,000 transporting troops from Kenya to Swaziland to break a strike of African miners and plantation workers fighting for a modest wage of £1 a day. They dispatched forces to Aden to crush the trade unions struggling for higher pay.

They are handing over powerful armed forces to Winston Fields white settler government in Southern Rhodesia, and provide a substantial part of the arms to maintain apartheid in South Africa.

WHAT IS LABOUR'S POLICY?

The right-wing Labour leaders support the imperialist system.

When in office the Labour Party launched a shameful and wasteful war against the Malayan people, imprisoned Dr. Nkrumah in the early struggles for Ghana's independence, condoned the shooting and killing of striking miners in Enugu, Nigeria, and of striking sugar workers at Enmore, in British Guiana, and brutally suppressed the general strike in Nairobi.

The Labour Party connived with the Tory Government's removal of Dr. Jagan's government in 1953, and supports the present manoeuvres of the Tories to prevent British Guiana winning independence under its present Progressive People's Party Government. It supports the infamous Malaysia Plan and the South Arab Federation.

It accepts the Tory Government's slow time-table for dismantling the Central African Federation, and refuses to campaign in support of the UN Resolution to suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution and introduce the democratic rule of the African majority.

It tries to cling to the Simonstown Agreement made by the Tories with the South African Government and accepts complacently the deteriorating situation in the High Commission Territories.

This policy of the right-wing Labour leaders is in

complete defiance of the growing movement of the rank and file in solidarity with the national liberation struggle. It is against all the best traditions of the British labour movement. It is against the best interests of the British people.

The historic advances of the national liberation movement are presented by the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties as the "end of imperialism."

They pretend that the peoples' victory, won through bitter struggle and self-sacrifice, and supported by the socialist world and the solidarity movement in the imperialist countries, was the outcome of a benevolent gesture by the British rulers.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The peoples of Asia and Africa have had to fight for every inch of their advance. And both Tory and Labour Governments have used force to prevent this progress. The peoples of Asia and Africa still have to struggle to end colonial rule where it still exists, and to follow up political independence with the winning of economic independence.

Direct colonial rule still remains in parts of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

British imperialism, above all, still rules over such territories as Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the three High Commission Territories in southern Africa (Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland), the Aden port and peninsula, key islands such as Malta and Hong Kong, and in the Caribbean, British Guiana, British Honduras and eight small islands.

British economic, diplomatic and military help is also being used to maintain the fascist apartheid regime of Verwoerd in South Africa, to maintain white settler rule in Southern Rhodesia, and to help prop up the Salazar dictatorship in Angola and Mozambique.

END COLONIAL RULE

An "Unholy Alliance", embracing Verwoerd, Salazar and the white settler rulers of Southern Rhodesia, has come into being, with the aim of maintaining the domination of four million European settlers over 25 million Africans in southern Africa.

Tory reactionaries are backing this desperate venture, in the face of the clearly expressed determination of the 212 million independent Africans and their states to come to the aid of their oppressed brothers.

Such a Tory gamble, motivated solely by the greed to hang on to rich profits and military bases, can involve the British people in heavy burdens and provoke a major military clash in that part of the world.

In South-East Asia, the Malaysia plan is being forced through in the face of the mounting hostility of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo). Malaysia's neighbours, Indonesia and the Philippines, are also strongly opposed. Yet the Tories, with the support of the Liberal and Labour Parties, have imposed this new Federation in the interests of rubber and in monopolies, and to maintain the Singapore air,

naval and military base as a threat to the socialist countries and the independent states and liberation movements in Asia.

In the Caribbean, ten years after internal self-government was first won, British Guiana still remains under British rule. Bowing to pressure from U.S. imperialism, the British Tories are using the most unscrupulous methods to deny independence to British Guiana.

In pursuing these policies, the British Tories are openly defying the resolutions of the United Nations which have called for the suspension of the Constitution in Southern Rhodesia and the introduction of democracy there, for an economic and military embargo against South Africa, and, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, for the ending of colonialism everywhere.

Here, in Britain, the Tories pursue the same policy of treating the people of Asia, Africa and the West Indies as second-class citizens. The Commonwealth Immigration Act restricts their entry, and, at the same time the Tories refuse to enact legislation or take other decisive steps to end racial discrimination.

EXPOSE THE NEW METHODS OF COLONIALISM

The colonial system is breaking down, but it is not yet ended. The big firms which have become rich on the basis of starvation wages in Africa and Asia, and low prices to peasant producers, are reluctant to surrender their profits.

Forced to give up direct rule the colonial exploiters are striving to cling on to their positions and even extend them by a whole series of new methods and manoeuvres. This is the strategy of neo-colonialism, which is a combination of old and new forms of colonialism in a situation in which imperialism is faced with changed world relations and has become even more desperate.

Big British firms, still hold a dominant position in the newly-independent states. Through their possession of the mineral wealth, of plantations, shipping and other enterprises, and their domination of trade, they rob these countries of millions of pounds each year while the people remain poor.

The newly developing countries, because of their lack of industry and their weak position on the world market, receive low prices for their raw materials but have to pay ever higher prices for their imported manufactures and capital goods. "Hit on the head with two clubs at the same time" is how they see it.

Tory, Liberal and right-wing Labour leaders try to conceal this increasing robbery with glowing accounts of "economic aid" extended to these countries. But the amount lost by these countries through the unequal prices between what they sell and what they buy, is, according to UN sources, twice as much as the total amount of public "aid" received from the West.

Further, the amounts sent in as "aid" include private investments for profit, military expenditure and loans at high rates of

interest. It is usually directed to increasing mineral extraction, or to building roads, railways and harbours to facilitate the taking out of raw materials for European industry and commerce.

Thus, the industrialisation of the new states is held back, and the gap between them and the developed countries becomes wider and wider.

DEFEAT THE NEW FORMS OF STRATEGY

Alongside this continued economic robbery of Asia and Africa, British imperialism strives to maintain its political influence.

Sometimes, as in Ireland, India and Cyprus, it does this by partition. Sometimes, as in Central Africa, South Arabia and Malaysia, by federation.

Partition divides the national movement and weakens it. Federation is intended to impose the domination of more reactionary sections—white settlers or feudal rulers—in alliance with imperialism.

The imposition of British-inspired constitutions as a precondition for independence, and the retention of British personnel in key positions of the armed forces, police, civil service and other spheres in the new states are other means of maintaining imperialist influence.

The buying up of newspapers and journals in Asia and Africa by British press lords, and the penetration of British monopoly interests in overseas television, turn these media of propaganda into weapons of the cold war, which strive to prevent the new states entering into closer relations with socialist countries.

In the military sphere, British imperialism tries to maintain its overseas bases in the new states (Malaya, Singapore, Cyprus), as well as in countries not yet independent (Aden, Malta). It also maintains military pacts with countries such as South Africa (the 1955 Simonstown Agreement), which provide a base for further imperialist aggression against the liberation struggle in Africa and the Middle East.

The Communist Party opposes all these forms and methods of neo-colonialist strategy, and strives to end all forms of imperialist domination, influence and exploitation.

MUTUAL BENEFIT

Close ties between the British people and the national liberation movements is not a question of charity. It is in the common interests of both peoples to end all forms of imperialist rule and exploitation.

Firm solidarity with the national liberation struggle will help to lay a solid basis of friendship and co-operation with the new states. In place of the old relations of exploitation and robbery, new relations of mutual benefit could be established.

Long-term credits on easy terms from Britain would help the new states to reconstruct their economies, to build their industries and to develop their agriculture. They need locomotives and trucks, tractors and farm machinery, hydroelectric installations and refineries, mining equipment and merchant ships—in short, a whole range of machinery and engineering products which British industry is well suited to provide.

Orders for such commodities could help to wipe out unemployment in many hard-hit areas of Britain and, at the same time, help the new states in Asia and Africa to build up their economies.

The economic development of these states would expand their markets and so make possible a continual flow of goods from Britain—and in return we could receive the numerous items, including foodstuffs, raw materials, processed goods and certain lines of manufactures which these countries would be turning out.

More equitable prices, too, could be granted to the new states for their raw materials, and this would help them to place bigger orders here for the goods they require. Better trading relations could be built up too, with the other countries of the Commonwealth which would be to our mutual benefit.

A POLICY TO END COLONIALISM

In these ways we will begin to wipe out the memory of a shameful past of imperialist oppression and bring in a new and glorious future.

This vision will come to pass more quickly if a more determined struggle is waged now on all the immediate issues of common concern to the British workers and to the peoples of the new states and remaining colonies.

The Communist Party therefore places in the forefront of its programme the following demands:

1. Full support for the UN resolution to end colonialism everywhere.
2. Close down all military bases in colonies and former colonies and bring home the British troops.
3. Boycott British arms to South Africa, impose economic sanctions and remove the South African Government representatives from the UN, and other international bodies.
4. Suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution, abolish white settler domination, and give the African majority the democratic right to rule.
5. Immediate independence for British Guiana.
6. Disband the imposed Federation of Malaysia, and give independence and democracy to its constituent territories.
7. Repeal the Commonwealth Immigration Act, and make racial discrimination and incitement to race hatred illegal.
8. Grant genuine aid to the new states to help them embark on large-scale industrialisation, the modernising of their agriculture and the raising of their living standards.
9. Establish more equitable price relations between the prices of the raw materials and primary goods exported by the newly independent states and the manufactures and capital goods they import.
10. Strengthen trading relations with all the countries of the Commonwealth, and with the socialist countries.

(Statement by the British Communist Party)

Continued from page 1

Capitalist development in Europe depended a good deal, and still does, on the exploitation of colonial resources, just as slavery in the southern states was a big factor in the growth of U.S. capitalism. The African national bourgeoisie (national capitalists) is still small, extremely weak and undeveloped, and scarcely exists as an organised class force. Apart from a few small factories it is engaged mainly in trade, generally taking second place to the big overseas monopoly firms. It has no colonial possessions and cannot embark upon colonial expansion. Even if it were possible to do so, it would be resisted even by the most politically backward of the African masses.

This makes clear that the "traditional" path of capitalist development is not possible in most parts of Africa. At the same time, there is some degree of capitalist development (mainly in South Africa, the Rhodesias, and the Congo), but in most countries of tropical Africa industrial development is based more and more on the public sector rather than the private sector, and agricultural production is based more and more on co-operative methods.

What prospects are there of an advance towards socialism?

Most African national leaders proclaim that socialism is their aim. To advocate the growth of capitalism would seriously weaken (or even completely destroy) their political influence among the masses. Socialism is the new gospel to win the support of the African peoples.

The great socialist advances of the Soviet Union, its firm stand for world peace and its gigantic support for all national liberation struggles, are making a powerful impact throughout Africa. Emerging from their first stage of political liberation from imperialism the African peoples are inspired by the socialist world to look forward to the new stage—complete liberation from all forms of colonialist and imperialist domination, and the advance to socialism.

AFRICAN CONDITIONS

The African weekly journal, *THE SPARK* (organ of the Bureau of African Affairs in Ghana), was bold enough to declare (22/12/62):

"Like the rest of the world, the decisive influence of socialism is making itself felt in Africa. The growing appeal of socialist ideas is everywhere manifest. Africa is moving irresistibly to socialism."
African conditions, together with its class relations, are so different that socialism is interpreted in many different ways. In Africa the opposition to the path of traditional capitalist development in Western Europe is a strong and positive factor, but its negative aspect is the temptation to throw overboard all the positive lessons of the political struggles in other parts of the world.

It is argued that rival classes do not exist in African society. With the achievement of political independence (together with the absence of a developed national bourgeoisie) it is claimed that all Africans have common aims. It is argued that there are no rival classes, and so no need for rival political parties. This gives rise to the one-party system as a form of government in several independent African states.

SOCIALIST IDEAS

This separation from the rest of the world; idealisation of traditional African society, blurring over of class differences, together with separate national ambitions of bourgeois elements, has led to a great variety of "socialist" concepts in Africa. Thus, there is the "Arab socialism" of President Nasser, whereas in Tunisia (another Arab country) there is "Neo-Destour socialism"—Neo-Destour being the name of the ruling party, meaning "new life". There is the "Negritude" preached by President Senghor of Senegal, often presented as a variety of "African socialism". The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) presents the concept of "Pragmatic Socialism" (the old hand-to-mouth process) and the Action Group of Nigeria sets the aim of "Democratic Socialism"—much in the same way as the right-wing leaders in Britain.

Most widespread is the concept of "African Socialism".



Only one Socialism

ism"—something different from the Social Democratic concepts in the capitalist countries and also from the scientific socialism of Marxism in the socialist world. Even within the concept of "African Socialism" there are different varieties, ranging from the "tribal Socialism" of Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika, to the mixed economy "democratic socialism" presented by Jomo Kenyatta in the recent election programme of the Kenya African National Union.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., has a well-deserved record as a staunch opponent of colonialism, but has a curious conception of socialism. In his recent book *African Socialism*, he gives his own peculiar version of this proliferation of socialist concepts in Africa. He sums them up as "four trends in socialist theory".

"Communism or Marxist-Leninism, African Marxism, African Pragmatic Socialism, and African Democratic Socialism" (p. 19).

Mr. Brockway expresses the view that the Marxist-Leninists are extremely weak because they "come into conflict with the general socialist flow in Africa because they insist that their 'scientific socialism' is authoritative under all conditions, and that its theory and method must be universally accepted" (p. 20).

No proof is offered for this contention, and throughout his book there is the utmost confusion as between the form and content of socialism. On the political content of socialism Mr. Brockway is correct in asserting that Marxist-Leninists declare that:

"There adaption of the tribal system to complicat-

ed modern condition presents, of course, enormous problems. It will mean, as all except the Marxist-Leninists realise, an African socialism different in many forms from either European social democracy or Soviet Communism (p. 26). (My emphasis.)

The basic attitude of the international Communist movement was presented in the 1960 Moscow Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties: of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of class forces in the country concerned, on the organisation and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of resistance put up by the ruling classes."

(36 Million Communists Say, p. 30).

POLITICAL CONTENT

The real issue is not the form of socialism but its political content. To Mr. Brockway several African countries are already socialist, though the concept of socialism differs from one to the other. In his third chapter *The Socialist Sector of Africa* he includes the United Arab Republic, Tunisia, Algeria, Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Ghana, and Tanganyika. Even Dahomey is included, simply because the Minister of Commerce informed Mr. Brockway (when he touched down in Dahomey while travelling by air from Accra to Khartoum) that "the next stage of socialisation planned is to establish publicly-owned industries associated with agriculture" (p. 42).

Even before Mr. Brockway's book was published in November 1963, news had come through that President Maga of Dahomey had been deposed but retained in the Cabinet as a result of action taken by the armed forces—which are under French influence. True, the trade unions took a secondary part because of dissatisfaction, and this was exploited to bring about a Cabinet reshuffle. Such is the "socialism" of Dahomey. Also in Senegal, during September and October 1963, there were large-scale strikes, with 50,000 demonstrating on September 27 outside President Senghor's palace. They broke down the prison gate and hundreds were arrested, but again on October 4, more than 50,000 filed past at the interment of one of their leaders who had been killed. Surely it is a strange kind of socialism in Senegal!

Within Mr. Brockway's large compass of countries building "socialism" in Africa he includes Tunisia ("few African countries have gone further in socialist planning"), the "pragmatic" socialism of President Nasser, and the net is even cast outside Africa to include Israel which "is perhaps to a greater degree than any country a democratic socialist state" (p. 106). Based on all these varieties of "socialism" Mr. Brockway expresses the conviction that:

"Indeed, it is not too much to say that the most dynamic socialist movement in the world today is in Africa" (p. 17).

Mr. Brockway can learn a great deal from the rising generation of socialists in Africa. Even a year ago

this conglomeration of "socialist" concepts came under severe criticism in "THE SPARK".

"Socialist orientation does not mean preaching a hotch-potch of pragmatism-cum-humanism-cum-metaphysics plastered over with idiosyncrasies and passed over as African socialism. African socialism can mean no more than the basic tenets of socialism in an African setting." (December 29, 1962).

In a subsequent editorial *THE SPARK* came out clearly for "scientific socialism" urging all Africans to "stop chasing illusions like African socialism, Arab socialism, pragmatic socialism, democratic socialism and such other beautiful phrases that cover up a multitude of anti-socialist sins" (25. 10. 63).

The hotch-potch of socialist ideas referred to is not confined to Africa. When the Ba'athists in Iraq staged a successful counter-revolutionary coup in February 1963, Mr. Brockway wrote: "It is neutralist, socialist, moved by Arab unity" (*Tribune*, 15. 2. 63). Even on the first day of this coup it was clear that this fascist gang of murderers had nothing in common with unity, democracy, or socialism, but simply used these phrases for their reactionary aims.

Let us examine these countless versions of "socialism" now being put forward by various African national leaders.

President Senghor is often acclaimed as the theoretician of "African socialism". After three years of Senegal's "independence" he declared in 1961: "The French Community (continued relations with France) created by General de Gaulle with Africa's true representatives, is one of the greatest achievements of our time." In his book *West Africa in Evolution* he explains:

"We aim to hold firmly to a middle-of-the-road socialism which is liberal and undogmatic—one which socialises all that should be socialised, beginning with the rural economy, but no more than that."

Among African leaders Senghor is the outstanding exponent of what is termed "Negritude". This is how he defined it in a lecture at Oxford University in October 1961:

"Negritude is the whole complex of civilised values—cultural, economic, social and political—which characterises the black peoples, or, more precisely, the Negro-African world." (*West Africa*, 4/11/61).

AFRICAN LIBERATION

This excludes the Arab peoples of Africa, but includes the Negro peoples of the United States, the character of whose struggle is vastly different from that of the peoples of Africa. African liberation is presented as a clash of colour and culture, not a political struggle. Influenced by his Roman Catholic upbringing, Senghor surrounds his peculiar concepts with mystical illusions, completely devoid of any scientific analysis of the motive forces in history, not to mention the class forces within society. One of the commentators in *West Africa* (by no means

a Marxist), bluntly described these devotees of "Negritude" as comprised of "Muslims, fetishists, hardcore Calvinists, die-hard Papists, and renegade Marxists" (*West Africa*, 30/6/62).

Senghor asserts that "our Negro-African society is a classless society" and that the problem is "not how to put an end to the exploitation of man by his fellow, but how to prevent it happening". In the next breath he admits: "and yet we have not legally suppressed private capitalism, which is foreign to our country; we have not even nationalised anything" (*West Africa*, 11/1/61).

Despite Senghor, the fact remains that class differentiation in Senegal cannot be hidden. Not only has nothing been nationalised, but together with the Ivory Coast, Liberia and the Congo, it is more strongly in the economic and political grip of foreign imperialism than any other independent state south of the Sahara, with living standards far below Ghana's.

TRIBAL SOCIETY AND "SOCIALISM"

In a recent statement made by President Modibo Keita of Mali, he declared: "We will not allow ourselves to be caught by the magic of words. Most of the states speak of African socialism—even Senghor Senghor speaks of African socialism. If we are not



African Democratic Socialism?

careful the word 'socialism' will be emptied of its meaning, and bourgeois systems of the most reactionary kind will be able to camouflage themselves under the sign of socialism."

Among the African national leaders with a far more consistent anti-imperialist record than Senghor is Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika. Not only in the struggle for political independence, but after its achievement, Nyerere has taken a principled stand against the vile apartheid system in South Africa (long before the Addis Ababa Conference in May 1963), and has put into practice effective steps to boycott trade, arms, and airspace with South Africa. Moreover, Tanganyika has become a haven for the leaders of illegal liberation movements in South Africa, South-West Africa, Angola and Mozambique.

Though a staunch opponent of imperialism, Julius Nyerere is also overwhelmed by African "exceptionalism". His pamphlet *The Basis of African Socialism*,

written in April, 1962, starts off with the assertion that "Socialism—like Democracy—is an attitude of mind". Socialism is not a "standard political pattern", and the basic difference between socialism and capitalism "does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way that wealth is distributed".

Nyerere's ideal, like Senghor's, is the "traditional African society where both rich and poor are completely secure", and this is the picture he paints of it:

"Nobody starved, either of food or human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth; he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member. That was socialism. That is socialism. There can be no such thing as acquisitive socialism, for that would be another contradiction in terms. Socialism is essentially distributive. Its concern is to see that those who sow reap a fair share of what they sow."

More than 120 years ago Karl Marx laid bare the fallacies of the utopian socialists and others who were blind to the class forces in society. Like Nyerere they believed that the equitable distribution of wealth could be separated from the class ownership of the means of production, and did not grasp that the distribution of wealth depends on which class in society owns the land, means of production, and the power to exploit labour.

At an early stage of capitalist development these utopian ideas are not unusual. In the section on "Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism" in the *Communist Manifesto*, 1848, Marx pointed out:

"The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, cause Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to class antagonism."

Wishful thinking will not eliminate class antagonism in Tanganyika. True, direct colonial rule has been abolished, but imperialism still retains its economic grip. Foreign monopoly firms still have a stranglehold on sisal (Tanganyika's main product) and make gigantic profits, many times bigger than the total wage-bill. Mr. Nailo Swai, Minister for Development and Planning, recently explained that "Investment in the private sector amounts to 60 per cent". (*REPORTER*, 5/10/63). The official Industrial Directory of firms in 1961 (large and small) gives a total of 1,999 firms. Wage disputes and strikes among sisal workers are frequent, and have increased in recent years. There is certainly no semblance in this situation of depending "on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member".

CLASS CONFLICTS

Nyerere contrasts African "tribal socialism which knows nothing of class conflicts" with "European Socialism which was born of the Agrarian Revolution and the Industrial Revolution which followed it". He asserts that the former produced the "modern capitalist" and the latter "the industrial proletariat", and that these two revolutions planted the seeds of conflict within society.

If the term "agrarian revolution" refers to the breakdown of feudalism it certainly ignores the basic



One road to Socialism

factors responsible for this change. Even more misleading is the topsy-turvy view that it is revolutions which plant the seeds of conflict in society, rather than class conflicts creating revolutions.

In an attempt to justify the claim that classes do not exist in African society, Nyerere points out that the word "class" has no equivalent in any indigenous African language. Obviously, the word "class" appears nowhere in any tribal society in Africa or elsewhere, for classes only appear when tribal society breaks down. And there can be no doubt that tribal society is rapidly breaking down in Tanganyika.

Marxists have always been conscious of the positive as well as the negative aspects of tribal society. Contrary to Nyerere's idyllic picture, tribal society was essentially a primitive form of existence in which no surplus was produced above bare subsistence needs. There was no other way to live except by sharing things in common, and it was a community of poverty, not of wealth. At the same time, however, there was not an exploiting class, exercise of dictatorship, or political suppression.

POSITIVE ASPECTS

Engels was fully conscious of these positive aspects of tribal society, and in his classic essay, *Origin of the Family*, quoted with approval the perspective given by Lewis Morgan, in his authoritative survey *Ancient Society*: "Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes."

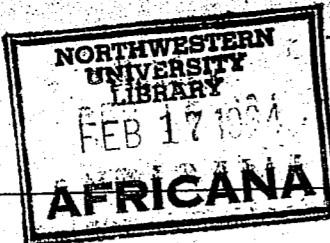
Socialism is the transformation of the positive features of tribal society to the "higher plane of society". From a low level of existence new and higher relations will arise from the mastery of science and the laws of social development.

The most positive features of tribal society to the "higher plane of society". From a low level of existence new and higher relations will arise from the mastery of science and the laws of social development.

The most positive features of primitive communism are transformed into scientific socialism, a stage to communism, and the pinnacle of human development.

Can the positive features of the old tribal society be preserved in the modern age during the transition from capitalism to socialism?

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Trade or Plunder?

(Continued from page 3)

five tendencies existing in the world trade bring to naught all the efforts of the emerging nations to increase their currency reserves.

One of these unfavourable tendencies consists in the fact that the share of the underdeveloped countries in world trade is steadily dropping with every passing year. Thus, in 1950, these countries accounted for one-third of the world exports, while ten years later, in 1960, the share of the underdeveloped countries in world exports dropped to 25 per cent. Over the same period the Western countries considerably increased their share in world exports. Thus, we see that the advanced countries of the West, which as it is, are much richer than the developing nations, receive all the advantages for the expansion of international trade. Incidentally, the wealth of the Western countries was amassed largely at the expense of the toil and sweat of the less developed nations which even today cannot as yet overcome the cruel legacy of foreign domination.

This is not only due to the fact that the goods of the industrially developed capitalist states oust the commodities of the emerging nations from the world market. The underdeveloped countries suffer yet greater losses from the correlation of prices on manufactured goods exported by the Western countries and the raw materials which comprise the bulk of export of the emerging nations.

For a long period of time now the prices on raw materials have been dropping, while the prices on manufactured goods and equipment, which the underdeveloped countries have to buy, have been steadily growing.

This is confirmed by data published by the United Nations in the World Economic Survey—1962. The survey notes among other things that in the period between 1950-1952 and 1960-1962 the price of a unit of export production of the industrially developed countries of the West increased by approximately five per cent, while the price of a unit of export production of the developing countries (over the same period) dropped by more than 15 per cent. This means that the conditions of trade for the underdeveloped countries deteriorated by at least 20 per cent! This means that if ten years ago an emerging nation had to sell, say, 100 bags of rice or coffee to buy

a machine or lathe which it needed, today it will have to sell 20 bags more to purchase the same commodity. This practice is called unequal exchange. In actual fact, the underdeveloped countries have to sell part of their product to the Western monopolies practically for nothing. As a result, despite a certain increase in the volume of exports the receipts of the underdeveloped countries from the sale of their goods grow either very slowly or even drop altogether. Thus, in 1959-1961 the value of the world exports of the main vegetable oils and oil-bearing seeds was 40 per cent higher than in 1950-1952, whereas the receipts of the underdeveloped countries from this exports item increased by a mere five per cent (over the same period). Still worse is the position of the countries which export rubber: in 1959-1961 their export receipts were seven per cent less than the average receipts in 1950-1952.

You can often come across statements in the Western press, especially when foreign aid programmes are being approved (for example, in the U.S. Congress), to the effect that the losses sustained by the underdeveloped countries as a result of deteriorating conditions of trade are allegedly compensated by the aid these countries receive. But this is not true!

Here are some figures cited at the fourth conference of the Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Co-operation. A delegate from Pakistan stated that in the twelve years since 1951 the Afro-Asian countries had received about 20 billion dollars worth of aid from the Western countries, while the losses which they sustained (over the same period) as a result of unequal exchange with the West ran into more than 30 per billion dollars.

The Western powers give us two cents with one hand and take away five cents with the other; they buy up our raw materials dirt cheap and drain our countries of yet another 3-5 per cent of profits in the form of interest on capital investments. The underdeveloped countries do not need such aid!

We want equal trade on just and mutually advantageous conditions instead of handouts. An end must be put to the plundering of the emerging nations through trade. Unequal exchange must be done away with international trade.

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This depends on the speed with which Africa advances to socialism. As early as 1882, in his introduction to a new edition of the 1848 Communist Manifesto, Engels held out the prospect that the "mir" system in Tsarist Russia, (under which more than half the land was owned in common by the peasants) might be preserved under certain conditions:

"If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a workers' revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of the land may then serve as the starting point for a communist development." (London, January 21, 1882.)

More than twenty years later, Lenin gave a clear analysis of the disintegration of the communal land system in Tsarist Russia and the creation of a new "peasant bourgeoisie" within the framework of the old feudal system. This was the situation confronting the 1917 Russian socialist revolution. It was not followed by victorious revolutions in the West, and for this failure, world humanity paid the price of the Second World War and faces now the threat of a terrible nuclear war.

One of the first decrees of the new Russia was to give land to the peasants, and at a later stage the elimination of the "kulak" (rich peasant) through the system of collective farming. It established common ownership of land throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. The building of socialism has transformed the old mir system from a community of poverty into a community of wealth, with advances in the field of science and technology which are the envy of the whole world.

In the light of its own specific conditions, Tanganyika may take a different road to achieve these objectives—not back to "tribal socialism", but forward to co-operative and collective farms, mechanised agriculture, and scientific industrial development. This is the way forward to socialism.

LOOKING TO THE PAST

Among the more recent exponents of "African Socialism" is Mr. Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya African National Union, and a Minister in the Government. Writing on this subject in March, 1963, he explains:

"When I talk of African Socialism I refer to those proven codes of conduct in the African societies which have, over the ages, conferred dignity on our people and afforded them security regardless of their station in life. I refer to universal charity which characterised our societies and I refer to the African thought processes and cosmological ideas, which regard man, not as a social means, but as an end and entity in the society." (TRANSITION, Uganda magazine).

In one respect Mboya differs from Nyerere when he admits that "poverty existed, but it was not due to man exploiting man". If his assertion is true that the peoples of Kenya have always had "security regardless of their station in life", one wonders what they have been fighting for all these years! Why have they waged a ceaseless struggle for many decades against European land robbery; organised innumerable strikes in the past forty

years, and created trade unions and political movements to wage the fight for independence?

On July 24, 1962, the Financial Times estimated that there were 300,000 unemployed in Kenya, and Tom Mboya (who was then Minister of Labour) declared that 31,500 Africans had been thrown out of work in one year alone (ending in June 1961), and that "hungry men have to steal in order to live" (Times, July 19 1962). Not much security there, and certainly no sign of a classless society!

When it comes down to brass tacks, Mboya himself advocates measures which are in striking contrast to the "communal" principles of traditional African society proposing loans for local and foreign capitalists, and that the government should stimulate private investment. Mboya contrasts "African Socialism" with what he describes as "Socialism of the Western type" on the one hand, and "a Marxian type of Socialism" on the other. He makes a fervent plea: "Let us go abroad to ask for loans and technical skills, not for ideals and ideologies."

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

What is socialism? In one sense he expresses agreement with Nyerere in stating that: "Socialism is a mental conditioning or an attitude of mind established in order to achieve rational relationships and harmony in society." Any capitalist would agree with this vague general formula, even when he spells it out in more detail:

"Socialism stands for equality of opportunity, security of income and employment, equality before the law, the rule of law, individual freedom, universal franchise, state regulation of economic life, state control of vital means of production and distribution..." (Transition, March 1963).

If the word "socialism" is left out, all supporters of the capitalist system will agree with these objectives. Even in Imperialist Britain there is a considerable state regulation of economic life and state control of production and distribution.

Scientific socialism is not a concept limited to geographical boundaries, either "East or West". It is a universal concept of a new stage of society, applicable anywhere in the world, providing the objective and subjective factors have sufficiently matured to advance towards this new stage. It actually exists in one-third of the world, and as a political aim in most of the remaining two-thirds. Its basic tenets are universal in character, but the methods of reaching this stage and the application of its principles will be different in different parts of the world.

"The term 'African' is used to cover up the fact that the 'Socialism' advocated is in reality a negation of socialism. It is used to flatter African intellectuals that the new ideology is of their own creation." (Julius Sago, THE SPARK, April 19, 1963).

To speak and write of "African Socialism" makes no better sense than dividing the sciences into geographical compartments, e.g. African mathematics, African chemistry, African biology, or African physics. Science is universal, but its application differs according to different situations. There is only one socialism—scientific socialism—

SOCIALIST IDEAL

which belongs to the whole world, and not to one continent or one country. "African Socialism" is a mirage, but there can be different roads to Socialism arising from the different conditions in the African countries.

What are the basic tenets of socialism? Briefly, they are:

- (1) Common ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, and production for use, and not for private profit.
- (2) Planned methods of production, based on harmonious relations between industry and agriculture raising of living standards, and more equal conditions between town and country.
- (3) Application of science to all spheres of production, unleashing the inventive genius of human beings, and to make machines the servants of men and women.
- (4) Political power in the hands of the people, led by the working class and its Marxist party, and based on full democracy in all aspects of economic and social life.
- (5) National sovereignty and friendship with all nations, based on internationalism and not narrow bourgeois nationalism.
- (6) Equal rights for all men and women.
- (7) Encouragement and promotion of young people to take key positions of leadership.
- (8) Positive measures for the flourishing of the arts and sciences, for scientific and technical education, and for equal opportunities for every child to advance in all spheres of education.

There is nothing specifically Russian, German, French, British, or American about these basic tenets of socialism, and nothing in them which is "alien" to any African country. They represent a stage in the advance of human society which would end all forms of imperialist domination, all forms of economic exploitation, and all forms of inequality.

True, in the vastly different conditions of Africa the forms and methods of a socialist society cannot be an exact copy of the existing socialist countries. The existing class relations, communal land ownership, the sense of African unity, pride in African history and culture, will have to be taken into account.

Already, many of the independent African states have an expanding public sector of production, village and peasant co-operatives, a growing number of collective farms, and even some state farms. Socialism will advance these progressive developments to a far higher stage.

In contrast to most African national leaders, Dr. Nkrumah has given a far clearer expression of the real content of socialism:

"Socialist production is production of goods and services in fulfilment of the people's needs. It is not production for individual private profit. Socialism is the only pattern that can within the shortest possible time bring the good life to the people. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production—the land and its resources—and the use of

these means of production that will bring benefit to the people." (Address to the Accra Study group, CPP 22.4.61).

Ghana has made big advances in its state sector of production. The properties of many overseas firms have been taken over or bought out. Co-operative farms have grown rapidly, and a number of state farms have been established. However, Dr. Nkrumah made it clear in this address that Ghana is not a socialist state, and that all talk of socialism is just empty words without basic industrialisation and agricultural production and the expansion of socialist education. He went on to stress that:

"We cannot build socialism without Socialists, and we must take positive steps to ensure that the party and the country produce the men and women who can handle a socialist programme."

The achievement of socialism is not only a matter of political theory and programmes, but also of class relations. Political independence was won by an alliance of class forces led by the progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, but workers and peasants were the biggest mass force.

TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

The new stage demands a sharper struggle to achieve economic independence, and end all forms of imperialist domination. The more reactionary elements among the national bourgeoisie, including the African intelligentsia, show serious signs of wavering in this new phase of the struggle. Their conception of the alliance is that they must preserve their key positions in the new states; that the trade unions must not fight for higher wages, and that no step must be taken to change their relations with the imperialist countries.

To justify this attitude, all kinds of spurious theories are put forward to bolster up the idea of African exceptionalism. The new formula "African Socialism" can be used, and is being used, not to advance the cause of socialism, but to hold it back. Trade unions are urged to postpone wage demands, there is resistance to working class elements advancing to the leadership of the national movements, and to the formation of Marxist Parties, on the plea that there are no class struggles in Africa.

The alliance of class forces (expressed in the national movements which won independence) is still essential in the new stage of the struggle. But the advance to socialism is possible only if the working class advances to the leadership in the national united front. The spread of socialist ideas in Africa does not mean that socialism is the next item on the agenda of independent African states. True, many positive and impressive measures are being taken in Algeria, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, and elsewhere which can prepare the way to socialism.

The next step was clearly outlined in the perspective of an independent national democracy given in the 1960 Moscow Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties, representing a transitional stage to socialism, and seems to be the most likely path of development:

"In the present situation favourable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the

establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organisations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The countries concerned make rapid social progress and play an active part in the people's struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of colonial oppression."

This transitional stage arises from the fact that the working class is not yet in the leadership of the independent African states, and (apart from Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Senegal, Sudan and South Africa) Marxist parties do not exist. Even where they do exist they are not yet a decisive force in the national movement.

Neither Marx nor Lenin were able to provide solutions in advance to the new problems facing Africa today. But the principles of Marxism-Leninism provide guiding lines for a solution. They can serve to throw light on the decisive factors in African society, the specific class relations which exist, the essential steps to complete the process of national liberation, and Africa's place in the advance of national liberation and socialism throughout the world.

The advance of working class elements into the leadership of the African national movements is essential even for the next stage of advance, which is the building of an independent democratic state. This is not a "third way", but a transitional stage to socialism. The transition may be of long or short duration, depending on the relation of class forces in the country, and especially on the strength and political consciousness of the working class. For it is the working class, with its revolutionary Marxist Parties which is the harbinger of socialism:

"Wherever the anti-imperialist front was under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist, Communist Parties, the revolution did not stop at the bourgeois-democratic stage but developed into a socialist revolution."

"Wherever the movement was headed by the bourgeoisie, or bourgeois influences predominated in the anti-imperialist front the national bourgeoisie that came to power led society along the path of capitalist development, thus delaying the transition to a higher stage of the revolution." (Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, English edition, p. 501.)

This lesson needs to be understood in Africa today. If the principles of Marxism-Leninism are applied within the context of the struggle through Africa, there are good prospects of advance in the new stage of the struggle, for the growth of independent national democracies, and an advance towards socialism.