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## Peace With Progress

### EDITORIAL

#### The New Offensive (4)

IN OUR issues of September 4th, 11th and October 1st we made a study of the new imperialist propaganda offensive against the socialist revolution in Ghana. In these earlier editorials, we indicated here and there how the threat could be warded off. Today we conclude this series by showing how we can and will defeat this insidious and subtle attack by the traditional enemies of our cause.

Imperialism, dismayed at the unshakable unity of the Convention People's Party, is busy looking for chinks in our armour. It searches frantically for the few who have become disgruntled through thwarted over-ambition and incurable selfishness. Then it seeks to push the disruptive activities of the selfish few under the cover of some ideology, African socialism perhaps or preferably Pan-Africanism with a social content of disguised capitalism.

The answer to these imperialist machinations is Party unity.

What then is our concept of Party unity?

Unity for us is not a mere coalition of groups and interests. Our Party is not a directorate representing various interests. Such a view of unity encourages pressure groups within the Party leading to internecine strife and unprincipled compromises.

Our concept of unity is a monolithic party—a party without factions or groups; a party with one ideology admitting of no variants; a party in which the goals are settled even though there is room for continuous exchange of views on the approach to these goals.

In the light of our present circumstance, two steps need be taken to fortify the monolithic unity of the Party.

As a first step, leading party activists must enthroned the principle of the supremacy of the Party in their work. We have to admit that the Revolution is greater than any one of us. Therefore, should our personal interests clash with the interests of the Revolution, the latter must be upheld. And it is not for us as individuals to decide what the interest of the Revolution is. Such a decision is the prerogative of the Central Committee and the Office of the General Secretary.

The second requirement is ideological education. Leading Party cadres have got to deepen their understanding of the ideology and philosophy of our socialist Revolution. And the ideological education of the masses must be raised to an even higher tempo and kept there. There is no room for fits and starts in our drive to bring ideological education to all sections of our people.

This deepening and diffusion of ideological education will enable our leading activists as well as rank and file members to detect negative ideas masquerading as attempts to bring socialism more closely in line with our traditional African life. The ideological blending has already been carried out, in masterly fashion too, by Kwame Nkrumah in his writings, more especially in "Consciencism". All that the situation requires is a sustained effort on a national scale to disseminate the tenets of Nkrumahism, an ideology already in existence complete with its philosophy.

Two corollaries flow from this. Firstly, there is the need to co-ordinate and vet all books, pamphlets and leaflets dealing with any aspect of Party ideology

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CAIRO this week has been the focus of world attention. Not merely because 46 states with 10 observer delegations are taking part in the Second Conference of Non-Aligned States. But mainly because at this Conference of Non-Aligned States a dynamic formula is being evolved for solving the intricate problems of our age. The down trodden look at this formula as the ray of hope in a world where brawn has largely displaced brain. The privileged tremble at it because they fear to lose their piratical grip over large portions of the world.

Today the world is held together by a balance of terror. The imperialist states, on whom an uneasy coalition has been forced by the compelling pressure of world revolution against colonialism and neo-colonialism, string along under the leadership of the U.S.A. armed with nuclear power. On the other side is the socialist camp led by the U.S.S.R. also nuclear armed. The contest of wills between the two camps has not taken the form of open war because each side is aware that after a nuclear war there will be neither victor nor vanquished.

But world peace cannot long endure if it is based on this balance of terror. In the first place, there is every possibility that leadership of either of the two camps might fall into the hands of war maniacs, men of despair who seek to hold their empires together by force of arms because the irrationality and inhumanity of their regimes can no longer be concealed. The danger of such "leaders" arising is greater in the imperialist camp with its politics of personality than in the socialist camp which is wedded to collective leadership founded on a clearly formulated ideology. Goldwater in the U.S.A. is a case in point.

In the second place, a break through in scientific research might give either world camp a temporary advantage in nuclear weapons. And that camp might be tempted to seek a swift settlement of world problems by force of arms. The fact that such a policy might be the result of faulty intelligence or political miscalculation reinforces our contention that a balance of terror is no secure peg on which to hang world peace.

#### THEORIES OF PEACE

Mankind is therefore faced with the problem of building a more stable foundation for world peace. Clearly there are two theories of peace. The first is peace through fear. The other is peace through a systematic elimination of the causes of war. While admitting that the first might set the stage for the second, reason leads to the inescapable conclusion that world peace will be secured only through the destruction of those politico-economic conditions that are the motive forces of war.

This then is the viewpoint, the world outlook, of those leaders who have gathered at Cairo for the Second Conference of Non-Aligned States. In short, this is the concept of positive non-alignment or positive neutralism as some would prefer to call it.

We are NON-ALIGNED in order to roll back big power politics from the regions of recklessness. As the area of

non-alignment enlarges, so the big powers are kept more at bay. But the unstable truce thus secured has to be converted into a stable peace. This demands the elimination of all the causes of tension and war. And here we have the POSITIVE aspect of our doctrine. Positive non-alignment is thus the concept of peace through humanism not peace through pacifism.

#### COMMONSENSE APPROACH

In essence, positive non-alignment is a commonsense approach to world problems guided by the norms of freedom, justice, equality and inter-dependence. It is not a philosophy as such. Nor is it an ideology. Rather, it is a formula for the conduct of international relations in an age dominated by three facts—nuclear power politics, the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism, and the deepening of the world conflict between capitalism and socialism.

Three historic conferences have helped to shape the formula of positive non-alignment. The first is the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asians held in 1955. The second is the 1958 first ever Conference of Independent African states held in Accra. The third is the 1961 Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned States. The whole thing sprang from the Afro-Asian Conference of 1955. And this explains why President Nkrumah insists that decisions taken in Cairo this week "should support and reinforce the Bandung spirit."

Kwame Nkrumah's Cairo speech two days ago provides a carefully reasoned and far-ranging analysis of contemporary world problems from the viewpoint of positive non-alignment.

The starting point and the pervading motive is world peace. Peace will save mankind from a nuclear holocaust with incalculable damage to non-participants as well as to generations yet unborn. But peace is also the framework within which all-round human

progress can most speedily proceed.

The problem therefore is not world peace. We are all agreed on this. Rather, the problem is how to secure this peace. In the words of Nkrumah "We must, therefore, accept boldly and fearlessly the grave responsibility imposed upon us, at this Conference, of making such positive recommendations and decisions as will bring peace and tranquility to our people and to all mankind."

He divides the "major causes of tension in the world" into four groups.

First, there are problems left over by the Second World War, specifically the question of Germany and of Berlin.

Secondly, "there are tensions arising out of the striving of the peoples of the developing areas of the world to throw off their burdens of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and social discrimination, in their efforts to create a better world for themselves without interference, obstructions and interventions of foreign powers".

Thirdly, there is the conflict of ideologies.

And fourthly, there are tensions arising from the "possession by the great powers of weapons, the destructive capacity of which there is no parallel in history".

#### IMPERIALISM—CAUSE OF TENSION

A political analyst as he is, Nkrumah, is not satisfied with giving the world a catalogue of tension-generating forces. He proceeds to evaluate them, and comes to the conclusion that the premier cause of world tensions is imperialism. The "overriding cause of tensions in the world today lies in the difficulties placed in the path of development of the emergent and developing nations by the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers". In Africa this threat is two-pronged—the desire of foreign powers to penetrate Africa and establish new forms of colonialism in addition to what is already there; and ultra-rightist trends in neo-colonialism designated "facist imperialism". In other words, imperialism seeks to remain in Africa in the disguised form of neo-colonialism and is ready to back this exercise with naked terror.

On the basis of this careful exposition, Nkrumah draws up a realistic programme for the drive for world peace. The salient points in this program-

By  
JULIUS SAGO

me are summarised thus:-

1. GERMANY: The problem of German unity should be solved through direct negotiations between the two Germanies under the sponsorship of the non-aligned states.

2. CONGO: Solution within the framework of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) after cessation of U.S. military intervention in the Republic. Specifically,

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### Ghana TUC Denounces Them

THE forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, in their desperate efforts to resist the irresistible forward advance of our people, employ all sorts of unprincipled methods in order to achieve their diabolical objectives.

The forces of Anglo-American imperialism, disillusioned by the victories and gains of our Revolution and the great impact of the successes of the African Revolution, are making their last desperate attempts to paint us black in the eyes of the world.

Lies, intrigues and the spread of false propaganda against us continue without shame despite the realities of our situation. This campaign of slander is not only against the political leadership of our Revolution but also against our Trade Unions and their leadership.

Behind this campaign of lies and malicious propaganda are a bunch of junior inexperienced ex-officers of the T.U.C., John Alex Hammah and Gabriel Attisogbey and a former T.U.C. scholarship holder, John Hevi, whose lust for money and over-ambition have led them to fall victims to the crafty manoeuvres of the money-bags of Anglo-American

IN a statement issued by its Executive Board and signed by the National Secretary, Mr. J. K. Aiyipah, the Ghana Trades Union Congress exposes the treacherous counter-revolutionary role of some former junior officials of the Congress.

imperialism. John Alex Hammah and Attisogbey were not in charge of any national union; nor were they on the Executive Board or Secretariat Bureau of the T.U.C. John Hevi was not even an officer of the T.U.C., although he managed somehow to obtain a T.U.C. scholarship.

For some time now, the Executive Board of the Ghana T.U.C. had not issued any statements on these rascals because we considered that they were misled by the wrong doctrine that until trade union movement leads a revolution, that revolution cannot be socialist. This wrong indoctrination has paved the way for the forces of Anglo-American imperialism to lead these boys astray and make them easy victims to their highly crafty principals.

Unfortunately, these inexperienced junior ex-officers of the Ghana Trades Union Congress have made no attempt to rectify their wrong views. Instead they have become more deeply involved in plots woven by Anglo-U.S. imperialism and the self-exiled leaders of the defunct Ghana United Party against Ghana and our socialist revolution.

The Executive Board of the T.U.C. denounces these rascals as enemies of our State and Revolution. We demand that they be brought back to account for their misdeeds. No pity must be wasted on those who sell their birth-right and whose lack of love for their country led them to gang up with the forces of reaction, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The Executive Board of the T.U.C. calls upon all our rank and file workers to maintain their vigilance and expose the intrigues and wicked machinations of the forces of Anglo-American imperialism and their Agents both within our ranks and without. We will chase them to their dens and smoke them out.

The Executive Board of the Ghana T.U.C. calls upon all workers to strengthen their heroic stand in defence of their national revolution.

We demand that the opportunists, Alex Hama, Gabriel Attisogbey and John Hevi should be brought to book. We will harbour neither opportunism nor treachery within our ranks. Those who serve the interests of Anglo-American imperialism and U.P. reaction deserve no sympathy from us and we shall give them none.



# SECOND CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED STATES

THREE months ago, the Heads of State and Government of the independent African states met here in this ancient capital, and enjoyed the overflowing hospitality of the people of Cairo. We met then—at the Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity—to forge new links of brotherhood and solidarity between our various states, and to take positive steps for the furtherance and consolidation of African Unity. Throughout our deliberations, we were deeply conscious of the sacredness of the task imposed upon us by destiny, and by our peoples; we were convinced that the unification of the African continent was a vital factor in the peace and security of the world.

On my own behalf and on behalf of the government and people of Ghana, I wish to join in expressing to President Nasser and the government and people of the United Arab Republic, our most sincere appreciation for offering yet again hospitality to this historic conference, and also for the courtesies which have been extended to us since our arrival here in Cairo.

Mr. Chairman, we, the representatives of the Non-Aligned States, are met here today to further our collective will and to consolidate our approach towards those problems which could trigger off another but a much more catastrophic war. We are all here as Non-Aligned nations but the term "Non-Aligned" as applied to us has not yet covered every form of policy which it connotes. We came into existence as a protest and a revolt against the state of affairs in international relations caused by the division of the world into opposing blocs of east and west. We came into existence as a revolt against imperialism and neo-colonialism which are also the basic causes of world tension and insecurity.

We are here to concentrate our energies and our talents to the finding of satisfactory and enduring solutions to some of the most difficult problems facing mankind today, the problems of peace, of the cold war, of the elimination of military bases on other people's national territories, the problems of territorial and boundary dispute, the problems of imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues and intervention. As we sit here, neo-colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle.

## GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY

We, who are assembled here, represent the vast majority of mankind in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, and from the borders and shores of the Caribbean Islands. Our peoples suffer most from the suffocating weight of the problems to which I have just referred. We must, therefore, accept boldly and fearlessly, the grave responsibility imposed upon us, at this Conference, of making such positive recommendations and decisions as will bring peace and tranquility to our people and to all mankind, realising that the destinies of millions of people are affected, not only of our generation, but of generations yet unborn.

At our first historic meeting in Belgrade, three years ago, we were drawn together by our common resolve that our view of the world situation, and our response to that situation should not conform necessarily, and as a matter of course, to the interests of either of the major power blocs. There were then 25 participating states and three observer countries. At this conference there are as many as 46 participating and 10 observer countries. This proves quite clearly that the policy of non-alignment, active and positive peaceful co-existence, the struggle against colonialism and the search for world peace have gained significant momentum. In Belgrade we recognised that the western bloc led by the United States of America, and the Eastern bloc led by the Soviet Union, be-

cause of their scientific and technological superiority, had acquired the means by which they could, by accident or by design, cause the destruction not only of themselves, but also of those of us who are non-aligned and who are in no way directly involved in their nuclear arms race. The main purpose of our meeting in Belgrade, therefore, was to use all our exertions to influence the major powers, not only to abolish and destroy the nuclear stockpiles but also to divert into positive, progressive and constructive channels, the vast scientific and technological resources at their disposal for development purposes and for the peace, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

## MADNESS

In some measure we prevailed. We succeeded, and for the first time in human history, the great masses of the earth represented by the Heads of state and government present forced the great powers to realise that to enter into nuclear war would be madness, and that no nation which pursued policies that might lead to such a war could count on the friendship of our peoples. We may here recall the historic commission which my friend, the late Prime Minister Nehru, and I undertook to Moscow, and a similar one undertaken by President Modibo Keita of Mali and President Sukarno of Indonesia to Washington. At this juncture, Mr. Chairman, I would like to pay tribute to the late Prime Minister Nehru, whose wise counsel we miss at this conference. With your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, I ask my colleagues to rise and observe a minute's silence in honour of Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Chairman, all of us here will agree that the dangers of a nuclear war today are considerably less than they were when we met in Belgrade three years ago. But we must face the fact that although the threat of war between the nuclear powers indeed seems somewhat to have diminished, owing to the balance of terror, most of the causes of tension in the world which we discussed are very much still with us today.

## CAUSES OF TENSION

What are these major causes of tension in the world? It still remains true that the tensions which have produced the present uneasy world situation can be divided mainly into four classes. First, there are the tensions resulting from the problems left over from the Second World War. Foremost of these is the German issue, and the problem of Berlin which remains unsolved nearly nineteen years after the Second World War ended.

The German problem highlights the futility of modern war. This Conference is entitled to ask how long the German issue is going to be allowed to hang over the civilised world like the sword of

Democles? The West Germans talk of, and desire earnestly, the unity of Germany; the East Germans declare equally fervently their desire for German unity. Surely the time has come for a peaceful and early settlement of this thorny problem. In my view, this conference should call upon the two Ger-

many, between the developing countries and the forces that militate against their progress and development.

Fourthly, there are tensions caused by the possession by the great powers of weapons, the destructive capacity of which there is no parallel in history.

mal troubles fomented by mercenaries and by foreign arms and intervention.

The malaise that has affected the very heart of Africa threatens to involve the future of the whole of our continent. It must be emphasized firmly here that African problems can be resolved best by Afri-

*Speech delivered  
by KWAME NKRUMAH,  
President of the Republic of  
Ghana, at the 2nd Conference  
of Non-Aligned States at Cairo.*



*Kwame Nkrumah... desires peace and tranquility to all mankind.*

manies, to come together to find a solution to the problem of German unity. Since, as non-aligned states, we have no interests; we should be prepared to put our good offices at their disposal.

Secondly, there are the tensions arising out of the striving of the peoples of the developing areas of the world to throw off their burdens of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, in their efforts to create a better world for themselves without the interference, obstructions and interventions of foreign powers.

Thirdly, there are those divisions resulting from a conflict of ideologies. On this, may I say that just as there can be competing ideologies in the same society, so there can be opposing ideologies between different societies. However, while societies with different social systems can co-exist, their ideologies cannot. There is such a thing as peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems; but as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies.

We cannot co-exist with imperialism; we cannot co-exist with colonialism; we cannot co-exist with neo-colonialism. There can never be co-existence between poverty and

To my mind, the overriding cause of tension in the world today lies in the second of the four classes of tension I have defined, namely the difficulties placed in the path of development of the emergent and developing nations by the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers. Thus we in Africa are threatened by two dangerous forces: The first is the desire of foreign powers to penetrate Africa, and establish new forms of colonialism through the vicious system of economic exploitation and economic imperialism. The world is witnessing the intrigues of this system in their classic form in the Congo and Southern Rhodesia.

The second threat to the new Africa is the danger of ultra-rightist trends in neo-colonialism, which I would designate as fascist imperialism. These trends are evident in certain quarters of the world today. They are not a flash in the pan. Nor do they represent the "Lunatic Fringe" of fascist imperialism. They are the political manifestation of a deadly evil which is capable of upsetting the peace of the world by turning the existing situation into a mad renewal of nuclear diplomacy.

Mr. Chairman, may I now turn to the problem of the Congo which, as you know, continues to be torn by inter-

cans themselves. The Organisation of African Unity has shown by its efforts and record that it can, if let alone, solve African problems effectively.

## MEASURES

It is imperative that a solution is found which will bring peace and harmony to the Congo. So long as the great powers continue to intervene in the affairs of the Congo, there will be no peace in the Congo or in Africa. This conference, therefore should endorse the demand of the African people: Hands off the Congo, away with the mercenaries. The problem of the Congo, like all African problems, can only be solved by Africans themselves. My conviction is that the problem of the Congo is a political one and needs a political solution. I have suggested before that urgent consideration should be given to the following measures:—

(a) That the ad hoc commission of the Organisation of African Unity should see to it that the various political leaders and leaders of the warring factions should come together for national reconciliation and to make arrangements for the election of a democratic national government.

(b) In the meantime, there

should be a cease-fire by both sides, and the Organisation of African Unity should provide a peace force to help maintain law and order until after the general election.

In South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, a minority of European settlers, hoisted up by their powerful allies, are able to keep in subjugation the aspirations of the millions of Africans who form the majority, and to whom the land and its wealth belong. In the same way, Portugal supported by her NATO allies, is able to wage a savage war against the inhabitants of African territories several times larger than herself.

The minority regime in Southern Rhodesia clings blindly and stubbornly to a course which can only lead that unhappy nation down the road to violent revolution.

Mr. Chairman, as Non-Aligned states, we accept as a policy the general principle that territorial and boundary disputes should be settled without the use of force. We also know that territorial and boundary disputes arising out of legacies of the colonial past of the newly independent and emerging countries of Asia and Africa, should by all means also be settled by peaceful negotiations. Agreed. But, Mr. Chairman, there are other territorial claims which arise out of imperialist and colonialist occupation. In this case the country occupied and victimised by a foreign power should have the right to use all means and resources at its disposal to recover its territory and safeguard it. This is the basis of the liberation struggle in Africa.

## THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE

And again, Mr. Chairman, we who claim to be non-aligned must have the right to choose the political and economic philosophy which we consider most suitable for our rapid development and advancement. For example, the fact that Ghana accepts socialism as a means of our political and economic development does not and should not place us in opposition to any other country or people. Socialism does not belong to the Soviet Union or to China, or for that matter to any other country; it is an international idea. Similarly, capitalism does not belong to Britain, Western Germany or the United States of America. It is an economic doctrine and political philosophy which some of us consider unsuitable to our present circumstances. But this rejection of capitalist exploitation does not mean that we are politically opposed to the countries who have embraced capitalism. We are socialists. We are also non-aligned. We are opposed to political and economic exploitation and domination of man by man. We are against social injustice and inequality, against racism and racialism. We stand for progress, peace and justice.

Mr. Chairman, the fourth class of tension about which I spoke is the danger arising from the possession by the major powers of weapons of mass destruction. We have an opportunity at this conference, to take unequivocal stand on this issue. The arms race in which the so-called great powers are engaged must be stopped. It is not only dangerous to mankind; it is a senseless waste of national resources which should be diverted for the further development of large areas of the world, and the raising of the standards of living of the people of those areas. If a fraction of the millions being wasted on destructive nuclear weapons would be spent on atomic energy research, atomic energy could become as common as ordinary electricity. Imagine the

effect which this contribution can have on the welfare and happiness of mankind. A policy based on the continuous threat of nuclear warfare, no less than nuclear warfare itself, is a policy of madness and despair, it is the clear duty of those of us here who profess to follow a positive non-aligned and neutralist policy to assert our full weight against such senseless policies. It is our duty also to express our surprise at the attitude of those nations who oppose the destruction of nuclear weapons. Let us declare to the world, here and now, that we demand complete and total disarmament.

## WELCOME MOVE

Referring to the question of the elimination of foreign military bases in Africa, may I say, Mr. Chairman, that France's announcement of withdrawing her military bases from Africa is most welcome and should be vigorously implemented. We urge most strongly that this withdrawal should be complete and total. I hope all powers with military bases in Africa and elsewhere will do the same, and do it completely and totally.

Africa can only remain a nuclear free zone if the powers which now possess nuclear weapons divest themselves of these destructive nuclear weapons.

We are not and should not be a party to the cold war. It is not our conflict even though we suffer the consequences no less than those who are involved in the cold war. It is we who suffer the consequences of the cold war in Vietnam, Cyprus, Congo, Cuba, Laos and elsewhere. Our survival depends upon the ending of the cold war. Let us call upon the disarmament committee in Geneva to adopt a formula which will make possible the conclusion of an agreement for general and complete disarmament. We who are non-aligned should steer clear of all military blocs such as NATO, The Warsaw Pact, CENTO and SEATO, etc., etc.

Mr. Chairman, the 100 million dollars which is spent each hour of the 24 hours of the day on arms not only deprive the new emergent and developing countries of the essentials of life, but imposes upon them unnecessary difficulties and restrictions. The resources and money being wasted on such a frightening scale make it difficult for us to develop as rapidly as we can, because the resources that are essential for such development are used by the industrial powers not for peaceful purposes but for destruction. This inconceivable expenditure on arms, affects the policies of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere. Why should we be forced to spend money on armaments? Why should we be forced to use oppressive methods and techniques to combat the great powers at intrigue and subversion?

## DEVELOPMENT AND DISARMAMENT

It is quite clear that the question of development wherever it may be tackled, depends on total and complete world disarmament. We cannot develop until the arms race is ended. If the arms race is not ended our development will indeed be slow and our governments will be overthrown, and the crisis which is disturbing the world will multiply until we find ourselves in a final holocaust.

When the Afro-Asian states met in Bandung in 1955, we were able to produce the ten principles of co-existence and to establish Afro-Asian solidarity. It is imperative for the peace of the world that we should maintain and support the efforts of the Afro-Asian

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# WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE

## I. GEM OF AFRICA

IN his book 'INSIDE AFRICA', published in 1955 American journalist John Gunther called Africa "the richest booty in the world". He had in mind the tremendous natural wealth of this continent. However, these riches are distributed unevenly. Some countries are richer, others poorer. Nature has been more lavish with the countries of Central and South Africa. They are rich in gold and silver, copper and cobalt, zinc and tin, coal and iron ore, diamonds and rare metals.

However, the wealthiest of them all, is the Congo which is a veritable gem.

The Congo produces 60 per cent of the world output of cobalt, 8 per cent of the world output of copper and 4 per cent of the world output of zinc. Africa is responsible for 98 per cent of the world output of diamonds with the Congo's share running into 50 per cent! Among the many valuable minerals mined in the Congo we can name iron ore, coal, tin, uranium, radium, germanium, manganese, cadmium, gold and silver. It is hard to find any other country in Africa, Asia or Latin America which has such rich and varied mineral resources.

The Congo also boasts of unlimited possibilities in the field of agriculture. It abounds in vast plantations of bananas, cocoa, coffee, rubber, cot-

ton, rice and many other food crops. It has been estimated by specialists that if the agricultural resources of the Congo were utilised rationally and to a full measure, this country alone could meet all the requirements of the entire African continent in food.

The wealth of the Congo does not serve Africa since it is controlled by the monopolists from Western Europe. The most important among them are "Tanganyika Concessions", "Societe Generale de Belgique", "L'Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga" and others.

The owners of these corporations have invested millions of dollars in the mining of diamonds and gold, copper and cobalt. But their profits are still greater.

The book "Trusts in the Congo" published in Brussels in 1961 cites the net profit raked off by "L'Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga", which controls all the mineral wealth of the Katanga province, in 1950-1959 as 31 billion Belgian francs. The shareholders of the corporation pocketed the tidy sum of 30.5 million dollars in 1961 alone, a bad year for the firm due to the military operations in Katanga.

The monopolists are engaged in a savage struggle for possession of the Congo's wealth. And the Congo Republic fell victim in this struggle. Especially after the United States stepped into it.

# CONGO (Part I)



PATRICE LUMUMBA ... courageous patriot, sacrificed his life for the honour and independence of the Congo.

## II. THE ROCKFELLERS AND OTHERS

WHAT has the United States got to do with it? There is nothing surprising in this question when asked by an African. For many years various American propaganda agencies have been convincing him that the United States does not have any political or economic interests in Africa.

Whereas, in actual fact, American capital investments are not so insignificant that they can be concealed. The United States has long penetrated into the mining industry of South Africa where its investments run into 600 million dollars. The Americans hold undivided sway in the economy of Liberia, especially in the mining industry. They control practically all of the rapidly developing oil industry in Libya (U.S. investments in the Libyan oil industry run into several hundred million dollars).

### AMERICAN PENETRATION

The American monopolies have penetrated deep into the economy of Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The mineral wealth of these countries is controlled to a large extent by the "Rhodesian Selection Trust" in which the "American Metal Climax" holds a controlling interest (50 per cent). This corporation is one of the leading producers of non-ferrous metals in the United States. American capital also takes part in developing the diamond deposits in South Africa and Angola where it is a major shareholder in "De Beers Consolidated Mines" and "Compania de Diamantes de Angola". And, as we shall see later, U.S. capital has also laid its hand on the diamonds of the Congo.

All this shows that the United States is by no means a newcomer in Africa. And although the capital investments of the American monopolists in Africa are not as big as those of Western Europe they nevertheless play an active role in plundering the natural resources of the African

continent and exploiting its population.

The Congo with its incalculable wealth has long been attracting the attention of the American monopolies. Their first attempts to slice off a piece of this Choice Morsel date back to the beginning of the XXth century. In 1906 King Leopold II of Belgium who was then the absolute ruler of the "Free Congolese State", granted exclusive rights for the prospecting of minerals along Stanley Pool to the "American Congo Company".

In the same year King Leopold II set up, jointly with the "Societe Generale de Belgique", three major companies to "develop" the Congo, among them "L'Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga" and "Societe Internationale Forestiere et Miniere" (FORMINIERE). The American capitalists made a bid for participation in these companies but succeeded only in one instance; the Thomas Rayam-Daniel Guggenheim group took control of 25 per cent of the FORMINIERE shares. FORMINIERE received tremendous concessions for prospecting and mining and soon discovered rich diamond fields in Kasai Province which it is exploiting to this very day. FORMINIERE also carries out technical supervision over the diamond mines belonging to the "Miniere du Beseka"—another major Belgian firm.

FORMINIERE mines gold and silver and prospects for oil through its numerous branches and by participating in other Congolese companies. It owns vast plantations of cotton, oil bearing palms, cocoa and rubber, as well as cattle stations and farms, forests, sawmills, creameries, food shops, etc. And American capital takes active part in all these enterprises.

The American monopolies have always regarded Katanga as a choice morsel. And many of them have tried to pick the lock of this treasure-trove. But it was only when the bil-

lionaire Rockefeller family stepped in that the Americans finally succeeded in forcing their way in.

The "L'Union Miniere" corporation was founded by a group of Belgian and British financiers. Belgium was represented by "Societe Generale" and Britain by "Tanganyika Concessions". In 1950 the American "International Basic Economy Corporation" bought up 600 thousand shares of "Tanganyika Concessions", thus becoming a partner in the profits of "L'Union Miniere."

The London Times wrote in this connection (November 3, 1950) that the "International Basic Economic Corporation" and Mr. David Rockefeller were among those who took part in this transaction because this corporation is a major enterprise created by the Rockefeller family group which up till now restricted its activities to South America. This is actually the first time it displayed interest in Africa.

In this case the "times" was wrong. Rockefeller capital appeared in Africa, including the Congo, before 1950. The authors of "Trusts in the Congo" pointed out that in 1946 a number of textile firms set up the "Filature et tissage African" company (FILTISFAF) in the Congolese town of Albertville. The Rockefeller group has a major interest in this company. In his book "Those Rockefeller Brothers", Joe Alex Morris, an American journalist, points out that these brothers own 40 per cent of the capital in FILTISFAF.

### APPETITE COMES WITH EATING

In February, 1956 David Rockefeller visited Africa. And it is by no means accidental that the Congo was prominent among the few countries included in his tour. He visited that country about a month after widespread disturbances had taken place in the Congo and Belgium had to face up to the serious problem of what to do with this colony.

The American monopolists were also concerned with the

future of the Congo because by that time they already had considerable investments in the country. It was not only a question of anxiety for their investments. The disturbances in the Congo showed that the Belgians were incapable of controlling the situation in their colony. The American businessmen felt the wind of change, a wind which could fill out their sails leaving the British and the Belgians in the doldrums.

In Leopoldville Rockefeller was received by the Belgian governor-general. The American press reported at the time that Rockefeller had pumped his interlocutor for information about Belgium's plans for the future of their colony. In other words, Rockefeller wanted to find out how quick he had to act to use Belgium's withdrawal from the Congo for penetrating into that country's economy.

It seems that the talk with the Belgian governor-general was encouraging. For immediately after David Rockefeller made a visit to Inga where he had long been planning to build a hydro-power system costing 9 million dollars.

In the following year the Rockefeller bought a direct interest in the "L'Union Miniere" in addition to their shares in "Tanganyika Concessions". According to a report printed in the British Observer (July 10, 1960) the Americans carried out an operation with Belgian assistance as a result of which the American packet of "L'Union Miniere" shares, received through "Tanganyika Concessions" in 1950, was turned into portfolio investments in "L'Union Miniere". Thereby the Rockefeller group stopped being mere shareholders but became part-owners of "L'Union Miniere".

In the summer of 1960, when the Congo entered the era of independence, which was attended by disturbances and sedition the shares of the Belgian firms operating in the country began to drop sharply. The Rockefeller and other American tycoons gradually bought up these shares. What were they counting on?

THIS article is an extract from "The Tragedy of Congo", a pamphlet published by a study group in Nigeria about the problems of the Congo. We consider this booklet of much significance vis-a-vis the perennial unrest in the Congo and its root causes. This significance lies in the following, as in many other salient points unveiled in the booklet:—

- (a) America's policy towards Africa is actuated by the overriding economic desire to control this continent which one of her journalists, John Gunther, describes as "the richest booty in the world".
- (b) America's headstrong interference in the Congo despite the strong opposition of the O.A.U. is because she considers the Congo "the richest morsel of the richest booty in the world."

(c) In these endeavours, America stops at nothing, and uses every subterfuge and chicanery to achieve her ends. She has succeeded in eliminating Belgian and English influence in the Congo and is in virtual control of the present government.

(d) America's struggle for supremacy over the Congo is of long standing and she has played it with consummate skill as the results show.

(e) America's ignominious role in the Congo is a clear pointer to the danger that the whole of Africa faces.

Obviously the booklet will be of great interest to our readers, most of whom may be desiring just such a succinct account of the background to the upheavals in the Congo.

## III. PASSIONS FLARE UP

THE Americans hoped that the transfer of political power into the hands of the Africans would open wide the doors of the Congo for American business. Then Wall Street's cherished dream would come true: It would take over the natural resources of the Congo and especially its treasure-trove, Katanga.

The Rockefellers were not alone in their interest in the Congo. This country also merited the attention of the American "Anaconda Copper Mining" corporation, operating in Chile, and the "Kennecott Mining Corporation" engaged in mining copper in the United States. In 1959 these two firms supplied 56 per cent of the copper produced in the Western world. They made tremendous profits. However, the appetites of the monopolists, especially the American, know no bounds.

These firms are called monopolists for the precise reason that they do not tolerate competition in their line of business. They assert their monopoly rights by ousting and ruining their rivals, and then begin robbing the consumer by establishing exorbitant prices for their goods.

While Katanga copper belongs to "L'Union Miniere", which is controlled by British and Belgian capital, there can be no question of an American monopoly in the sphere of copper.

The takeover of the Congolese copper deposits would bring their coveted goal much closer: The Americans would then control 64 per cent of the world output of copper, while beyond Katanga lies Northern Rhodesia—the last of the major copper producers in the world.

### THE DIAMOND WAR

Up till now Britain holds the world monopoly in the sale of diamonds while the main controlled by Anglo-Belgian capital. But the United States is recognised as the main consumer of diamonds. In 1960 America imported industrial diamonds, used in engineering industry, to the sum of 48.7 million dollars.

A secret war has long been in progress between the United States and Britain with the world diamond monopoly as the prize. Belgium sides with Britain in this war because its diamond mining monopoly in the Congo gives Belgium control over nearly 50 per cent of the world output.

An open diamond war was unleashed in 1949 when the bank of American billionaire, Melon, started negotiations over buying up the British and Belgian diamond enterprises in Angola. However, Britain and Belgium refused to give ground.

Then the United States decided to undermine the Anglo-

Belgian monopoly by launching the production of artificial diamonds. The British controlled "De Beers" corporation retaliated by starting the production of its own artificial diamonds. The production of artificial diamonds in the United States led to a drop in the import of natural diamonds by America. And this, in turn, affected the mining of diamonds in the Congo. Between 1958 and 1960 the output of diamonds in that country dropped from 18 million to 13 million carats.

### PUPPETS: THE MAIN STAKE

The governments of Britain and Belgium are vigilantly protecting the interests of their monopolists. They safeguard their colonies with a wall of armour impervious to alien capital. They are especially on their guard against American capital which, as the African saying goes, given a finger will bite off the whole hand.

While power in the Congo was wielded by Belgium, the United States had a very slim chance of penetrating into this African country. However, with the liquidation of the colonial regime the situation underwent a radical change. In the opinion of Rockefeller and other American tycoons an independent Congo became as it were an arena for free competition where the best man wins (meaning, of course, the most powerful and ruthless capitalist).

Incidentally, there is a new factor which willy-nilly interferes in this struggle: the government which comes to power after the colony becomes independent. And it goes without saying that very much depends on this government. According to international law the sovereign power of a state embraces its entire territory, air space, water-ways, coastal waters and mineral wealth. No concession can be given or received without the permission of the government. Whereas, it has the right to annual any concessions and nationalise the mineral resources. This is the indisputable right of every sovereign state.

However, this did not embarrass the American businessmen in the least. Here, they proceeded from the assumption that dollars would make any African government, which might come to power in independent Congo, compliant and docile. In other words, they placed their best bet on corrupt and mercenary rulers, on puppets.

### MISCALCULATION

This time Washington's calculations misfired. The elections held on the eve of independence were won by true nationalists and patriots. Among them the National Movement of the Congo headed by Pa-

trice Lumumba enjoyed the greatest popularity. This party received more votes than any other party. True, it did not have an absolute majority in parliament, nevertheless it succeeded in rallying all the healthy, nationalist forces and in forming a government which reflected the will of the overwhelming majority of the Congolese people.

Patrice Lumumba's strength as a political leader was based on the fact that he was not a tribal-scale politician. He stepped out into the political arena not as a member of his ethnic group but as a Congolese. He did not fight for the narrow interests of his clan but for the interests of all the Congolese irrespective of what ethnic group they belong to. And that is the reason why he became a national leader, and his party the leading nationalist force.

Lumumba put forward slogans which could not but appeal to all honest Congolese patriots. He proclaimed as his aim the achievement of genuine and not ephemeral independence. Lumumba stood for a strong central government because such a government alone could repulse the enemies of the Congo's independence and integrity. He dreamed of the country's rapid progress which could ensure higher living standards for the Congolese people. Patrice Lumumba held that the appetites of foreign monopolists should be restrained through higher taxation and the enforcement of control over their activities.

Lumumba was a staunch and courageous patriot ready to sacrifice his life for the honour and independence of the Congo. He wanted to help his people carry into life their hopes and aspirations and ensure for them a life worthy of Man. Patrice Lumumba was firm and consistent in his struggle. There was no hope of turning him into a puppet

### WRATH OF WALL STREET

It is easy to imagine the wrath of U.S. business circles when they read the programme speech of the first Prime Minister of independent Congo, Rockefeller and his colleagues viewed this statement as a threat to their plans for the widespread penetration into the Congo's economy. These plans were based on the liquidation of Belgian rule in the country. The Americans already looked upon Katanga copper and Kasai diamonds as practically their own property. They were ready to open new banking accounts to receive the tremendous profits which would pour in from the Congo. And then such an unpleasant surprise.

The American businessmen were especially upset over the fact that their long-standing

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# The Co-operative Movement

BRITAIN being the first country to develop capitalism, claims credit for being the cradle of the Co-operative Movement; and experiences here are inevitably of deep interest to Co-operators in other countries, even though circumstances are widely different.

The Rochdale Pioneers founded in 1844 the first and enduring society, though there had been many experiments and efforts before, many of them under the influence of Robert Owen (1771-1858). These had not found the secret of maintaining a stable organisation, although there is a small society at Lennoxton, in Scotland, which claims to have been paying a dividend on purchases ever since 1812.

The views and aims of the Rochdale Pioneers have thus come to have exceptional authority throughout the whole world and a great deal of the debate about the methods and aims of the movement takes place about the "Rochdale Principles". They have been quoted to exclude Co-operatives from certain Socialist countries, such as Poland and the German Democratic Republic, and from certain newly-liberated countries, from admission into the International Co-operative Alliance.

## GENERALISATIONS

The self-righteous reverence with which "the Principles" are alluded to would suggest that history has to show us some carefully worked out, well-ordered generalisations calculated to last a long time, if not eternal. But there is in fact no such scheme; the earliest version of the principles was not set down in writing till 1860, though the society had been founded in 1844. These read as follows:

- (1) That capital should be of their own providing and bear a fixed rate of interest.
- (2) That only the purest provisions procurable should be supplied to members.
- (3) That full weight and measure should be given.
- (4) That market prices should be charged and no credit given nor asked.
- (5) That profits should be divided pro rata upon the amount of purchases made by each member.
- (6) That the principle of "one member one vote" should obtain in government and the equality of the sexes in membership.
- (7) That the management should be in the hands of officers and committee elected periodically.
- (8) That a definite percentage of profits should be allotted to education.
- (9) That frequent statements and balance sheets should be presented to members.

Recognising the existence of historical change, the International Co-operative Alliance felt the need for a restatement, and in 1931 appointed a sub-committee to make it. It is important to recognise that the desire to exclude certain movements was certainly one of the motives in the minds of most of the leaders of the alliance. The list, which purported to be "founded in the Constitution, rules and practice of the original society founded in Rochdale in 1844" was as follows:

- (1) Open Membership.
- (2) Democratic Control.
- (3) Dividend on Purchase.
- (4) Limited Interest on Capital.
- (5) Political and Religious Neutrality.
- (6) Cash Trading.
- (7) Promotion of Education.

These were finally accepted with only two dissentients in 1934; and this list is what is now normally meant when the "Rochdale Principles" are discussed.

However, the quickest glance at it will show that the list is not in reality a list of principles at all; it is rather a mixture of some points, which might qualify as principles, e.g. 1, 2 and 3, with others

that are nothing but very practical rules for running a business, of no philosophical or sociological significance whatever (e.g. 3, 6 and perhaps 7).

Clearly, some much deeper study is needed and this can only concern itself with the Aims from which these societies were set up, to further or safeguard which these rules were formulated. And here immediately we find a clear and precise statement, which was drawn up by the original pioneers, at the beginning of their operations. This also can be found in the records; but the modern right-wing leaders of the movement never so much as mention it. Here it is:

- (1) "The objects and plans of this society are to form arrangements for the pecuniary benefit, and improvement of the social and domestic condition of its members, by raising a sufficient amount of capital in shares of one pound each, to bring into operation the following plans and arrangements.
- (2) The establishment of a store for the sale of provisions, clothing, etc.
- (3) The building, purchasing or erecting of a number of houses, in which those members desiring to assist each other in improving their domestic and social condition may reside.
- (4) To commence the manufacture of such articles as the Society may determine upon, for the employment of such members as may be without employment or who may be suffering in consequence of repeated reductions in their wages.
- (5) As a further benefit and security to the members of this Society, the Society shall purchase or rent an estate or estates of land, which shall be cultivated by the members who may be out of employment, or whose labour may be badly remunerated.
- (6) That as soon as practicable the Society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education and government, or in other words, to establish a self-supporting home colony of united interests, or assist other societies in establishing such colonies.
- (7) That for the promotion of sobriety, a temperance hotel be opened in one of the society's houses as soon as convenient."

This is a most logical, concise and consistent scheme: it ascends from mundane and limited objectives—setting up a shop—to the grandiose project of transforming the whole basis of society. For that is what clause 6 means.

## ORIGINS OF CO-OPERATION

And this is by far the most important thing to remember and understand about the origins of co-operation. It makes the modern right-wing apologists seem very foolish and very dishonest. For they deliberately obscure and hide the original and fundamental aim, formulated by the original Pioneers, in the name of non-authentic, practical guides to business, not even written down till 15 or 20 years later. It is in fact worse than this, for they use the unauthentic

"principles" to oppose the basic aim of the founders. For only a few years ago, Mr. Youngshusband, one of the theoreticians of the Co-operative College in England, made the statement that "Co-operation can only flourish in a free economy; it languishes in a controlled one," which means that Co-operation and Socialism are incompatible, instead of being different descriptions of the same thing, or at least allied systems.

The concept of self-contained communities establishing themselves on the basis of collective ownership, and of these spreading by example until they covered the whole world, and thus abolished capitalism without outside assistance, is of course very naive. Looked at apart from its historical context, it appears absurd; and no doubt many people have been discouraged from the study of Co-operation by making this mistake right at the start.

To the early pioneers, the idea was not absurd at all. Capitalism had not reached the monopoly stage, it had not even begun to give signs that it eventually would. Individually owned factories, like the Lancashire cotton mills, were the characteristic organisation, fiercely competing with each other. Even a service like the Railways was divided up into a large number of small and competing privately-owned lines. In these circumstances, it was not fantastic to imagine communities, very small geographically, being able to organise co-operatively all, or nearly all, the services and supply of goods they needed, within their area.

## FALLACY

The fallacy which frustrated the attempts of the early leaders to advance on the lines they hoped for was much more far-reaching and was two-fold. It was the failure to foresee the growth of monopoly; and a related complete blindness to the role of the State. Even before monopoly had begun to develop, the State was in essence the apparatus of the bourgeoisie to maintain the system of exploitation, and it would have tolerated nothing, whether trade union, political, or co-operative, which would seriously have challenged that system. But there were very few beside Marx and Engels and their immediate disciples who understood this at the time, or, indeed, until many decades later. Similarly, monopoly was not foreseen, and the early Co-operators did not realise that one day that basic industries would be huge concerns organised on a national scale, and, later still, their own competitors would grow to similar dimensions.

Their hopes for a new system of society based on public ownership in one form or another, should not lead us to ignore their ideas, much less feel contempt for them. Rather we should revere them for their socialist vision, even more than for the practical achievement, which, though vast, nevertheless fell short of their goal.

Deeply felt and fundamental as were the socialist ideas of the Pioneers, it is nevertheless true that they were quickly pushed into the background, partly by the very success of their practical work. The shop at Toad Lane prospered, and as it prospered, was faced with a constant succession of practical problems, which claimed time, energy and thought. The rapid expansion of British trade and the growth of imperialism brought relative prosperity to sections of the

working class, and the New Model Trade Unions, which thought very little about the transformation of society. The Co-operative Movement embarked on a period of steady growth and expansion, quickly becoming a national movement. But like the Trade Union Movement, its long term aim became very dim indeed: the Co-operatives became almost wholly concerned with saving their members a few shillings out of capitalist profits, and not at all with doing away with the capitalist system. The movement, on the other hand, did not have to fight for its life; it made for itself a place in the economic system and was content to remain in it.

## MONOPOLY

This went on for nearly one hundred years; until after the second world war, monopoly began to invade the field of retail distribution. This has transformed the situation. The Co-operatives once again have to fight for their existence; and it is a fight in which there can be no truce and no agreement to co-exist; such is the law of capitalism. The Co-operatives have to beat their rivals; and if they do so they must be prepared, along with the State, to take over the whole of retail distribution. Distribution will become publicly-owned, i.e. a socialist sector. Once again the Co-operatives will be engaged in a fight for Socialism. The wheel has turned full circle.

Before looking at this situation in more detail, we should note two other developments, so that the picture of Co-operation in Britain is complete. In the beginning the pioneers had a plan for the total abolition of private enterprise; and this involved early societies in the aim of establishing more and more productive enterprises complementary to their shops which were concerned with distribution. But the shop, in overcoming many difficulties, occupied more and more attention; and managed to get along without setting up co-operatives to manufacture all its stocks. Thus, retailing, intended as a foothold for establishing co-operative production, soon became the main activity, with productive enterprises subsidiary to it. "Co-operation" became more and more to be seen as a retailing activity.

It is true, however, that as the retailing movement spread over the country, it soon began to need the establishment of wholesaling machinery under its own control; and the Co-operative Wholesale Society was set up in 1863. In turn this required supplies on which it could rely and it began in 1873 to develop factories for the production of certain commodities which the retail shops required. Partly it has happened from commercial considerations; to retain for the movement an additional part of capitalist profit; partly because class instinct suggested that the movement could be injured if capitalists were in a position to withhold vital supplies. And of course, it was a development very congenial to some of those who remembered the original aims of the Pioneers, and the methods they had proposed to gain them. Others felt, however, resources should be used for manufacture on a co-operative basis: How these various motives were intertwined is a subject that requires historical research.

## RETAILING ACTIVITIES

But overall, the productive activities were and are subordinate to the retailing activities, and do not seriously modify the British concept of Co-operation as a retail trading movement.

It should be stressed that the factories owned by the

IN the newly emerging countries where the aim is to build socialism emerging co-operation in fields where a national unified apparatus is not considered necessary, would relieve the Central Government of the burden of much detailed planning, and would release the energy and initiative of the people, and introduce valuable elements of self Government and self Organisation from the start.

In this article, the writer who is an expert in co-operative movements discusses in details the General problems of Co-operatives using the experience of Britain which has many lessons.

Wholesale Societies were not themselves organised on a co-operative basis at all; but are simply enterprises owned by the Co-operative movement, organised on a capitalist basis, with the Co-operative Movement fulfilling the function and responsibilities of a capitalist employer. The workers in them take home wages comparable with those paid in similar capitalist industries, and depending ultimately on Trade Union pressure to raise them and keep them at a reasonable level. Joint consultation between workers and management is not conspicuously more in evidence than in capitalist businesses; and indeed the chief difference between these and the general run of capitalist enterprises is that Trade Union membership is normally compulsory.

These enterprises belong to the working-class movement; and it is a perennial problem to ensure that working class ownership means a real difference from private capitalist ownership; and it is interesting but not altogether pleasant to speculate on what the Pioneers would have thought of them!

There have also developed a number of co-operative productive organisations outside the Wholesale Societies, and much more like the ones envisaged by the Pioneers. They included clothing, footwear, textiles and printing; and a number of them persist today, linked together by the "Co-operative Productive Federation". These were and are organised on a profit sharing basis, and not on the payment of wages. The Pioneers would have approved of them; but it has to be admitted that in practice they have made considerably less contribution to the growth of collective ownership than the Wholesale Societies have.

## WORKING CLASS PEOPLE

The early Societies were built up and manned by working class people: in the beginning by workers who had strong leanings to socialism. Their members all through were members of the Trade Unions; the founders of the early Socialist Societies and of the Labour Party would all have been Co-operators. The Co-operative Movement throughout has been closely connected with the working class movement though the formal organisational links came only much later.

Thus it comes about that in Britain, the Co-operative Movement is thought of as a movement of working class consumers and little else. We tend to ignore activities which are not working class and not concerned directly or indirectly, with retailing. This is a very great theoretical and practical weakness. It not only comes as a surprise to British Co-operators, and in many cases is never properly understood, that in the Socialist countries, the main co-operative activity is not retailing at all, but is the organisation of small-scale industries, above all agriculture. Immediately after the assumption of power by the working class, in countries where industry is not developed, and agriculture amounts for the biggest section of the economy, co-operative farms ("Collective Farms" in the Soviet Union, but they are the same thing) may be the most common and most characteristic form of collective, socialist organisation, far more important than retailing. This is a barrier to the development of close relations. British Co-operators look for retail co-operation: if they find it less prominent than at home; or that, as in Czechoslovakia, it has been agreed

that it should operate in the countryside but not in the towns, they tend to feel that there is something wrong with the Co-operative movement, or with the way in which a Socialist Government treats it.

It is a misconception all the more unnecessary in that there is in fact in Britain, as well as the Consumers' Movement, a very well-developed movement of agricultural co-operation as well. This developed only in the 20th century. In 1900 there were only 19 Societies with a turnover of £121,416. In 1963 there were 399 societies with a turnover of £328,022,335. Purchases by farmers from societies were about one-seventh of their total purchases. But we have seen that co-operation in Britain is thought of as a working-class affair, and our agriculture is capitalist; based on wage-labour relations, although one-third of our 380,000 farmers are so small that they employ no labour outside their wives and families. Thus it is that farmers tend to be regarded as employers or at best outside the working class movement, and it is only too true that traditionally they support the Tory Party, and being strong individualists, are opposed to the idea of Socialism. In these conditions, it is not surprising that the consumers' movement and the agricultural movement are poles apart. Some of the Agricultural Societies are affiliated to the Co-operative Wholesale Society, but the relationship is a strictly business one, and the agricultural societies take no part in the political affairs of the movement. In fact, they disapprove of them; and they are the principal reason why more societies do not join the C.W.S.

The idea that the Co-operative Movement aims at the fundamental transformation of society onto a collective, non-profit making basis, is even further from the heads of farmers who join agricultural societies, and 99 per cent of them have no knowledge of the Rochdale Pioneers or of the Co-operative Commonwealth; and if they did, they would be strongly opposed to them.

## ASSAULT OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

But this is also changing under the assault of monopoly capitalism. As in retailing, some of the biggest monopolies have for 30 years and more been established as middlemen, supplying the farmer with his requirements—fertilisers, machinery, tractors, oil and seeds; and taking his products. They make monopoly profits; and the farmers have felt that co-operating to do some of these functions themselves would win them back some of the profits. At the present time, the monopolies are seeking to go further than being middlemen, and are trying to establish themselves in production as well, by buying up orthodox farms, and still more in the modern factory methods of producing eggs, chickens, veal and beef. The farmers understand this as a menace to their standards and their livelihood, and again see co-operation—in production as well as in trading—as their only safeguard. This explains the phenomenal growth of co-operation in agriculture in the last two decades, both formal and informal ("Groups"), and while it is still true to say that only a tiny handful of farmers are Socialists, in the sense that they believe in the public ownership of the means of production, and distribution, they are becoming more and more consciously opposed to monopoly capitalism; and are taking

the first steps in organising against it. This can have a profound effect if the correct explanation is given by conscious socialists, on their whole political outlook.

Thus, we have in Britain's Co-operative Movement today, an extremely fluid situation, and one therefore of great interest and importance.

## LARGEST CONSUMERS' MOVEMENTS

We have one of the largest consumers movements in the world, which grew up in the absence of powerful competition for nearly 100 years. In this period it lost its socialist ideals; or rather, it retained them, but without much understanding of their meaning, or relevance to the current situation. Its connection with the organised working class was never lost; and in fact took organised forms; although it never appeared that the Labour Party understood the importance of the Co-operative Movement or was prepared when in office to give it any kind of favoured treatment. If it had been there were those in the Co-operative Movement who would have opposed it, on the ground that it was prejudicing the movement's independence!

"Groups" are informal organisations of farmers, perhaps as few as two or three, without premises, or full-time staff, who agree for example, to purchase a machine or plant together. These are encouraged by, but are outside the established Agricultural Co-operative Societies, which are much bigger. No one knows how many there are; but there has been a phenomenal growth of them in recent years.

This consumers' movement had been compelled to organise a number of productive enterprises on its own, for its own protection, and without any long-term aim of making any serious inroads into the capitalist system.

Much later, but alongside, it has grown up a powerful agricultural co-operative movement, embracing probably 85 per cent of the farmers, but without any connection with the consumers' movement except a few strictly business affiliations. It certainly has no socialist philosophy; and, if asked, could describe itself as strongly anti-Socialist. But in practice, it is being drawn more and more into the fight against monopoly capitalism.

They are thus facing the same enemy as the consumers' movement. Space does not allow me to describe the inroads of monopoly into agriculture or retailing; but it is very serious. Small individually owned shops are slowly declining; more and more shopping is done in the huge Supermarkets, organised on a national scale by huge capitalist firms like United Stores (assets £47 million) and Marks and Spencers, who made a profit of £28 million in 1963.

## BRITISH CONDITIONS

Strictly in British conditions, it does not seem that much has been lost by the failure to develop a very large co-operatively owned sector in manufacture. In this field, the competition with large business and later monopolies could not have been successful. It was better to build a sector in retailing strong enough to fight back against the monopolies when the time came. But now that the fight in retailing is becoming decisive the co-ops may very easily need to expand in production, simply to safeguard their sources of supply, and as the farmers are involved in

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# Towards Workers Democracy in Ghana

By KWEKU YAKUBU  
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UNLIKE decadent capitalist institutions where the wage-labour of the worker becomes a commodity per force, Ghana's socialist society (although presently nascent) is to enthrone the worker as the source of authority even in our factories. This becomes more visible when one studies with open-mindedness the new programme of the Ghana Trades Union Congress.

This is not merely saying that the new programme of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, in itself, is the source or fountain of the rights of the individual in the State. Far from that. Rather it is the effect of an entrenched clause in the Republican Constitution maintaining categorically that "the powers of state derive from the people". (Article 1 Amended Constitution).

Putting it in other words, the new programme of the Ghana Trades Union Congress attempts to make use of this entrenched Clause by definitely extending it to our workers in the factory.

This, once again, repudiates the arguments put forward by multi-party theorists to mean that only multi-party systems provide the platform for the exercise and liberty of man in political societies. Yet nowhere in the capitalist world where multi-party system do we not see the exploitation of one class by the other. In a capitalist society where class struggle exists, for the moribund system to survive, duplicity and deceit of the working class by the bourgeoisie becomes the order of the day. Capitalism does not reconcile with true democracy. To look at what the multi-party theorists mean by democracy, let us turn to analyse the worker/capitalist relationship under a capitalist economy. Firstly, the very existence of militant trade unionism in a capitalist society spells that all is not well.

Militancy in Western trade unionism is a necessary condition to counteract some of the many economic abuses of capitalism. Even that type of militancy is hypocritical and short-lived. Once the state apparatus is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, no amount of militancy from the trade unions could be expected to bring the worker/factory relationship to an equilibrium. And because political power is controlled by the money-class of that society, trade union militancy is always threatened and where possible liquidated when such militancy comes into open conflict with the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Yet conflict is a must if trade unionism in a given country (in championing the cause of the workers) is diametrically opposed to the economic foundations of that society, as it is under capitalism.

## INVESTMENTS

Thus we see that while capitalism is loud in its proclamations about true democracy, the system itself is a means of exploiting the working class which constitutes the majority in the society. Secondly, whereas the mechanism of the political economy of capitalism dictates that the wages paid to the workers are only investments, under a socialist democracy the workers become the controllers and owners of industry. In other words in capitalist economy the wages of the workers are not commensurate with their expended labour.

Such wages are only paid out to the workers for their upkeep so as to be sound and healthy to man the machines for production. Thus wages go to the workers as a conscious strategy to enable them to marry and reproduce offspring who will replace their parents in industry when they are old and therefore inactive to continue expending physical labour—live-wire of capitalist profit-making.

From this we see that under

capitalism, with the means of production under the absolute control of the bourgeoisie, the individual has no other choice than to be enslaved by this class of exploiters. Is this democracy?

In Ghana the basic aspirations of the working class is the building of a socialist society and this need is categorically expressed in our Republican Constitution. It means that our trade union organisation should be directed towards the upliftment of our workers. In pursuance of this, the Ghana Trades Union Congress has assigned itself concretely to a new and necessary role. It has extricated itself from the apron-strings of Western trade unionism where its outlook and tendency is always to be subservient to capitalism.

## GENUINE CAUSE

Little wonder that the new programme presented by the Ghana Trades Union Congress to the working class at the Winneba Ideological Institute, some time ago, concretely sums up the role of trade unions and the workers in the next Seven-years. The programme shows at once the need for a new trade union outlook in a country like Ghana struggling to build socialism. We are constrained to mention the Ghana Trades Union Congress because what it represents is a genuine cause; and out of its operations we could even determine to some extent, the limit and rigidity of the individual in our one-party democracy.

The central idea of the new programme of the Ghana Trades Union Congress is the enthronement of the workers as the source of authority even in our factories. A clause in the programme maintains "to represent a development of democracy which in turn increases the sense of responsibility and efforts of the workers." This in itself depicts the two essential factors governing the relationship between the individual and the means of production in a one-party democracy necessitated by the need to build a socialist society:—

- The workers are the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange.
- The workers are the source of managerial authority in the factories.

In (a) we see that unlike the mechanism of capitalism where the workers are but a means to an end, in Ghana's socialist development the workers become the custodians of power and authority over the means of production. And this is a true workers' democracy.

## PRODUCTIVITY

Yet how do we make this workers' democracy materialise as demanded by the Seven-Year Development Plan? It is only through increased productivity. Here we must contrast productivity in a socialist economy with that of capitalism before we could reasonably understand why productivity is an essential factor in

attaining our workers' democracy.

Under a socialist economy, productivity, or higher output of labour, is one of the three essential factors which primarily constitute the growth of national income. The other two are:—

- Increase in the number of people engaged in material production.
- Economy in the employment of the means of production.

We shall come later to see the roles of these two factors in the growth of the national income after we have studied the purpose of productivity which in a way presupposes these two factors.

According to P. Nikitin (Fundamentals of Political Economy), "the higher the labour productivity the higher the physical volume of the gross social product and consequently, the greater the national income." What Nikitin says here is definitely applicable to every developing socialist economy because it is part of the general laws of the political economy of socialism. This is unlike capitalism where productivity becomes a source of private profit for the capitalist, because to the capitalist, productivity is an increase in surplus value and therefore profit.

Without a higher output of labour in a given socialist economy to increase further investment, that socialist society shall be definitely heading towards trouble.

Here we see at once that productivity which is the petrol of further investment is at the same time the creator of the "increase in the number of people engaged in material production", one of the direct factors of growth of national economy.

## ASSIGNED TARGETS

Because when a state enterprise over-fulfills assigned targets, it creates more room for more people to be employed either in that enterprise or in the new one which is to be set up out of the profit created by the first enterprise. On this the new T.U.C. programme states inter alia: "We should also organise production meetings in every factory to summarise the achievements of outstanding workers and promote socialist emulation of the style of the outstanding workers into the groups."

This further proves that in a socialist economy, there are always available statistics to estimate the rate of productivity in a given enterprise. Dividing the national income of a given factory by the number of people engaged in material production in the enterprise, we can even determine the rate of labour productivity per worker in a given state enterprise. And to determine the national income of a particular factory we have to multiply the number of people in that enterprise by the physical labour productivity per worker. It becomes imperative, therefore that, if our workers are to be the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange, then the claim call is undoubtedly on productivity. In this field the new programme of the Ghana Trades Union Congress ensures how productivity could and must be attained.

On this question the programme suggests the creation of Joint Production Committees in the factories and

states, "Through careful planning, through discussion, through encouraging the release of initiative, by utilising suggestions from the workers on the job and by personal as well as collective targets the committee could mobilise all the actual and potential powers of the enterprise... incentives would stimulate output and effort engender willingness to forgo immediate full enjoyment of the surplus produced for the general, social, long term interests of the nation."

## PRODUCTION RELATIONS

This is very necessary in view of the fact that Ghana inherited a colonial economy where production relations were very hostile. In the past, during the pre-independence era, our workers were releasing productivity to assist an economy which had no interest whatsoever in the broad mass of the people. The old British colonial master was the direct and only recipient of the labour of our people.

Today the stage is different. The workers must produce at a faster rate so as to ensure more employment which in turn would boost up the national economy. In short if Ghana is to industrialise with all speed, then our workers, who constitute the trigger of the socialist revolution, must increase their output so as to increase their purchasing power. And in this the Party is the safeguard of the workers.

The new T.U.C. programme offers two cogent proofs why even managerial authority in the factory is to spring from the workers. The first ensures that no worker must be dismissed without the approval of the Joint Production Committee which is composed of representatives from the Party branch, elected trade union officials from the factory and the management.

The second proof is constitutional. When the workers are the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange in a given factory, it does not infer that the need for leadership in the factory does not arise. In point of fact it is in the socialist economy that discipline reaches its peak in the factory. If there should be socialist discipline in the factory, the factory management must have and inspire confidence in the workers it is organising.

In a way, socialist factory management differs in principle to the management disciplines in a capitalist economy. There are two main reasons for this.

Firstly, under capitalist production, whether authority is centralised or not, power emanates from the directorate. No matter how strong a suggestion from the junior echelon might be, unless it coincides with the interests of the private owners of the means of production (the capitalists), it can be of no use to the directorate. This is the other way round in a peoples' planned economy. Decision-taking in socialist economy is always a collective affair.

## WORKSHOP COMMITTEES

If does not mean that in Ghana's socialist economy all the workers in a given factory should have to sit at a round-table and take a decision on any matter affecting the factory. Rather what is at stake is that work-shop committees are to be set up in the various departments of the factory. These work-shop committees, which would be composed of the outstanding workers from a particular department, are

to report to the management of the factory on the progress and shortcomings of a particular department. This enables management to be always conversant with every development in the factory whilst at the same time the general bulk of the workers would be conscious of what they are about.

In all these one thing becomes dominant. Before production could be streamlined it calls for a sound comradesly relationship between the workers and management. There must at all times exist this type of relationship in the peoples' factory. This is another vital point where the managerial principles of capitalism differs from that of a conscious economy.

In the former, because management is carrying out direct instructions from the private owners of the means of production, it is impossible for the workers to rely on it for security and personal advancement in material development. Secondly, because the workers (who apply live labour to the fixed assets in order to realise production) do not benefit from what they produce, they cannot be creative and inspired under capitalist management.

## PRODUCTIVE FORCES

Yet in a conscious economy, production relations can never be hostile because the workers, who constitute primarily the main productive forces in a developing socialist economy, are the same people who organise the distribution of the finished product. Production relations are never hostile in the socialist economy because both management and the workers have identical objectives, namely the fulfilment of the targets they have set themselves. In this way, and to ensure constant reproduction, the worker/management relationship would always be cordial.

But here it is important to stress that a danger might crop up to cripple the cordial relationship. When management becomes inclined towards nepotism and bribery because it is disillusioned, the workers would either agitate for its clean-up or become disgruntled when they cannot change this management. If the workers become subjected to the latter, productivity is first and foremost jeopardised. The social impact too would be the offshoot of rumour-mongering. This needs further explanation.

One of the roles of business management in society is to introduce, by its reflection, a new moral outlook in

that society. This outlook springs from the men and women who head the affairs of the enterprise. In other words, the workers turn to look on its management for the right ethical conduct needed in the enterprise. Discipline is one of the first of these conducts. As soon as the workers begin to suspect that management is married to anti-social practices, this discipline is lowered and the workers would begin questioning why this should be so. They talk about it in groups at the factory and discuss it in their homes when they meet. Rumour-mongering is started because of abused leadership! No true socialist revolution could go in for this.

To ensure that this gross anomaly may not co-exist with Ghana's production targets, it has been clearly stated in the Seven-Year Plan (page 30, sub-section II) that "the managements of these enterprises should be competent, honest and dynamic". This relatively short, but bold statement underlines the need for progressive management to man our factories.

What this statement puts across is the need for a management that could carefully handle the swift tempo of the revolution taking place in our industrial awakening. Such management, indeed, must be able to analyse correctly the present so as to be in a position to foresee what the future holds for the factory.

Because socialism is the only scientific approach to economic development, the people forging ahead to a socialist society always know what tomorrow holds in store for society. Yet before the worker could be fully conscious of what is to be done, factory management should be sufficiently dedicated to the socialist mission.

## CREATIVITY

Although decision-taking is the primary concern of management, yet in Ghana creativity occupies an equally essential space in the managerial field. For this gives birth to technical innovation. The men and women to manage the workers' factories must be creative in ideas which must be translated into reality by putting them into practice in the factories. For the ideas to be useful they must be put across to the workers in ways that will enthuse them and even inspire their imagination so as to make them contribute their own ideas.

In other words, management should not be supercilious when exchanging ideas

with the workers, because the management itself is elected by the workers through the workers' socialist party—the Convention People's Party.

This brings us to a very vital point in determining why Ghana's socialist society is to enthrone the workers as the source of managerial authority. The Convention People's Party is spontaneously and constitutionally the organiser of the workers and farmers of Ghana. If management is elected by the party, it becomes apparent that management is composed of workers and farmers.

We can see why democracy assumes its correct meaning under a socialist economy. In Ghana's socialist development democracy itself is to spring from the workers because "the powers of state derive from the people." In other words, in Ghana, because the people—the workers and farmers—are enthroned in the Republican Constitution as the custodians of the state, democracy emanates from, and is controlled by, the people. Thus the need for a one-party democracy in Ghana.

## MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

When we view the democratic nature of Western institutions, particularly the United States of America which enjoys the credit of a written Constitution, we see that although the people have the right to elect and be elected, yet actual democracy is limited to financial oligarchy—monopoly capitalism. In fact American democracy is so good that twenty-two million Afro-Americans are denied the right of full citizenship, although they formed the main productive forces in building that country into one of the most industrialised states in the world today. The aftermath of the Civil Rights Bill in the United States has only been the outbreak of the latent hatred of the average white American against the Afro-American and to make the country to day life in that country for him a veritable hell. Such is Western democracy.

But freedom in socialist societies has no limitations of class or race and parties are not the manifestations of class and racial conflicts but the expressions of the will of the people as a whole. They therefore become the vehicles through which the people express unhindered, their freedom. Testimony of this is eloquently given by a Soviet state farm worker who says: "To ask a Soviet man whether he's free is like asking him whether he breathes."

## The Co-operative Movement

Continued from page 4

the same fight, the need for closer working between the two movements is obvious, and urgent. It would be a mistake to force it on theoretical grounds however: it will be better to begin by greatly strengthening business relations which already exist; with the grandiose aim of making exchange between farmers co-ops and consumers co-ops the main way in which farmers market their produce and obtain their requirements. Ultimately farmers, as well as working and middle class consumers will realise that the fight against monopoly capitalism cannot halt at some halfway-house, or agree peacefully to divide up the economy. Co-operation will have to take the place of capitalism in a number of sectors. Life itself will teach these lessons, but Marxists of course have to speed up the

process by socialist explanation and argument. This would seem to be the general perspective for the movement in Britain.

I have endeavoured to describe and analyse the situation historically, in the hope that readers in other countries, where conditions are extremely different will find it of interest in itself, and that it will be of some help in approaching their own problems.

I would add only one comment: that in the newly emerging countries, where the aim is to build socialism without going through a capitalist stage, the scope of co-operation might be larger than it has been in Britain where capitalism first became established, and co-operation arose as a reaction against its miseries. Emerico co-operation in fields where a national, unified

apparatus is not considered necessary, would relieve the Central Government of the burden of much detailed planning, and would release the energy and initiative of the people, and introduce valuable elements of self-government and self-organisation from the start.

British experience has many lessons; but it is by no means a blue-print to follow. The need for the closest relations between consumers, and productive (e.g. farmers' co-ops) which we lack in Britain, would seem to be desirable from the start.

It is hoped also that the discussion of "Rochdale Principles" at the beginning of the article may assist Co-operative Movements in Africa and elsewhere to understand the importance of refusing them rights as full members of the International Co-operative Alliance.



## 'Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism'

A Review by Obotan Awuku

THIS is a new book published by the Spark Publications in conjunction with Lawrence Wishart Ltd. The fifty-five page book is based on a series of articles originally published in the SPARK to teach in simple terms the fundamental principles of Nkrumaism.

The success of the articles with the public contributed in no small measure to the decision to publish them in book form.

The book is divided into six chapters dealing with the various aspects of the struggle against imperialism and the problems of economic reconstruction after independence and the greater struggle for Africa's liberation and unity. The first chapter deals with the nature of imperialism and the methods of its destruction. In the short space of eight pages, we are given a resume of how Nkrumah transformed the dream of Africa's liberation into a practical struggle for one country in Africa as a springboard for the greater struggle for total liberation of the continent.

Contrary to the hopes of the imperialist powers, Nkrumah was not satisfied with mere political power but deemed rightly that political independence is a sham when not accompanied by economic independence. In the second and third chapters the book examines Nkrumah's convictions about economic reconstruction and the building of socialism as the only sure way to prevent economic domination which he describes (in the now popular term) as neo-colonialism.

Like the political genius that he is, Nkrumah sees, as no one else sees, the necessity for African unity. He sees it as the supreme safeguard for real independence and progress. As the book says: "To Kwame Nkrumah, African unity is a consuming passion." For moved with a sincere desire to liberate the African for ever from the bondage of servitude, he sees in African

unity "the most effective weapon for attaining three principal objectives:—

- total liberation of Africa from colonial rule;
- fighting neo-colonialism in the independent African states; and
- creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind."

From the above motives it is clear that although Nkrumah is actuated by an ambition common to most of the greatest of men, such as Alexander the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte and Garibaldi of Italy, his consummate passion for unity does not spring from the empty dream of personal glory but is actuated by a parallel passion to do good to his fellow men. This important aspect of Nkrumah's life and policies is clearly outlined in the fourth chapter of the book.

Those who read the first chapter of the book cannot fail to see that Kwame Nkrumah is a great political strategist. His decision to start the African Revolution from his home country, Ghana (then the Gold Coast) and his overwhelming success with the masses is a clear indication of this rare talent without which it is highly improbable that he could have survived the vicissitudes of the struggle against British imperialism and the treachery of his political opponents. In chapter five the book tersely but effectively describes how he organised the political instrument, the Convention People's Party

which led him to his incredible success and discusses further how a similar organization, on a continental basis, can lead to the consummation of the AFRICAN DREAM OF FREEDOM AND UNITY.

The crowning glory of Nkrumah's imperishable successes is his recent emergence as a philosopher. With "Conscientism", Kwame Nkrumah has established a lasting repute as one of the great thinkers of history. On page 44 of the book under review it is written: "This philosophical work is destined to make a big impact on the entire world. Although its driving motive is the reinstitution of the best in the traditional African way of life, its intellectual tools are drawn from world philosophy after a most careful examination and evaluation of various schools of thought. In the process a new philosophy has emerged. It overcomes the conflicts in African intellectual life, provides a positive guide to purposeful action in emergent Africa, and at the same time enriches world knowledge."

Rarely has one man combined in himself such glowing qualities; remarkable political strategist, eminent statesman and nation builder and great philosopher.

Not all can read "Conscientism" and understand but chapter six of "Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism" provides the man in the street with a nodding acquaintance of Philosophical Conscientism. Here we see the answer to the call of "all sincere African patriots who feel that socialist ideology should more closely reflect the African background". Here we have the much-needed answer to many who talk of Nkrumaism but fail to define it on rational philosophical terms.

Most of our readers will no doubt treasure this little book. It sells at 5/- only.

## NEW BOOKS

### THE BRITISH POLITICAL ELITE:

MR. GUTTSMAN'S DEFINITION of the 'political elite' is a curious one. The term ought surely to include all those who wield political power—the senior officials in Government departments, the service chiefs, the heads of the police and secret police, etc. But this book is almost entirely confined to a study of the Cabinet, House of Commons and House of Lords, even though most of the members of the Commons and Lords do not in fact wield nearly so much political power as those holding key positions at the top of the permanent apparatus of government.

The author has set out to analyse why some people reach the Houses of Commons and Lords and the Cabinet and why others do not. To this end he has compiled a great many tables classifying politicians according to occupation and education. His period is essentially 1868 to 1955. In between the tables he provides much comment on the circumstances which facilitate a successful political career. Thus a table on p. 126 shows the types of industry and commerce represented by newly created peers from 1901-57, and another on p. 238 gives the occupations followed by Labour M.P.s other than those sponsored by trade unions. Although this kind of analysis has often been done before it has not been done in such detail. The close links between Tory Cabinets and big business, and the role of the public schools in training

Tory (and some Labour) Cabinet Ministers, are well brought out.

Mr. Guttman also classifies his 'political elite' into aristocracy, middle class and working class, but his definition of these terms (in a vital footnote on page 77) is unsatisfactory. By defining the aristocracy as all those who were descended from the holder of a hereditary title in the grandparent generation, he omits the crucial factor of land ownership, which determined the part played by the landed aristocracy in the last century. In describing all those between the aristocracy and the working class as the 'middle class', he mixes up capitalists with professional men, administrators and the like.

But this was likely to happen because the author sees society, not so much in terms of classes but as a mass of individuals, a few of whom succeed in rising to the top. Economic interests, the outlook of political leaders, and the issues they fight for are almost completely absent from Mr. Guttman's world. This is the approach of the schools of sociology, which are currently so influential in our universities (he acknowledges the help he received from the sociological department of the London School of Economics.) It tends to lead to an accumulation of facts which are arranged in such a way as to deprive history and politics of all meaning.

JAMES HARVEY

## The Counter-Revolution in Africa

SEVERAL years have gone by since various African countries attained independence and we have now reached a stage of difficulties, disillusion and waning enthusiasm. The dynamism of the African Revolution is no longer believed to be sufficient to put its stamp on the face of history. People are estimating the obstacles, weighing up and calculating, comparing figures and forces. On the one hand, there are the movements of national liberation backed by the 34 African States linked by the anti-colonialist oath they took at Addis Ababa; on the other, the anti-Negro settlers of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia who form, in short, a modern army of several hundred thousands men, a powerful industrial system of considerable wealth.

Jean Siegler, in his book, was quite right to make a distinction between a revolutionary Africa (independent Africa) and a counter-revolutionary Africa dominated by Whites: on one side, the sacred notion of liberty; on the other, a will to be uppermost, and a wild longing to hold on to ill-gotten gains.

As to the conclusion reached in this book, the least one can say is that they are not in our favour. "Objectively speaking", he writes, "as far as sheer strength is concerned, revolutionary Africa, for the moment at any rate, is out-numbered. The economic as well as the military and police forces at the disposal of white societies is increasing every year. The sociological situation belies the optimism felt by Africa's revolutionary leaders."

What ought to be added, and what the author barely hints at, is the infernal intrigue the Western world is carrying on and the massive help it is giving, in an underhand way, to the settlers in Africa.

Thus it was that in a speech made before specialized political committees, the representative of Guinea, Mr. Diallo Telli, now Secretary-General of O.A.U., could state without being contradicted that, in spite of the appeals which had been launched, "a progressive increase in foreign investments in South Africa was to be noted, as well as an abnormal rise in the Government of Pretoria's external trade". This trade movement appears to have been particularly intensive between South Africa and Canada, France, West Germany, Japan, Switzerland, the United States and Great Britain. In short, having invented Katanga, things are going on as if the Western business world for good business reasons, had fixed its hopes on the last bastion of Southern colonialism.

Personally, we find it an excellent thing that attention should be drawn to such facts; the first being that the general liberation of Africa cannot be achieved without violence; the second that the victories of wars of liberation are not foregone conclusions. Such reflections do not give rise either to illusions or to a sense of well-being; on the contrary, they define our responsibilities all the more clearly.

"There is scarcely one young African", writes Jean Siegler, "who does not firmly believe in the imminent collapse of white domination in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and the South African Republic. Facts contradict such a belief. The war between the two Africans will be terrible, and its outcome unsure."

It will indeed be terrible. The horror felt at the shocking death of Kennedy, murdered by Dallas racists, gives only a faint idea of what the confrontation of the two Africans will be like. Will this make the outcome any the less sure?

The outcome is not unsure. It is not that we believe in the liberal promises of international organisations (the Churches, the United Nations, etc.) Regarding these, Mr. Siegler is right to remind us that in Europe the very people who triumphed over the Nazis never showed any wish to put an end to Franco's and Salazar's regimes. What right have we to feel so confident? Because, in spite of everything we have faith in Africa.

Weapons kill people, not their feelings or ideas. Our strength is the result of a long, profound and deeply-felt experience of hunger, penury and suffering; of the realization grown sharper every day of the infamous injustice of which we have been the victims; of the rapidly developing awareness among Africans that the Third World has a solemn, historic mission to accomplish.

There are already encouraging signs—Addis Ababa, the Bamako Conference on the Algerian-Moroccan cease-fire, and the meeting at Abidjan. All this is excellent, but there is still work to be done. Africa must take a great leap forward and be able to draw herself up to her full height.

The young are perfectly right to feel no misgivings about themselves, and to feel assured of the collapse of white domination. It is in the depths of their heart, in the quiet of the fields and workshops and universities that they must get ready.

Victory will depend on all the peoples of Africa together, on each individual African, and on our statesmen in particular, who will be responsible to History.

The victory will be African; it has to be. But it will be so only if Africa, renouncing her minor quarrels and getting a grip on herself in time, is able to co-ordinate the material at her disposal, mobilize her forces and galvanize her natural cultural vigour.

As to our statesmen, they must eliminate from their governments all causes of inner weakening so as to make it possible to set up, in place of the "bad" Africa, an Africa of absolute liberty and justice.

## Congo

Continued from page 3

plans for acquiring a large holding of "L'Union Miniere" shares were being frustrated, since this corporation was to become the property of the Congolese government. This controlling interest in the "L'Union Miniere" once belonged to the "Free Congolese State," i.e. was the private property of King Leopold II. In later years, when the Congo became a Belgian colony, the royal stock was placed at the disposal of the colonial administration. After the proclamation of the Congo's independence, the national government was to inherit this

major holding in the "L'Union Miniere" which constituted 22.5 per cent of the company's shares. Together with the shares, the Congolese government was to receive nearly one quarter of the votes on the board of the corporation.

Now this was the very stock that Rockefeller and his colleagues had set their hearts on. If they could get it, the Americans, who already owned 5 per cent of the stock would control 27.5 per cent of the "L'Union Miniere" shares, thus becoming the major share holder in the corporation. The "Tanganyika Concessions" which controlled 14.5 per cent of the shares would then have to suffice with the role of a poor relative. The Yankees anticipated

the pleasure of once again pinching the tail of the senile British lion.

Of course, this would also be an infringement on the interests of the "Societe de Beigique" which held 4.6 per cent of the shares. However, Wall Street which ignored the interests of Britain could hardly be expected to take into account Belgium's interests.

And now this profitable transaction, which could bring the United States to the forefront of the monopolists operating in Africa, became impossible because the government of independent Congo was headed by Patrice Lumumba. Moreover, there was the terrible possibility that a black man would sit next to the Rockefellers at "L'Union

Miniere" board of directors meeting and even occupy a higher position since the Congolese Republic would be the biggest shareholder of the corporation!

The United States definitely wanted to see another type of leader at the head of the Congolese state. Patrice Lumumba immediately became an undesirable partner. He was the main obstacle on the road to the takeover of the Congo's wealth by the American monopolists.

In its report to the effect that in the summer of 1960 the Rockefellers were buying up cheap the shares of "L'Union Miniere" sold by the small holders, the British Observer pointed out that this could turn out to be a very profitable deal but that the

Rockefellers expressed doubts as to the political aspects of the matter. It would be naive to think that the Rockefeller groups would not try to eliminate these doubts, concluded the paper.

That is why American big business decided to start a war against Patrice Lumumba striving to remove him at any cost. In this war, which in actual fact was waged against all the patriots of the Congo, i.e. against the entire Congolese nation, the Americans did not scruple to use any means. Threats, blackmail, bribery, murder and flagrant interference in the affairs of another state—such is the range of means used by the United States monopolists backed obviously by the State Department.

advisers who "by sheer chance" happened to be Americans. It is significant that when Hammarskjold set out for Ndola to hold talks with Tshombe in the summer of 1961 he did not take any neutral advisers with him. Hammarskjold was accompanied by Wieschoff who perished with him when their plane crashed under mysterious circumstances.

The bosses of the "Congo Club" tolerated only those neutrals who did not impede the furthering of their underhand activities in the Congo, while those who stood in their way were immediately removed. With this aim in view an intolerable atmosphere was created for these officials who prevented the normal discharge of their duties. Very significant in this respect is the resignation of Dayal, an Indian, from the post of Special Representative of the UN

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## IV. UNITED NATIONS: BEHIND THE SCENES

IN all its intrigues against the Lumumba government Washington leaned upon the UN Secretariat and its representatives in the Congo who supervised the United Nations troops and administration.

It is common knowledge that the "Blue Helmets" first appeared in the Congo at the request of that country's government. Their aims were clearly defined in the decisions of the UN Security Council. At first they were to curb Belgium's aggression and then assist the central government in its efforts to restore the unity of the Congo violated by the Katanga separatists. However, from the very outset the UN Command started to interfere grossly in the country's internal affairs and to act plainly in the interests of the United States. This was

explained by the fact that the Americans played the main role in the UN Secretariat and its administration in the Congo, while UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold was an obedient tool in their hands.

### SCREEN

Dr. Connor O'Brien, an Irish diplomat and one time special representative of the UN Secretary-General in Katanga (now Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana), wrote a book entitled "To Katanga and Back". The book exposes the diplomatic kitchen where the UN policy or, to be more exact, the American policy for the Congo was prepared.

"Officially", writes O'Brien, "the Congolese question in the UN Secretariat came under

the competence of the Consultative Committee for the Congo. In actual fact, this committee served as a screen for the uncontrolled actions of UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold and his American advisers—Ralph Bunche, Heinz Wieschoff and Andrew Cordier. They made up the so-called 'Congo Club' which determined the UN policy in the Congo."

Speaking of Andrew Cordier's influence on Hammarskjold, O'Brien writes that he never said much at the sittings of the club, but the impression was created that everything he had to say was very important and was intended solely for the ears of the Secretary-General.

Heinz Wieschoff was also a very interesting personality. He was considered to be an expert on African affairs but, says O'Brien, he had no sympathies for the representatives of the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations. He toler-



# Fifteen Years of Socialism in the G.D.R.

by Our Correspondent

FIFTEEN years ago a new German socialist state was founded whose supreme principle is peace and friendship among the peoples. Ghana and the German Democratic Republic are closely linked together in the common struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for peace and progress. The firm friendship between our two countries was expressed recently by the visit of the German Democratic Republic Government delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Paul Scholz to Ghana.

Let us have a look at the history of the German Democratic Republic and her socialist policy. The German imperialists unleashed two world wars, the first 50 years ago, the second 25 years ago and every imperialist power promised its people a better life at the expense of other peoples. In fact, however, the wars were waged for higher profits of the imperialists and for the expansion of the spheres of influence, markets and sources of raw materials.

These real war aims cannot be changed even by the circumstance that the war or its secondary effects resulted in a certain economic boom or even temporary improvement in the living conditions of the working people in some countries, but in the long run the ordinary people in both metropolitan states and colonies did not gain anything. Not a single colony gained independence after the First World War. On the contrary, exploitation and oppression were sharpened. Though in some African countries, one colonial power was superseded by another one, the function of the colony as a source of raw materials and a market outlet for imperialism remained the same. In accordance with the new relation of forces, the spheres of influence were redivided. The League of Nations and the mandate system which it established were to fix and perpetuate that new relation of power juridically.

The wounds of the First World War had not yet properly healed when in the imperialist countries arms for a new war campaign were already being forged again. The new division of the spheres of influence existed for only 25 years, when German imperialism again appeared on the scene to demand and conquer what it had lost in the First World War to the imperialist British and French rulers of the trusts. Again German imperialism went to war against British and French colonial rulers, by no means to liberate the African peoples, but to subjugate and exploit them anew for its own interests and aims.

## GREAT RESPONSIBILITY

The German people, mindful of the lessons of two world wars, bear a special responsibility, which was set forth on 1st September 1964 by Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic in the following words: "... these two world wars started from German soil. German imperialism and militarism bear the main responsibility for both of them. The German imperialists and militarists not only sparked off the two world wars, they also waged them with the most barbarous methods ever known to history. They proclaimed the extermination of parts of entire peoples such as the Jews, Poles and Czechs. They planned the destruction of the Soviet Union and the imposition of a brutal system of subjection on the Soviet people as far as the Urals.

They dragged millions of people into the slavery of fascist forced labour and organized the extermination of human beings on a factory basis in the gas chambers of the concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdenek, Buchenwald and Dachau. Over eight million people were killed by the German fascists in the jails and concentration camps alone. Six million Jews, six million Poles, seven million Soviet citizens fell victim to the imperialist German predatory war and the systematic extermination of human life. Finally—that is the logic of history—the German

were the democratic reforms in all spheres of social life. All war criminals, fascists and imperialist enterprisers, who had been guilty of the war, were expropriated by means

little or no land, a reality, for they received for the first time the land which they had to till for the big landowners and Junkers for generations without being able to reap the fruit of their labour. 8.2 million acres, that is, 35 per cent

of the rest of the land is cultivated by nationally-owned agricultural organisations.

This agrarian reform was practically the beginning of a social revolution, in which the rural poor freed themselves from exploitation by finance capital and the big landowners and thus paved the way for a democratic development in the village as well as for an economic and cultural upsurge.

The reform of the educational system carried out in those years was no less revolutionary in character. For the first time in German history the educational privilege of the ruling imperialist circles was broken and the schools and higher educational institutions opened to all sections of the people. A system of government measures for the all-round advancement of children of parents with low incomes was extended from year to year. This included the elimination of the over 4,000 rural one-teacher schools which still existed in 1945. In the first place, however, the militarist and fascist spirit was removed from the educational institutions by replacing national arrogance and the urge to oppress other peoples with love for other peoples, solidarity with the liberation movement in the colonies, peace and understanding among the peoples.

The state administration and the organs of justice were also purged of former nazis and war criminals and they were replaced by anti-fascists and democrats.

## SUCCESS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY

The German people had to face a near catastrophe in 1945 after six years of total war economy, with the entire economic system of the country paralyzed, many of the most important enterprises and factories destroyed by

bombs and with minimum quantities of food available to the population. Famine, deprivations, misery and despair were dominant throughout the country. In that situation the progressive forces united in the National Front assumed the leadership of the people and called for reconstruction. The ruins of the war were removed under the most difficult conditions and the destroyed factories reconstructed. That was a hard beginning and it was symptomatic that the industrial output of 1946, the first post-war year, reached only 42 per cent of the pre-war level.

In the period between 1946 and 1953 the working people of the GDR were able to rebuild 569 important enterprises and factories and to resume production in another 449 factories.

## RECONSTRUCTION

Whereas in the beginning the main task was the reconstruction of the destroyed factories, buildings and industrial enterprises, considerable economic difficulties arose in 1949 when the imperialists arbitrarily divided Germany. The great bulk of the raw materials industry was in the Western part of Germany, which meant that a completely new basis for GDR economy had to be created. Entire branches of industry were newly developed and built. All this required great sacrifices from the working people of the GDR. Nevertheless, the people's living standard improved from year to year and has by now reached a level never before known in Germany.

The economic growth is also reflected by the constantly growing national income which in 1963 equalled that of 1951 and 1952 together. The gross industrial production of the GDR increased by 245 per cent between 1950 and 1963. Despite these suc-

cesses there was until 1961 a serious disturbing factor in the economic and political life of the GDR, a factor which caused immeasurable economic losses and had become a growing danger for peace in Germany and the whole world.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BERLIN WALL

Everybody remembers the erection of the Wall in Berlin in August 1961, about which the imperialists and their press organs have been spreading an untold number of tales of atrocity, lies and half truths.

What is the truth? First, the purpose of the wall was nothing but to mark and control the state border between the GDR and West Berlin. This is a right granted to every sovereign state in international law, and the GDR did nothing but make use of this right. The necessity of placing the frontier under full control arose quite simply from the circumstance that the good will of the government of the GDR, manifested in the uncontrolled traffic with West Berlin, was abused.

Some examples: Imperialist agents, saboteurs and diversionists came illegally into the GDR to blow up or set fire to public buildings, enterprises and transport facilities; they did not even refrain from inflicting damage on dwellings. The practices of such agents are also well known to us here in Africa.

But what is more, through the activities of agents, the entire economy of the GDR became the victim of espionage. An untold number of specialists like doctors, engineers, professors and skilled workers were being systematically enticed to leave the GDR. Top quality industrial products which are in high demand on the world market were smuggled illegally through the open

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Kwame Nkrumah with GDR Deputy Premier, Paul Scholz at the opening of Tema Printing Press.

of a democratic plebiscite and their property became the possession of the whole people. The democratic agrarian reform made a centuries-old dream of German agricultural workers and peasants with

of the total area under cultivation in the GDR, were conveyed to the state land fund of which 5.4 million acres were given to 599,000 peasants with little land, agricultural labourers and resettler fami-

## REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS

The foundations for the reconstruction of the country

## 2nd Conference of Non-Aligned States

Continued from page 2

states at Bandung. In other words, the decisions taken here should support and reinforce the Bandung spirit.

Mr. Chairman, two further causes of tension in the world to which we must turn our attention are the need for the re-organisation of the United Nations, and the representation of China in the United Nations. In the view of Ghana, the most serious defect of the United Nations today is that its organisational structure has not kept pace with the changing realities of our time.

I must here refer to the continued absence of the People's Republic of China from her rightful seat at the United Nations. The absence of China from the United Nations has never made sense and will never make sense.

Peace in South East Asia is vital to the peace of the world. The crisis that has arisen between Indonesia and Malaysia should therefore be resolved peacefully. In order to help Indonesia and Malaysia to settle their differences as brothers, this conference should lend its good offices through the medium of a mission or a conciliation Committee.

## CYPRUS PROBLEM

In Cyprus too, we face a problem which if not properly handled, could lead to a major struggle. The pre-requisite to a solution of the Cyprus problem is that the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus should be respected and safeguarded so that the people of Cyprus may be in a position to find a democratic solution to their problems.

Mr. Chairman, I will now state briefly the main points I wish to stress, and to indicate what I think this conference should attempt to achieve.

First, we should take up the

challenge against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations. Colonialism must end now. Let us give concrete expression to our hatred and abhorrence of these systems and expose their anachronism in the 20th century. Let us declare to the world that we are opposed to the political or economic domination of one people by another. To this end, we should, in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on decolonisation, call upon the remaining colonial powers to grant independence without further delay to all territories now under their domination.

## NEW BALANCE OF FORCES

Secondly, we should ensure that the United Nations and its specialised Agencies are rapidly overhauled to reflect the new balance of forces in the world today.

Thirdly, we must consolidate and reinforce the solidarity achieved by the "77 Group" of developing countries at the Geneva Conference on World Trade and Development. In particular, we should call on the developed nations to adopt a new approach to world trade so as to make it possible for the developing countries to earn the means for financing their major development projects. What we want is trade, not aid.

Fourthly, as a major contribution to world peace, we must assist in ensuring that China is admitted to the United Nations this year. We should all pledge ourselves to the fulfilment of this objective.

Fifthly, the threat of nuclear warfare should be removed by our calling upon the nuclear powers to sign a treaty for total and complete disarmament. We should also ensure that the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the world is achieved as rapidly as possi-

ble. To this end, we must identify ourselves with efforts being made to secure total and complete disarmament.

Mr. Chairman, we live in a changing world. Out of the conflict of vested interests, a new international community must emerge. The process may be slow, but it is inevitable and unmistakable. This new international community can only serve mankind if it is firmly established on freedom, equality, and inter-dependence among the nations.

It is in this context that the emergence of a revolutionary upsurge in Africa must be viewed. The African revolution represents a revolt against the inhuman exploitation and spoliation of Africa and her people by foreign interests. The foundations of the new Africa are based, therefore, on complete emancipation from foreign domination: the political unification of all Africa and a determination to breathe the air of freedom which is theirs to breathe.

## A CALL FOR WORLD PEACE

Mr. Chairman, throughout the world there is a deep-seated but often inarticulate desire for peace, prosperity and progress. Let us help to make the progressive world opinion assert its full weight. In the modern world, every country is now a neighbouring country, owing to the great advances in scientific and technological achievement. It is thus the duty of all nations, big or small, weak or powerful, rich or poor, developed or developing, to assist in ensuring to man peace with himself and with the world. All our efforts here should contribute to the general cause of maintaining world peace against wars of aggression, against imperialism, against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The world is watching us, as we grapple with those problems. Let us accept the challenge honestly, incorruptibly, boldly and fearlessly.

## Congo

Continued from page 6

Secretary-General for the Congo. We shall forestall the end of our narrative and tell you about this incident.

After the death of Patrice Lumumba the Americans tried to make the UN administration in Leopoldville recognise the government of Joseph Ileo formed by Kasavubu on the "recommendation" of the "Congo Club". Dayal regarded the Ileo government as unlawful and did not succumb to the pressure of the Americans from the UN administration. He proposed to convene the parliament which would then elect a new government. That, in his opinion, was the only lawful way.

## SAVAGE CAMPAIGN

However, this was what the Americans feared most of all, for the parliament might turn out to be "Lumumbist". Encouraged by Dayal's obstinacy, Washington unleashed a savage campaign against him in the press. It was alleged that Dayal pursued an "Indian policy" in the Congo instead of the "UN policy", that he could not find a common language with the Africans, that "Kasavubu had lost faith in him", etc. Dayal realised that he did not suit the Americans and resigned. A similar fate befell O'Brien, who to use his own words, wanted to be a "neutral person". This did not suit the American monopolists which needed an official who could carry out their order.

Experience showed that this did not necessarily mean an

American. Representatives of other countries, even those officially neutral, could not fit this role perfectly.

Sture Linnert was very typical in this respect. Dag Hammarskjold appointed this Swede to the post of special aide. And this choice was by no means accidental. According to the French paper, "Le Monde", Sture Linnert was closely linked with the American copper monopolists whose influence on the UN policy in the Congo was an open secret.

It is obvious that Dag Hammarskjold was also linked with American monopolists. His brother Bo Hammarskjold is a prominent Swedish businessman. On May 25, 1961, he was appointed chairman of the board of the Swedish "Grenesberg" joint-stock company which, together with American and West-German firms, controls the mining of iron ore in Liberia. In an interview on his way to Liberia Bo Hammarskjold said: "We have come to Liberia to stay".

It is difficult to presume that Dag Hammarskjold was immune and indifferent to the business interests of his family and through it to those of the American monopolists. The more so, that the leaders of the State Department, whose wishes he could not ignore also had similar ties.

Dean Rusk, who became U.S. Secretary of State under the Kennedy Administration, received his political schooling in the putrid atmosphere surrounding the Rockefeller group. And, as Joe Alex Mor-

ris wrote, there were grounds to regard him as "Rockefeller's man". The U.S. representative in the United Nations Adlai Stevenson, with whom Dag Hammarskjold was on friendly terms, is also connected with the American copper corporations.

## THE 'CONGO CLUB'

The "Congo Club" saw to it that United Nations was never fully informed about the developments in the Congo. All the correspondence received by the UN Secretariat from the Congo which could provide a truthful picture of the developments in that country were handled by members of the "Congo Club". They supplied the U.S. state department with detailed information on the subject leaving the representatives of the other UN member-states in the dark. As a result, neither the General Assembly nor the Security Council disposed of information necessary for the adoption of correct and timely decisions.

Special care was taken to ensure that this information did not fall into the hands of Russians. Although Mr. Arkadiev as Under-Secretary had much more weighty grounds for acquainting himself with the reports coming in from the Congo than Cordier or Wieschoff.

In actual fact, Hammarskjold and his advisers left the United Nations Organisation in the dark as to what was really happening in the Congo, especially about the American intrigues against the government of Patrice Lumumba.



# SOCIALISM IN THE G.D.R.

Continued from page 7

frontier into West Berlin. No economy can sustain such a blood-letting for a prolonged period. Economists have estimated the economic damage done to the GDR through the open frontier at a minimum of approximately 2.57 thousand million-pounds, plus the future losses arising from lack of skilled labour.

## EDUCATION FOR ALL

It was one of the first moves of the workers' and farmers' power to open the doors of the universities and colleges to the children of workers and peasants, to unfold all the creative talents of the people. Today more than 55 per cent of all students in the GDR are workers and farmers.

## THE PLEDGE OF THE NEW GERMANY

IN view of the fact that the First and Second World Wars were born out of the striving of German imperialism to set up its colonial-regime in vast areas of Asia and Africa in order to plunder the peoples of these areas, too, and in view of the fact that the German Democratic Republic has also learned the lessons of history in this question I solemnly declare from the tribune of this high house:

Imperialism and its striving for colonial exploitation and the plundering of other peoples has been uprooted in the German Democratic Republic. On the basis of its socialist social system the German Democratic Republic stands unshakably on the side of the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which came into existence after the Second World War as well as of those peoples still living under the colonial yoke in the struggle against all imperialist attempts to restore colonialism with new methods, to preserve it and force the peoples into new forms of dependence. The support for the Egyptian people against the Suez aggression, the assistance in the struggle for the independence of Algeria, the consistent measures of the G.D.R. against the Verwoerd regime in South Africa and the solidarity of the G.D.R. with the people of Vietnam and the other peoples of South-East Asia as well as with the people of Cyprus against the US intervention are but a few examples of this clear anti-imperialist foreign policy of the G.D.R.

The German Democratic Republic is ready to do everything possible to co-operate sincerely with the young sovereign states of Asia and Africa and support them in economic, cultural and other fields without any political conditions. The Government of the G.D.R. is ready to develop its relations with these states to a maximum degree in all fields. Although the G.D.R. works for the maintenance of peace and the implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence in international life together with these states, the possibilities for the consolidation of interstate relations are not yet exhausted by far.

In view of the 25th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War I confirm the determination of the Council of State and the Government of the German Democratic Republic to reject any policy of colonialism and neo-colonialism as is conducted by the Government of the West German Federal Republic, too, and to build up and further develop relations with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, without being influenced by the interference of third states as is set forth in the Hallstein Doctrine.

WALTER ULBRICHT,  
Chairman of the Council of State, G.D.R.

## EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

and work and published by a Party activist or member. It should be impossible for any work on the ideology and work of the party by a party member to go into print without securing the fiat of the office of the General Secretary.

Secondly, it is necessary openly to correct erroneous views and ideas which had been publicly disseminated. Private correction for wrong views openly disseminated achieves very little. The people remain ignorant of this correction and therefore tend to accept the erroneous views as Party views.

The Party press has a particularly important role to play in this exercise. Because the people regard what they read in the Party press as the standpoint of the Party, it is imperative that all matters of ideology and of major policy appearing in the Party press should be in full accord with the Party line. To be sure on this score, the comrades who direct the Party press must possess a deep knowledge of our Party ideology and programme. In addition, they must maintain a very close liaison with the office of the General Secretary.

We have worked hard in the past to build the unity of the Convention People's Party. We have to do everything demanded of us to maintain and fortify this unity. The monolithic unity of our Party is the foundation of all victories we shall win in the future.

lion; for the health service from 5.4 to 15 thousand million marks; and for science and culture from 900 million marks to 2.3 thousand million marks.

## DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

Another facet of social life in the GDR is the broad participation of all sections of the population in directing and administering the state. Every working person has the opportunity to lend his efforts for that purpose. It is not money, wealth and protection that determine a person's influence and position, but solely his goodwill to join the constructive efforts of the forces of the National Front, for it is the National Front that nominates the candidates for the election of village, municipal and district diets as well as to the people's highest representative body, the People's Chamber (Parliament). Sixty per cent of the deputies of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic are workers and farmers, for they account for the majority of the population. The fact that 27 per cent of the deputies are women is evidence of the role and significance of women under socialism. But the young generation also has its representatives in the parliamentary bodies at all levels, in the People's Chamber they account for 13 per cent and in the local representative

bodies for 15 per cent of all members.

There are no forces whatsoever in the GDR which are interested in imperialist exploitation, colonialism, neo-colonialism or any kind of war adventures. These forces have been deprived of their political and economic power and no longer exist in the GDR. This has created a solid basis for a foreign policy aiming at peace, disarmament and understanding with other peoples.

## GDR AND AFRICA UNITED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PROGRESS

Walter Ulbricht Chairman of the Council of State, declared on 1st September 1964 in the GDR People's Chamber:

"The German Democratic Republic strives for peaceful and normal relations with all states of the anti-Hitler coalition and with all other peoples."

The GDR supports with every means at its disposal the efforts of the African peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the consolidation of their political and economic independence. The GDR lends its assistance to the African states in the building of their economy by supplying them machines, industrial equipment and entire industrial installations. Examples are the printing presses built by the

GDR or installed with GDR machines in Tema, Conakry and Dar-es-Salaam.

The efforts of the peoples of Africa for the unification of their continent made within the framework of the Organisation of African Unity meet with the complete support of the German Democratic Republic. This was also expressed in the greetings of GDR Council of State Chairman Walter Ulbricht to the Second African Summit Meeting held in Cairo in July 1964, when he said:

"The efforts of the African peoples for unity, independence and peace will always have the support of the population of the German Democratic Republic. The Government of the German Democratic Republic will support all measures and decisions taken at the conference serving the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence and peace."

## UNRESERVED FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID REGIME

The GDR unreservedly supports the world-wide anti-apartheid movement and the statements made at the London anti-apartheid conference that "the policy of governments like those of Great Britain, the USA, West Germany and France is one of the main obstacles to effective sanctions against the Verwoerd regime."

The unambiguous attitude of the GDR government was outlined by GDR Council of

State Chairman, Walter Ulbricht, when he said:

"The German Democratic Republic resolutely supports all measures of the African states and the UN to put an end to racial discrimination in South Africa. GDR commercial organs strictly adhere to the trade boycott against the Republic of South Africa."

The fact that some imperialist states seek to ignore the German Democratic Republic because of its anti-imperialist character does not alter the real and legitimate existence of the German Democratic Republic in international law, especially since the foreign policies of the majority of states has long since reduced such imperialist conceptions to an absurdity.

The GDR maintains extensive foreign trade relations with more than one hundred states and diplomatic, consular or economic relations with the majority of the countries of the world.

More than one hundred states of the globe which have signed the Moscow test ban treaty respected the existence of two sovereign German states, each of which signed the Moscow Treaty.

## THE GERMAN PEACE DOCTRINE

The German Democratic Republic is opposed to the imperialist doctrine of war and upholds its "German Peace Doctrine". This Ger-

man Peace Doctrine declares that international security and the peaceful reunification of the German nation can become a reality only through the recognition of the real situation on German soil and through the establishment of normal relations with and between the two German states. The recognition and implementation of the German Peace Doctrine means:

To enforce the most elementary principles of international law and humanity on German soil;  
To strengthen the forces of peace and friendship among the peoples in Germany and to block the road to the forces of war and neo-colonialism;  
To pave the way for a united and peace-loving Germany.

The German Peace Doctrine and the Friendship Treaty between the GDR and the USSR make it quite clear that the German problem cannot be settled without or against the German Democratic Republic, nor can it be settled by other states. A settlement of the German problem on the basis of these or similar proposals, but in any case in a peaceful way without atomic arms and without a world-wide nuclear war is the only way for the settlement of the German problem. The peoples of the world do not need a war. They are able to use their forces for a better purpose, i.e., for a better life and for the happiness of mankind.

## Peace With Progress

Continued from page 1

reconciliation of various political groups; an African peace force; election of a democratic national government—all under the aegis of an Ad Hoc Commission of the O.A.U.

3. **WHITE MILITARY RULE, COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM:** Immediate termination of foreign rule in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations. "We should take up the challenge against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations. Colonialism must end now". Neo-colonialism has reached a stage in Africa where "the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle."

4. **BORDER DISPUTES:** Peaceful negotiations without the use of force where dispute is between two sovereign states. Where territorial claims arise from imperialist and colonialist occupation then the victim country "should have the right to use all means and resources at its disposal to recover its territory and safeguard it."

5. **IDEOLOGY:** Recognition of the right to all non-aligned states "to choose the political and economic philosophy which we consider most suitable for our rapid development and advancement."

6. **DISARMAMENT:** The general recipe is "complete and total disarmament." This reduces to several specific actions—elimination of all military bases on foreign soil; declaration and respect of Africa as a nuclear free zone; non-participation in military blocs generally and more specially in NATO, Warsaw Pact, CENTO, SEATO; a disarmament treaty among nuclear powers. The development of the new nations of the world hinges to a great extent on total and complete world disarmament. "If the arms race is not ended our development will indeed be slow and our governments

will be overthrown, and the crisis which is disturbing the world will multiply until we find ourselves in a final holocaust."

7. **UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION:** This is a vital instrument for maintaining world peace. But the UN structure is faulty because it does not reckon with the realities of the world today. "We should ensure that the United Nations and its specialised agencies are rapidly overhauled to reflect the new balance of forces in the world today".

8. **CHINA:** The Peoples Republic of China must take her rightful seat at the United Nations. Her being kept out "has never made sense and will never make sense". Peoples China should take her seat at the U.N. this year. "We should all pledge ourselves to the fulfilment of this objective".

9. **INDONESIA-MALAYSIA CONFLICT:** This should be resolved peacefully with the non-aligned states lending their "good offices through the medium of a mission or a conciliation Committee".

10. **CYPRUS:** The basis for solving this problem created by imperialist design is to respect the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus "so that the people of Cyprus may be in a position to find a democratic solution to their problems."

11. **INTERNATIONAL TRADE:** We should seek favourable trade relations with the rest of the world by strengthening the solidarity between the "77 Group" which came into being at the Geneva Conference on Trade earlier this year. This alone, not doles and grants from the rich countries, will provide a firm basis for development programmes in the new nations. "What we want is trade, not aid".

The second Conference of Non-Aligned States may not achieve much immediately. This will be due to the obduracy of the big powers, specially the imperialist powers.

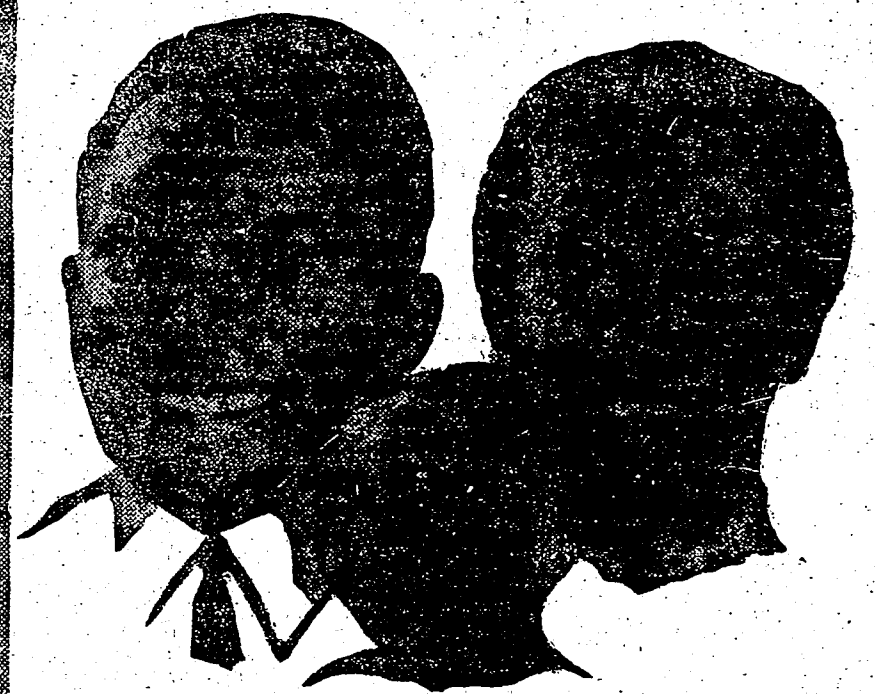
Or it could be due to ineffectiveness of some states within the Conference of Non-Aligned States. This ineffectiveness will derive from the de facto commitment of such states to one or other of the imperialist powers.

However, the Conference will have achieved one great thing. It would have restated

the principle of positive non-alignment with great clarity and compelling logic; and it would have given it a clear cut and rational programme.

The imperialist press and radio are likely to raise a hue and cry about some recommendations being too radical. They would accuse some of the leaders, more especially Kwame Nkrumah, of leaning towards the socialist bloc in their proposed solutions to certain world problems. There

are two explanations for this. In the first place, most of the new nations of the world are coming into being out of bitter and prolonged struggle against imperialism. Secondly, if the socialist countries find the views of the Conference of Non-Aligned States less irksome, the explanation lies in the fact that socialism, like the viewpoint of the Non-Aligned States, is nearer the needs of mankind (freedom, equality, progress, peace,) than capitalism.



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