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APR 2 1965

# THE SPARK



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

No. 114 2d.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1965

## COMMENT:

# The Truth Must be Told

**THIRTEEN** French-speaking African states on the 13th of this month concluded a Conference at Heads of State and Government level at Nouckchott, capital of the Republic of Mauritania. The thirteen countries—Camerouns, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malagassy, Mauretania, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta—rounded off their week long Conference with a communique that announced the formation of the Organisation Communé Africaine et Malgache (O.C.A.M.) the aim of which is to strengthen "the solidarity and co-operation between states of Africa and Malagassy within the framework of the O.A.U." President Ould Daddah of Mauritania is current head of the new organisation whose headquarters will be at Yaounde (Camerouns). The next meeting of the new grouping takes place in Antananarivo (Malagassy) in January 1966.

the peoples of Africa. To them the role and will of the African peoples count for little or nought. Soon they will learn the hard way. They will learn that the people make their history. And it won't be long.  
Our thesis is that the Nouckchott Conference is part of the grand design of U.S. imperialism to convert all Africa into a vast neo-colonialist empire, another Latin America. It is, however, useful to draw attention to the various steps taken in furtherance of this grand design.  
From around 1960 when many independent African states had emerged, U.S. imperialism began a vigorous drive to enter the traditional spheres of British and French interests in Africa. Everywhere its aim was to supplant; but where this failed or proved too costly, to be accommodated. Its penetration of traditional British spheres of influence was easy, in fact so easy that it is more accurate now in Africa to talk of



Daddah... the host

Anglo-U.S. imperialism. It was more difficult to penetrate the French spheres of influence, thanks to the strong and independent line of President de Gaulle towards American imperialism.  
The Belgian sphere, Congo Leopoldville, fell to U.S. imperialism partly because of the weakness of Belgian imperialism, partly because of the pro-American policy of Belgian leaders, prominent among whom is Paul Henri Spaak, and partly because of the crafty use that was made of the United Nations Organisation in pushing U.S. interests in the Congo under the guise of collective peace-keeping operations.  
But it has not been easy for U.S. imperialism to digest its Congo meal. The heroic

nationalists fighting under the banner of martyr Patrice Lumumba have held all imperialist collaborators at bay. And now Tshombe and Kasavubu have been reduced to the ignominy of propping up their neo-colonialist regime with white mercenaries drawn from countries with strong anti-African discrimination, even from apartheid South Africa.  
The frantic search for ways and means to salvage U.S. interests in the Congo has forced those African states under U.S. influence to drop the mask on their faces. Congo has become a political and diplomatic catalyst in contemporary African affairs.  
The O.A.U. took the line of reconciliation of the warring factions in the Congo and the political settlement of the Congo crisis within an African context.

This clearly did not square with U.S. interests. And pressure was quickly brought to bear on its bunch of client states.  
FIRST, Nigeria flouted the O.A.U. line and declared support for Tshombe's government. Now, a group of French-speaking African states has followed Nigeria's lead. Their communique after the Nouckchott Conference calls for "peace in the Congo and aid for the legal government of President Kassavubu and Moise Tshombe". In the process they have let it be known that they intend to challenge the O.A.U. stand on the Congo. President Senghor of Senegal, speaking of the Conference of 13, asserts that "we insist on respect being shown to the principles defined in its (O.A.U.) Charter".

The point to emphasise at this stage is that the 13 French-speaking African states have come out in open defiance of the O.A.U. They have formed a new grouping contrary to the Addis Ababa recommendation that all blocs of African states be dissolved. They have constituted themselves into a group to deal with the Congo problem in open disregard of the fact that the O.A.U. has set up an Ad Hoc Committee on the Congo. And as if to underline what their real intention is, some member states of the new grouping have let it be known that they intend to boycott the September 1965 Accra Summit of the O.A.U. Their pretext is that African freedom fighters are resident in Ghana. They forget that when at Cairo last July they unanimously agreed to hold

the third O.A.U. Summit inopulence for a few within a sea of poverty and misery. This affront on the human conscience could not continue. And the first step to putting things right is to extend political independence to embrace complete independence.



Boigny... who threatens?

The link between the Nouckchott Conference and U.S. diplomacy is only too obvious. The Conference supports the U.S. line on the Congo. It has adopted the banner of anti-Peking. It has joined the U.S. chorus of attacks on Ghana.

By this move, many of the leaders of the French-speaking African states have shown an inclination towards Washington and a weakening of their ties with Paris. They are so happy with their new benefactor that President Tsiranana of Malagassy claims "we are big enough NOW to look after ourselves and stand up to anybody". Have these men acquired new territories? Have they achieved a new break through in military technology? No. They have U.S. backing. And that is all that is needed to be great. If only this were true, how happy Tshombe would have been!

The question arises. Why this switch away from Paris and towards Washington?  
The crux of the matter is the steady upsurge of the African Revolution. As the persistent challenge of the New Africa reaches new intensity the entire African continent is in a surging ferment. The weak foundations of the reactionary, neo-colonialist regimes are tottering. The African masses are organising in defence of their birthright. Independence must bring a decent life to all. It cannot peter away in air-conditioned super luxurious executive mansions; in a life of parasitic

inopulence for a few within a sea of poverty and misery. This affront on the human conscience could not continue. And the first step to putting things right is to extend political independence to embrace complete independence.

In the face of this challenge by the New Africa, France, under President Charles de Gaulle, has sought to unfold a liberal policy towards Africa. Evidence abound that she seeks new relations with Africa. She called for an end of foreign intervention in the Congo. She has decided to withdraw her war garrisons and military bases from African soil. She has wound up the U.A.M. And she has begun to ponder over the benefits that could accrue from a strong and united Africa.

The consequence of de Gaulle's policy of 'a new formula' has been the political exposure of the reactionary regimes French power had propped up in Africa. The reactionary leaders of these states are frightened. And to defend themselves against the rising tide of popular demand they seek the support of the only imperialist power capable and available—U.S.A.

The U.S.A., on her part, finds the support of these regimes of some diplomatic value because it gives her elbow room to manoeuvre in pursuit of her resolve to swallow the mineral rich Congo Republic.

As a result, the most ferocious imperialism the world has known, eager to establish itself if need be at the expense of other European interests, is now locked in embrace with the most reactionary-political forces in Africa—political forces which fear, above everything else, the rising tide of popular movements for freedom, democracy and justice.

Africa will defeat this new challenge. The march of time cannot be arrested by the frantic antics of a handful of self-seekers who prefer collaboration with foreign masters to serving the interests of their people.

The stand of the New Africa is clear. We shall stand our ground. We shall meet blow for blow. We shall move forward. Our allies are many and, in the last analysis, unconquerable. They are the people. The latest plots of U.S. imperialism against African Unity and freedom will fail. And with its failure will come the inevitable collapse of neo-colonialism on this Continent.

## AFRICA SPEAKS...



"WHEN I cast my eyes across the corridors of time and see the greatness of the coming events in Africa, I have a deep sigh of relief, for I see clearly the irresistible forces of African nationalism rolling before them the remnants of colonialism and crushing definitively the forces of reaction.

"Sometimes I am amazed at the lack of understanding on the part of some African leaders who think in terms of a sectionalised Africa, permanently balkanised and exploited by those who want to keep Africa divided.

"In this mid-twentieth century Africa can no longer remain the footstool of any foreign power. When I am accused by stooges of interfering in the internal affairs of other African countries, my answer is that every true African nationalist has a duty to concern himself with the present-day problems facing Africa."

—Kwame Nkrumah

# THE U.S. WAR IN VIETNAM

FOR the past 20 years American Foreign Policy with bellicose anti-Communism as its strategy has employed the tactics of brinkmanship, precipitating acute crisis, flash points of potential nuclear war, with almost monotonous regularity.

The late John Foster Dulles was the architect of this strategy. It serves the interests of American monopoly capitalism and an alliance of big business pressures and the brass hats of the Pentagon as the spearhead of its campaigns in areas of influence inside and outside the U.S.A. It is a powerful force, serving narrow class interests of the most ruthless sections of American big business. So powerful is it that Eisenhower when President warned the American people that it was getting out of control.

Externally its main tactics are to advance U.S. imperialism by military force, by threats to plunge the world into nuclear war; internally it tries to maintain its grips through the technique of the witch hunt, anti-Communist hysteria and the support for terrorist, fascist organisations like the John Birch society.

The consequence policy is acute crisis surging up in various parts of the world, especially where the people are fighting for independence or for social change. It creates conditions in which modern man lives in perpetual fear of world nuclear war.

To go back only a decade we can list the Vietnam crisis of 1954, Suez 1956, Cuba 1962, as well as Hungary and Cyprus.

On each of these occasions the bomb rattling and the brinkmanship has failed to pay off and the jumping off ground for future operations has become just that little less resilient.

## U.S. FACES BIG PROBLEM

There are indications that even some U.S. politicians are becoming conscious of some real facts of political life. They are beginning to consider the proposition that the war against Communism might be more successful if they looked to problems at home and used some of their resources to fight poverty and other acute social problems that trouble the lives of their people. That the very laws of capitalism make it impossible for them to solve these problems fully should not concern us. What is significant is that there are growing signs that confidence in brinkmanship is beginning to wane, problems of prestige apart, the cost in dollars is colossal; the cold war of the last decade has caused American taxation to rise from \$47.5 thousand million in 1951 to \$8.55 thousand million in 1963. (Boeing's profits alone totalled \$12 billion from aircraft). The United States is now facing the problem which has beset Britain for so long, an adverse balance of payments position.

Economic problems at home concern the growth of demands for civil rights, for attacks on poverty. For an end to growing unemployment, and the lack of real success abroad, give rise to these symptoms of doubt. Such is the warlike anti-Communist hysteria however, which has been created in the States and which can give Goldwater nearly 26 1/2 million votes in the recent Presidential elections, that even modifications of the brinkmanship become difficult for U.S. politicians (they might recall what happened to Kennedy), and to counter

accusations that he is going soft on Communism. Johnson is to be seen at present extending the war in South Vietnam to the North and risking a confrontation between the United States on the one hand and the Soviet Union and China on the other. The Economist predicts that 1965 might be "the year in which things fall apart" for the Americans, and their hesitations alternating with frantic dangerous panic actions indicate the extent of their problem.

In Vietnam we see an important cause of their problem and at the time a symptom of the underline crisis for America.

### "COME TO SUNNY SOUTH VIETNAM"

South Vietnam is trying to boost her tourist trade. "Come to Vietnam" advertisements have been appearing in 'Malaysian' papers over the last week.

The general manager of Air Vietnam, Mr. Nguyen Trung, said in Kuala Lumpur: "Tourists should not be afraid to visit Saigon, because actually there is no fighting in the town. Fighting is only on the outskirts." —Reuter.

can policy. The United States has embarked on a costly and impossible venture of policing the world against Communism. They are defending rebellious populations in various parts of the globe from winning national independence.

The crusade against Communism is having precisely the effect of throwing millions into the socialist camp. In Vietnam therefore today, we see a tremendous opportunity of leading a blow against unwarranted intervention by the United States in South East Asia. As the campaign of the

people grows in strength and experience Johnson and the Pentagon retaliate by extending indiscriminate bombing against non-military targets and by provocative attacks on the North. Mark Clarke, former U.S. Commander in Korea goes on the warpath demanding that U.S. forces "should slaughter the hell out of them for a long time". Very brave talk but apart from providing an interest light on the psychology of American Generals, not all that impressive. The days of the Clarke of his world are numbered.

From London to Peking, Moscow to Montreal, Oslo to Paris and Vienna, massive demands are rising from the people for peace in Vietnam and the withdrawal of American troops. This and the growing unity of the Socialist world in face of this threat and epitomised by the visit of Soviet Premier Kossygin to Peking, North Korea and North Vietnam, shows the determination of the anti-imperialist world to put a stop to this crisis and end U.S. interference.

### TOUGH STRUGGLE

The struggle is tough, the danger is acute but we have every confidence in victory.

The economic and social advances of the people of North Vietnam have given new strength and perspectives to the people in the South, who exploited by corrupt puppet regimes of the United States have united to make this decisive challenge. The 23,000 "military advisers" sent to the United States will not rescue South Vietnam from American Imperialism. In 1960 no less than 23 South Vietnamese organisations came together to form Viet Cong, the liberation movement. It commands mass support and this is the open secret of its success.

The United States has already lost the war in the countryside and is now frantically at work trying to fortify Sai-

gon and, the other main towns. Their real aims of doing this are indicated by their transferring of installations to the port of St. Jacques from where they could evacuate them by sea. They are obviously recalling the fate of the French Army at Dien Bien Phu.

Mass support within the city of Saigon is causing the Americans to lose the war of nerves there. Only 500 yards from the American Embassy the liberation Army staged a song and dance concert. The club for the exclusive use of the U.S. officers, brashly called the Brink is no more having been blown up.

The liberation army of Viet Cong is growing in numbers and organisational effectiveness. Its victory has never been in doubt, now it is within their grasp. The United States is not however alone in this adventure. In the British Parliament this week, we had the spectacle of the Labour Foreign Minister making his doubt by supporting the U.S. action in bombing the North and rousing the cheers of the Tory opposition. Mr. Wilson's election speeches last year did indeed hint at Labour's determination to put out fires and to protect our interests East of Suez. We fail to see how this corresponds to Socialist claims rather it smacks of old fashioned Imperialism.

The recent point statement from the Wilson-Johnson talks declared that they recognised the particular importance of military effort which both their countries are making in support of legitimate governments in South East Asia, particularly Malaysia and South Vietnam.

It is not only that the British Labour Government is obviously having to toe the line in return for help with her balance of payments crisis, it is also determined to protect imperialism's interests wherever possible.

It is to their credit that 50 Labour M.P.'s in Britain have expressed their opposition, may they not be intimidated



by the Party chiefs and continue to lend their voice to the growing volume of protest which rings round the world. We honour and salute the

fighters of Viet Cong, we welcome the joint statement of the U.S.S.R. and China, we greet the youth, the men and women in all walks of life throughout the world who

struggle to stop this crisis escalating into world nuclear war. We declare our faith in the rapid victory of the people of Vietnam over Imperialism.

## Letter to the Editor:

# THE CITY PROBLEM

"The basic social problem of contemporary civilization is the city problem—a problem of achieving the freedom and anonymity of the city, a social order, a means of social control equivalent to the family, clan and tribal life of antiquity."

THE above quotation poses certain relevant questions to this discussion. Firstly, what is the social order and means of social control of the family, clan and tribal life as compared with those of the city? Secondly, what problems are raised by the freedom and anonymity of the Urban Community? Thirdly, what actually constitutes the Urban Social problems in the light of the rural social organization which might be taken as a model for the former?

It will therefore serve a useful purpose in this exposition to see the city and the country (which for simplicity replaces the tribal society) as two most general types of human habitation between which there is no sharp de-

marcation to tell where the one ends and the other begins. But a typology based not on geographical locations but on two ways of life should serve as a useful tool in this discussion. Then can we see clearly what the above quotation means by "the city problem"?

Sociologically therefore, the city is a special mode of existence, a way of life with certain characteristics associated with it—large numbers, density of population and heterogeneity of inhabitants. The country or tribal society has also distinct features. A contrast between the structures and social organization of the two shows how those of the city constitute a basic problem. The rural community remains a distinct mode of common life, deeply embedded in tradition and controlled by a closely knit bond of informal relationships. The most remarkable feature of tribal life is its isolation not of individuals but of the group. Geographically it is characterized by close residential proximity of those members of the community who at work or play—are bound to each other by frequent social contact. The unity of the family is emphasized and its customs are not

disturbed by the social contact. Rather the family and tribal customs and values guide social behaviour. The tribe serves the purpose of integrating the community life; everyone is domiciled, fed and clothed according to the standard of the group. In short the rural community is a homogeneous primary group in which everyone knows everyone else.

It can be seen why the family or clan is the basic unit from which social control radiates. The force of traditional mores and family bond are active; group responsibility prevails, whereas these are dissolved in the growth of the city. The patriarchal family imposes greater control over its members; the individual is identified with the group. Behaviour is highly conventional, customs fix the rights and duties of the individuals.

The dominance of the family explains why social control in the rural community is exercised with a maximum of command. There is little pressure from specialised agencies of social control. Unorganized diffused solutions and other forms of informal devices of social regulations prevent wide departure from the code.

On the other hand the structure of the city exhibits opposite conditions. The city is a large aggregate of people, the meeting pot of races, peoples, cultures and the most favourable breeding ground of new biological and cultural hybrids. Associations of many kinds supplement or take over the functions of the family. In fact the family itself is less integrated and familial links are loose or non-existent. There is predominance of secondary relationships aimed at achieving some ends or fulfilling definite functions. Amidst the close physical contact which members afford, social contacts are distant.

The density of Urban population produces a greater range of individual variation in personal traits, specialization in occupation, and greater division of labour. There is greater absence of kinship bonds, neighbourliness and traditional sentiment characteristic of the tribal society. There is greater individualism in the city than in the country; the Urban individual is lost in the city and seldom is the personality of the dwellers fully recognized. It is this anonymity that constitutes one of the city problems.

The demand on social control brought about by the

complexity of the city can no longer be met by pressure of customs. Instead custom is relaxed or even lost in the anonymity of the Urban environment and replaced by conformity of social behaviour achieved by social pressure originating from law and business ethics. In other words, the social control of the city reflects the multiplicity of social contacts, the diversity of social orders and the predominance of secondary relationships that mark the complex society. Activity must be regulated by a common code of law enforced by specialized impersonal agencies or associations; if survival is to be ensured. The police, the courts, teachers and social workers take over the regulating functions from the family or tribal head and the law is applied by judges to treat criminal and civil offences.

In the impersonalized Urban world, public opinion fails to deter some offences. Thus Urbanization breaks down the household of economic functions and throws the individual into associations and relations determined by specific interests. Hence the function of the family changes not without its consequences on the cohesion of the group.

Nicholas J. Spykman in an article entitled "A Social Philosophy of the city" in the book, "The Urban Community" merely sums up the Urban in the following words: "The metropolitan is an individualist, a relativist, a formal-

ist in all aspects of moral life. He substitutes 'good manners', for personal sympathy; correct behaviour for 'old fashioned morality'. He refuses to accept the moral code as fixed for eternity and reserves the right to design his own "norms of conduct"

Thus the polarity of these two ways of life cannot fail to constitute a problem if viewed from anyone of the two modes of life—urban and rural. For the rural dweller, the urban way of life cannot contain him. If he decides to migrate to the city he must need a reasonable period of adjustment to fit into the urban setting. From his rural environment he sees the city as the house of deviants and criminals who escape from the traditional control. The freedom of the city is mainly the freedom to choose from innumerable potential and real social contacts, associations and interest groups. This is a problem for the rural dweller who has been used to a patterned way of existence in which custom and tradition govern his choice and line of action. On the other hand social contacts are not forced on the city dweller but he organizes his social life.

By and large the strain which urban life puts on social contact cannot be overlooked. The Urbanite is threatened with the danger of losing himself in the turmoil of urban living. So urban social relations require quick

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# Police Terror in Harlem

"CLEAR those niggers out of here," shouted Lt. Pendagast to the cops in front of the 28th Precinct on 123rd St. between 7th and 8th Avenues on the night of July 18, 1964.

Those words started a reign of terror in Harlem by the police that has had no equal in the history of New York City. But to retell the story of the shootings, beatings, killings and maimings of innocent people without explaining what led up to it would be of little value to the thousands of people who are confused or who do not quite understand what it was all about.

The condition of the black people in Harlem has not basically changed since our community became a ghetto. We still have the highest rate of unemployment in New York. We have the highest infant mortality rate and the most tubercular cases. We eat the worst grade of food and pay the highest prices for it. Our schools are inferior and we get a minimum amount of services from the City (garbage collections, etc.). We have one hospital in the ghetto to service nearly one-half million people. We are forced to live in despicable slum tenements and pay high rents for them. And of course, the stacked electoral system, under which the election of "boss Wagner-controlled" politicians is guaranteed, deprives us of all political representation.

## HAND-PICKED LEADERS

With a growing awareness that there was no relief in sight, the people of Harlem began to throw off their hand-picked "leaders." They began to develop militant leaders from their own ranks and took independent actions on their own.

These actions took the form of rent strikes, school boycotts, spontaneous picketing, demonstrations and the formation of militant rank-and-file organizations.

All signs pointed to the fact that the summer of 1963 was going to be one of heightened militancy on the part of the black people. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration and their hand-picked leaders in Harlem and elsewhere, put their heads together and came up with "March on Washington" (August 28, 1963) THIS WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST HOAXES EVER PERPETRATED AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE!

The government worked hand-in-hand with the so-called Negro leaders every step of the way to guarantee that the "March" would come off as an endorsement of the Kennedy Administration and it effectively silenced the developing voices of militancy among the black people for that summer. BUT THESE VOICES WERE NOT TO BE SILENCED FOR LONG!

The lines were being clearly drawn, and the World's Fair threatened "stall-in" (April, 1964) was instrumental in making that line even sharper. The projected CORE organized "stall-in" alerted the ruling class to the potential power a small group of dedicated people possess. The ruling class, in collusion with many of the "leaders" of the civil rights movement, were able to isolate the more militant members of CORE by giving them long jail sentences and giving suspended sentences to those members of CORE of whom they approved.

During the spring of 1964, *The New York Times* whipped up the white people with scare headlines and stories of a gang of Negro youth who belonged to a group that *The Times* called the "blood brothers." According to *The Times*, this gang's purpose was to kill white people. Joined by the rest of the racist press, *The Times* ran screaming headlines about atrocities committed against white people by black people. All types of fantastic tales were concocted with no basis in fact. (Up to this day, *The New York Times* and the Police Department have not produced one member of the so-called "blood brothers.")

These scare headlines and stories served the purpose that the ruling class had intended. They were the basis for the occupation of Harlem by hundreds of additional policemen, who were assigned to New York City's Tactical Police Force. (The policemen who belong to the Tactical Police Force undergo special military training, which is much the same as the course of instruction given to the special U.S. forces in South Vietnam.) The task of the Special Tactical Force was to contain and subdue all demonstrations, with the aim of preventing the militancy of the black inhabitants of the ghetto from growing into constructive and effective channels of struggle.

The police occupation of Harlem resulted in an unprecedented reign of terror, beginning with the "fruit stand incident." On April 17, a group of teenagers, who were accused of overturning a fruit stand, were brutally attacked and beaten by the police at 129th Street and Lenox Avenue. With guns drawn and swinging clubs, the police (who arrived in six patrol cars), also charged a group of on-lookers, who had gathered while the police were savagely beating the teenagers. Frank Stafford, a bystander, lost his left eye when one of the policemen struck him with his night stick. In the 32nd Precinct station house Frank Stafford and Frederick Frasier, both bleeding, were thrown into a cell with Daniel Hamm (18), Wallace Baker (19) and Facundo Acion (47), who had also been beaten and arrested. There, still handcuffed, they were beaten again by cops, who were dressed in sweat shirts, and who spit on them and called them "nigger animals." All the while, Stafford received no medical attention, although his eye hung partially out of its socket—and despite his appeals for a doctor. Eighteen hours later, at Bellevue Hospital, Stafford was told by a doctor that his eye would have to be removed.

Stafford was originally charged with assaulting a school teacher and overturning a fruit stand on 129th Street. At this bedside hearing, neither the teacher nor the fruit stand owner could identify him.

## HARLEM SIX

The same teenagers who were arrested and beaten in the fruit stand incident were later re-arrested and framed for the murder of Margit Sugar, a second-hand clothes dealer in Harlem. Today, these six Harlem youngsters (ages 17 to 19) face the electric chair for a crime that they did not commit. They have been denied the right to choose their own legal counsel and they have been continuously beaten and tortured by the police who are attempting to get them to sign confessions which were written up in the District Attorney's office. It is clear to the people of Harlem that the frame-up of these six young people is an attempt by the ruling class to give credibility

to the so-called "blood brothers" conspiracy and thereby justify their brutal police occupation of Harlem.

The Harlem Defence Counsel was formed as a non-partisan organization to aid the victims of police brutality in Harlem. This organization joined together people of many different political persuasions, including representatives from the Harlem branch of the progressive Labour Movement. During the same period the mothers of the six youngsters, who were framed with the murder of Margit Sugar, formed the Mothers' Defense Committee, in an effort to free their children. This step became necessary, because none of the so-called "responsible" organizations would come to their aid. The case of these youngsters has become known as the case of the "Harlem Six."

## COLD-BLOODED MURDER

Even as these organizations were being formed, the police terror against the people of Harlem grew with such speed and intensity that it is still impossible to estimate the number of defenceless victims who fell under police clubs. The people of Harlem have not always reacted to isolated cases of police terror in a defensive way, but the period between April and mid-July was so filled with acts of cruelty committed by policemen and sanctioned by the political bosses that one supreme act of cruelty was enough to spark a rebellion against police terror. The event in Harlem, which set off a rebellion that echoed through every black ghetto in the U.S., and shocked the entire world, was the cold-blooded murder of a 15-year-old student, James Powell, by an off-duty patrolman, Lt. Thomas Gilligan, on July 16, 1964. Incensed by this murder, James Powell's fellow students demonstrated for two days in front of the school where he was murdered. They demanded the arrest and prosecution of his murderer—Lt. Gilligan.

On Saturday afternoon, July 18, the Harlem branch of the P.L.M., the H.D.C. and the Mother's Defence Committee, held a joint rally on the corner of 115th St. and Lenox Avenue. The crowded streets of Harlem were seething indignation against the ever-present police. Everywhere the people were discussing their conditions and the fact that the murderer of James Powell was still free to kill again.

At this rally some of the mothers spoke, some people who were victims of the police terror spoke as well as members of the H.D.C. and Bill Epton, Chairman of the Harlem P.L.M. The police spies who were at this rally, a Puerto Rican named John Rivera and a Negro who calls himself Alonzo Stanley, fabricated a story that Bill Epton said that the people should kill the cops and judges. Of course this is not what was said. These "funkeys" for the ruling class concocted this story so it could be used as the basis for the political bosses to indict Bill Epton on charges of "criminal anarchy."

At about the time this rally ended another rally began on 125th St. and 7th Avenue led by a couple of CORE chapters who were joined by some nationalists and some Muslims. The rally ended with a march to the 28th Precinct and a "sit-down" demanding the arrest of Gilligan.

From this moment, and for three days and nights, Harlem was subjected to naked terror.

When Lt. Pendagast gave his order, the vicious police swarmed upon the peaceful demonstrators and beat and clubbed them until 123rd St.

was covered with blood. At the same time two buses loaded with the Tactical Police Force moved into the area and came out shooting and clubbing down innocent men, women and children.

The attacks by the police against the people were so well timed and co-ordinated that many people in Harlem are of the opinion that these attacks were planned before hand and all they needed was the slightest pretext to carry out their barbarous acts.

These attacks went on for three days and three nights. Whenever a group of citizens gathered to protest or demonstrate, the helmeted police would charge into them, cracking heads and shooting into the groups.

If a number of people were standing together police cars would drive up to them and the police would jump out charging into them shooting and clubbing.

Harlem Hospital looked like a front line hospital during a war. People came in, crawled in, some were carried in with bullet wounds, split heads and cuts and bruises all over their bodies.

## THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

The Harlem ghetto was not only occupied, but it was completely surrounded by the cops. They were working twelve hours shifts and were augmented by the Tactical Police Force and by cops from every Precinct in New York City, and an armed helicopter hovered above.

*The people fought back gallantly and magnificently against these tremendous odds. They were unarmed and unorganized and had only the desire and their own ingenuity to stave off these fascist brutes. They resisted with their hands, their bodies and homemade weapons. These resistance fighters were mainly the youth who had overwhelming support of the community. Unarmed, unorganized, improvising and offering resistance through sheer "guts," they instilled fear in the hearts of the ruling class. This was a force to be reckoned with. Monday night was the last night of the open terror.*

The ruling class called upon all of its "Uncle Toms" and "lackeys" in the Negro community to head-off resistance. They held meetings, issued statements, made deals with the enemies of the black people and, in general, told the people not to resist and not to fight back. The mass of the black people totally rejected this.

**ONCE AND FOR ALL THESE "LACKEYS" WERE EXPOSED AND WERE THE ONES WHO WERE ISOLATED FROM THE MASSES.**

The H.D.C. was telling the people to resist, not to give in to fascist terror. The H.D.C. told the people to defend themselves, their women, their children and their homes. The H.D.C. also called for and planned a massive demonstration for Saturday, July 25th to present the demands of the people. Again the ruling class mustered all of its forces to prevent the people from expressing their will. They made every attempt possible to stop

the people from demonstrating. Their reasons for opposing the demonstration, according to them, was that Police Commissioner Murphy and his police were making preparation to slaughter the people in the streets and that the H.D.C. would be playing into the hands of the police and leading the people to sure death.

Police Commissioner Murphy illegally "banned" the proposed demonstration on Friday night, July 24th. (as Police Commissioner he has no authority to "ban" any demonstration or meeting in New York City). "Bull" Murphy set himself up as a virtual dictator over New York City. No one in the city administration, from Wagner on down, dared challenge him.

## THE PEOPLE'S DEMANDS

The H.D.C. and the Harlem P.L.M., led by Bill Epton, went into the streets on July 25th and attempted to carry out the demonstration. On 116th St. and Lenox Avenue, the assembly area, Bill Epton and his attorney, Conrad Lynn, were both arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct" and "unlawful assembly."

Given the fact that Wagner Murphy and their "lackeys" opposed the demonstration, one then may ask why didn't the H.D.C. and the Harlem P.L.M. back down? We did not back down because:

1. It was our constitutional right to protest peacefully and demonstrate for a redress of our grievances.
2. "Bull" Murphy had no legal right to "ban" our demonstration and we rejected the fact that he set himself up as dictator over Harlem.
3. We were going to demonstrate to present to the city the demands of the people.
4. The mass of the black people of Harlem supported this protest demonstration.

**WE KNOW THE PEOPLE SUPPORTED AND WANTED THE DEMONSTRATION BECAUSE THOUSANDS WERE LINED UP ON LENOX AVENUE ALONG THE PROPOSED ROUTE OF THE "MARCH" WAITING TO JOIN IN.**

**THIS IS WHAT THE RULING CLASS HAD TO PREVENT AT ANY COST. THEY HAD TO STOP AN ORGANIZED MASS DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THEM. IF NECESSARY THEY WOULD SHOOT DOWN THE PEOPLE IN THE STREETS TO PREVENT THE SENTIMENT AGAINST THEM FROM SOLIDIFYING.**

Understanding the frame of mind that the ruling class was in, we decided to call off the demonstration after the first arrests were made.

## THEIR OTHER TACTIC

When Epton was released that night on \$1,000 bail, he, and approximately 50 other people, were served with an injunction that created "martial law" in Harlem. The injunction read in part:

"Restraining and enjoining the defendants, their officers, directors, agents, members, representatives and all other persons whomsoever known or unknown, active on their behalf or in concert with them or any of them in any manner or by any means from assembly, gathering together, convening, parading, marching, demonstrating or acting in concert in the public areas in the borough of Manhattan, City of New York, bounded by 110th Street on the south, 155th Street on the north, FRANKLIN DELANOR ROOSEVELT DRIVE on

the east and the Hudson River on the west, and attempting or directing the taking of activities to induce or persuade such activities or agreeing or combining to perform any of the foregoing at such locations, which activities or agreements will, or are likely to disturb the public peace, incite to riot, destroy or injure life or property, induce civil rebellion and the overthrow of lawful government . . . This is "law and order" according to "liberal" Mayor Wagner.

The Harlem ghetto was no better than a concentration camp and the people were to be put in jail if they protested their condition.

The ruling class, represented by the Democratic Party, were temporarily successful in slowing down the militancy of the people of Harlem, but the revolt was already spreading. The struggle was taken up in Jersey City, Elizabeth and Patterson, N.J.; Rochester, N.Y.; Kansas City, Kansas; a Chicago suburb; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and other areas.

The ruling class, in total disarray and in panic, frantically searched for someone to blame for the spreading revolt. Instead of blaming the corrupt and fascist-minded police for the terrible, and often inhuman conditions that the black people are forced to live under, they sought to place the blame on one individual, Bill Epton.

Bill Epton, black man, a communist and the Chairman of the Harlem Progressive Labour Movement was outspoken against police terror and the system. He rejected all offers to buy him off, and he publicly acclaimed the people's right to self-defence. The ruling class figured he would be a likely candidate to use as a "scapegoat" to save their faces.

Bill Epton was arrested on the streets of New York City on August 5th and charged with "criminal anarchy." They charged he was planning to overthrow the government of New York State.

If convicted on this charge Epton could face 10 years in prison and \$10,000 fine. (The "criminal anarchy" law was enacted in 1902 and was used only once since then, in 1921). He is now out of prison on \$10,000 bail waiting for trial.

Since his arrest on "criminal anarchy" Bill Epton, his friends and family have been harassed constantly and followed by the District Attorney's police and the F.B.I. (This same F.B.I. which hasn't found one killer or bomber of black people in the South).

The State's case is being handled by an assistant District Attorney named Philips who has no regard for law. His police have made illegal midnight raids into the homes of people and brutalized their children. They tap telephones and "bug" homes and offices. He has tried to bribe witnesses and if this does not work he threatens them with loss of job. He has yelled at, threatened, and intimidated witnesses and their attorneys and attempted to make witnesses become "stooges" or to make false statements.

For almost three weeks after Epton was released from jail he was followed and watched 24 hours a day by Squad 9 plainclothesmen. Whenever he was in his apartment two of them sat outside his door and two sat in cars parked in front of his house, all with "walkie-talkies." Wherever he went two cops would follow him and two cops would walk behind him broadcasting over the walkie-talkies describing his route.

**THIS WAS HAPPENING, AND IS CONTINUING TO**

**HAPPEN, IN "LIBERAL" NEW YORK BY "LIBERAL" WAGNER'S "GESTAPO".**

We must understand that the government's drive to "get" Bill Epton is not only directed against him, but they want to use him as an example. What they say, in essence, is "if you get out of line the same thing will happen to you."

## TERROR CONTINUES

Hand in hand with the repression of the black people in Harlem and the "get" Bill Epton crusade came a reign of terror against the black people all over the United States.

In addition to the criminal anarchy charge against Bill Epton, six militant workers have been arrested and indicted for contempt of court by New York's version of the HUAC, otherwise known as the State "Grand Jury." The lily-white Grand Jury was convened by District Attorney Hogan, under direct instructions from Mayor Wagner, as a further means of punishing the people of Harlem for their spontaneous July Rebellion against police brutality, slum housing and the multitude of other indignities which characterize life in this black ghetto. In the spirit of the HUAC, New York's Grand Jury wishes to conjure up a fantastic "outside" conspiracy to explain the July Rebellion in Harlem—despite the recent F.B.I. report which denied that such a conspiracy existed.

The corrupt political bosses who rule this City are determined to see that finger of guilt is not placed upon the real culprits. Mayor Wagner, Police Chief Murphy and District Attorney Hogan owe their jobs and their political futures to those same behind-the-scene sponsors who have grown rich from the misery of Harlem residents. The City officials have a vital interest in protecting vile parasites from public scrutiny.

The so-called Grand Jury has not called the slumlords to account, it has not called Police Chief Murphy to account, it has not exposed the hopeless conditions of life in Harlem—instead, the racist Grand Jury has concentrated its fire upon a few militant workers whose only crime is that they sought to improve the lives of their black brothers and sisters in Harlem. As a reward for publicly denouncing the slumlords, police brutality and the rule of the corrupt political bosses in the City, these courageous workers now face a year in prison and heavy fines.

## WE SHALL OVERCOME

It is ironical, but completely in accord with the normal state of affairs here in America, that the murderer of James Powell is completely cleared of guilt by the same Grand Jury which indicted these six sincere Harlem leaders. The murderer of Medgar Evers is set free by a Mississippi court while hundreds of civil rights workers are imprisoned and brutalized. Bill Epton is charged with "criminal anarchy" for advocating organized self-defence against criminal acts and a determined struggle against all aspects of black captivity here in America, while at the same time civil rights workers in various parts of the South are imprisoned under "insurrection laws" which are carbon copies of New York State's "criminal anarchy law." The murderers of black people are completely free from the scrutiny of both the HUAC and the New York State Grand Jury while dedi-

# Modern State of National Liberation Movement (2)

IN present-day conditions the theory and practice of non-capitalist development have been enriched by new data. First, the possibility of non-capitalist development has become a reality for the overwhelming majority of newly independent countries. While previously this required specially favourable circumstances, such as geographic proximity to a socialist state or even adjacency with it, today neither its social-economic backwardness nor the size of a country, nor even remoteness from the socialist community are of decisive importance because of the existence of the world socialist systems. Secondly, ever new and varied transitional forms of social development have emerged in the newly-independent countries taking up the path of social progress.

This is due both to the vast diversity of conditions prevailing in the newly-free countries and to the fact that some of these countries are starting on their way to social liberation from extremely backward social relations, the great viability of which sometimes dictates the need for a series of transitional stages. The 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties set forth the idea of a state of national democracy as a transitional form most suitable for many countries. At the same time Communists repeatedly declared that other forms of transition are also possible. Thirdly, the political coalition directing the process of transition to the non-capitalist, socialist path of development may in a number of countries—under certain conditions—be headed by the forces of revolutionary democracy.

It is known that in some of the former colonies and semicolonies—China, Korea, Vietnam—the liberation from the imperialist yoke and transition to socialist development took place under the direct leadership of forces headed by Communist Parties. This road will undoubtedly be followed by other countries, too, in which the necessary objective and subjective conditions for it exist; but, as life shows, this is not the only road.

## DEMOCRATIC INTELLIGENSIA

In many of the former colonies and semicolonies socialist development becomes possible and necessary before class divisions assume a clear-cut character. Under these conditions, when the local bourgeoisie is weak and discredited itself by attempts to lead the country toward capitalism and come to terms with the imperialists while the working class has not yet become the leading force of social development, the intermediate sections of the population—peasantry, lower middle classes in the towns and democratic intelligensia—gain political independence and play an active role. Their revolutionary democrats.

The revolutionary democrats, who are powerfully influenced by the achievements of the world socialist system, have close ties with the masses and seek concrete forms and methods to steer a socialist course. Their general democratic programme, which half a century ago would have led them objectively, regardless of its authors' desires, to the establishment of capitalist relations (recall Lenin's appraisal of the platform advanced by the celebrated Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen), today, under the new conditions, leads beyond the framework of capitalism, and embraces a substantial and important part of the programme demands of the Communist Parties of the newly-free countries.

It goes without saying that this programme is realised in a bitter struggle with reaction, which not only opposes it by its own platform (for instance, by opposing the state sector by private enterprise), but fights the programme attempting to emasculate the social and economic reforms of their revolutionary, anti-capitalist content. Even the ousting of the foreign monopolies reaction seeks to utilise for strengthening the positions of local capital; the agrarian reform and the co-operative movement—for consolidating and extending positions of the rich peasants; the development of

the state sector—for creating a bureaucracy divorced from the people.

Marxists-Leninists highly regard the role of the revolutionary democracy in the national liberation movement, in the struggle of the former colonies and semicolonies for social progress. Life itself, the logic of revolutionary struggle, guides the revolutionary democracy to an understanding of the role the working class plays in social life, to an appreciation of the paramount significance of scientific socialism. This is why Marxists-Leninists follow the policy of unity with the revolutionary democrats in the newly-emerging countries. The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties have established fraternal contacts with the revolutionary-democratic parties and are supporting them in every possible way. The doctrine of the leading role played by the revolutionary democracy in the social progress of some of the newly-independent countries is in full accord with the Lenin's concept of non-capitalist development. Lenin did not see the non-capitalist road as necessarily involving the setting-up of a government under the leadership of a working class party i.e., with the virtual dictatorship of the proletariat. This is only natural, for Lenin suggested the idea of a non-capitalist road precisely for the backward countries, which, because of their very low development or complete absence of capitalist relations (hence the formula about by-passing capitalism), have practically no working class; countries about which Lenin, having that period in mind asked if working class parties "could exist there at all" (Collected Works, 4th ed., vol. 31 pp 217, 219).

## LEADING FORCE

Any other approach to the question would have doomed the emerging countries which—and they are in the majority—have either no working class or only a very weak one and no working class parties, to the sterile prospect of passively waiting for the time when a working class will emerge and become the leading force and its dictatorship will become possible. But this would be tantamount to recognizing the inevitability of the victory of capitalism in these countries. Obviously, if the non-capitalist road is to be rejected, the formation of a working class is possible only through the development and consolidation of capitalist relations. No grounds exist for such distrust in the revolutionary possibilities of the millions-strong masses of the former

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colonies and semicolonies, in the impact world socialism is making on modern social development.

Of course, the non-capitalist road would have been closed to many of the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke were it not for the existence of the world socialist system. The situation has changed radically owing to the formation and development of the world socialist system. By establishing relations with it, drawing inspiration from its example and achievements, and relying on its assistance, these countries can move toward socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage.

## COUNTER REVOLUTION

An important role in creating favourable conditions for social progress in the newly-free countries, in their non-capitalist development, is played by the world socialist system. It curbs or completely paralyzes the attempts of imperialism to turn back the development of the countries that have taken up the road of social progress, to export the strength of the political and economic pressure imperialism exercises on these countries and helps them in various other ways. The socialist countries' economic aid enables them most painlessly to extricate themselves from the capitalist economic system or, at least, seriously weakens their dependence on it. The assistance given by the socialist countries to the newly-independent states in training national specialists, building up a system of public education and storing their national cultures deprives the imperialists of important levers for the exercise of spiritual influence on the social life of these states and the spreading of reactionary, anti-socialist ideas, there.

The revolutionary impact of the example of the socialist policies and ideology of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries exerts a tremendous and ever growing influence on social developments in the newly-free countries. Significant is the statement the President of the People's Democratic Algerian Republic, Ben Bella, made in an interview with the newspaper *Unita* to the effect that Algeria had received from the socialist countries not only economic but ideological aid as well, in the form of a doctrine and experience, which had decisively influenced the Algerian revolution in its choice of a socialist orientation.

So it is not only a question of the socialist system serving as a prop for the independent and progressive development of the newly-free nations, but also of the class functions of the aid world socialism is giving the developing countries.

The advanced force of the world revolutionary process—the socialist system—plays the role of an international dictatorship of the proletariat. Organised as the leading class, the working class of the social-

ist countries has developed from a national into an international force. It acts as a mighty proletarian vanguard with regard to the peasant and semi-proletarian masses of the former colonies and semicolonies. This has broadened the historical possibilities for the outbreak of people's revolutions in the newly-free countries and created real prospects of complete victory for them.

Now that the world socialist system exists and the working class movement in the developed capitalist countries has become a tremendous international force; the question of the hegemony of the proletariat, i.e., of its political influence over other groups, including the intermediate sections of the population, should be treated not only from a national but also international viewpoint. It is no longer correct to say that the working class, the forces of scientific socialism do not affect the social life of those countries which have no definitely shaped proletariat or where the proletariat is weak and has not created a party of its own. This is especially incorrect in view of the fraternal relations those countries maintain with the socialist States.

In 1921, in a letter to the Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Daghestan and the Mountain Republic, V.I. Lenin urged "more mildness," "caution," "readiness to make concessions" to the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and, particularly, the peasantry. Lenin stressed that these nations did not "have to make a break-through" and that "both Europe and the whole world are no longer what they were in 1917 and 1918" (Works, 4th ed., V. 32, p. 296). If we follow up Lenin's thought and remember that the world today is quite a different world from what it was 30-40 years ago, that the newly-independent countries taking up the path of non-capitalist development not only do not "have to make a break-through," but are able to lean on world socialism, on the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations—a force at least equal to that of the imperialist countries—the following conclusion suggests itself. The existence of the socialist community and of a developed working class movement in the imperialist countries constitutes, along with certain internal conditions, an historical factor enabling these countries to take up the path of social progress, a path leading to socialism, on the basis of extensive class alliances and the new alignment of the class forces; the possibility of ever more varied transitional forms of progressive development is created, in a number of countries under the leadership of the revolutionary democracy.

## TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

Marxist-Leninists regard their conclusion that the revolutionary democrats are able in some of the newly-independent countries to act as the key factor of social progress as being directly related to the transformation of socialism into a world system. They see in this conclusion a further development and enrichment of the general principle of the leading and guiding role of the working class in the transition to socialism.

That is why the ties between the national liberation movement, the young nations and the forces of world socialism are of special importance at the present stage. It is not merely a problem of the international relations of the emerging countries or, as the

Western politicians see it, of their "foreign policy orientation." It is a question of the extent to which the national liberation forces make use, in furthering their revolutionary struggle, of the existing international situation, are leaning on world socialism, benefiting by its experience, applying its scientific ideology. On the approach to this question depend the destinies and prospects of the modern national liberation revolutions.

## SOCIAL PROGRESS

If rapprochement and active co-operation with the socialist world are necessary international conditions for the successful advance of the newly-independent countries toward socialism under the leadership of revolutionary democracy, then close cohesion and active participation in social reforms by all forces fighting for socialism in these countries and gradual extension of social and political democracy constitute a vital internal prerequisites for such development.

In this context, a word should be said about the Communists in particular, Communists, are ardent patriots, self-sacrificing fighters in the cause of their countries' liberation from the yoke of imperialism and of social progress. They are the standard-bearers of an ideology which, as the revolutionary democrats themselves admit, has served as a weapon with which one-third of mankind has won a splendid victory in the struggle for social liberation throughout the world. On the basis of the communist doctrine the first socialist society has been built in the Soviet Union, which has moved from backwardness and poverty to the heights of economic, technical and cultural development to a marked improvement of the people's well-being. The 20-year period of development of the People's Democracies on the basis of scientific socialism has also demonstrated the mighty transforming force of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Armed with it, the Communists in the former colonies and semicolonies clearly see the course to be followed by the liberation movement. Fulfilling their patriotic duty, they place their ideology at the service of the nation and apply the scientific ideas of the newly-free countries. The Communists have tried, battle-hardened cadres with extensive experience of organising and propaganda work among the masses.

Unity and brotherly co-operation between the Communists and revolutionary democrats is in the interest of the peoples, in the interest of the national liberation struggle. The existence of ideological differences is no obstacle to joint participation of Communists and revolutionary democrats in the practical implementation of the programme of social progress, in a joint struggle for the socialist future of the newly-independent countries.

In modern conditions successful and speedy social progress is possible only through an alliance with the forces of world proletarian socialism. This road cannot be followed by those blinded by anti-

Sovietism, anti-communism.

It is no accident that anti-communism is the most important weapon used by the imperialists and internal reaction in the fight against the progressive development of the national liberation revolution. In countries led by revolutionary democrats more flexible and disguised methods of anti-communism are practised. Until quite recently anti-communism has been used by the imperialists in its most blatant, most militant forms. Any serious attempt to consolidate national independence, to take up the path of independent economic development, any deviation from the philosophy of the so-called free enterprise, was proclaimed communism and subjected to ruthless attacks. The failure of this policy, the unpopularity of capitalism and the universal striving for social reformation among the public at large of the newly-free countries, coupled with the adoption of progressive policies by many of the former colonies and semicolonies, have caused the imperialists to change their tactics. Official circles in capitalist countries more and more frequently declare their readiness to recognise, as Columbia University President G. Kirk has said, the "fact of modernity," the fact that the prospective development-economic, political and social of a large part of the world will not be according to "the Western pattern" (*Foreign Affairs*, October 1964, p. 12). They are forced to refrain from direct attacks on the policies of the states pursuing the line of social progress. Imperialist diplomacy and propaganda now persistently try to prove that Marxism-Leninism is not "a suitable ideology for the process of modernisation and development", to arouse a "wholesome suspicion" towards the socialist states (see P. Sigmund, *The Ideologies of the Developing Nations*, N.Y. 1963.)

More and more frequently, along with the traditional slanders at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the imperialists enrich their arsenals by such "theories" as that of "equal remoteness" of the newly-independent countries from both " blocs," of the division of the world into "rich" and "poor" nations, etc. In other words, every effort is made of fence off the emerging countries following

the line of social progress from the socialist states, from the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The imperialists hope thereby to check the natural process of further development of social reforms and consolidation of the positions of scientific socialism in those countries, and even to reverse the course of their development.

Many representatives of the revolutionary democrats have learned to see through the imperialist tactics, and appreciate the entire danger of anti-communism to the destinies of the national liberation revolutions.

## PREJUDICES

The struggle being waged at the latest stage of the national liberation revolutions is of enormous moment both to the destinies of the former colonies and semicolonies and to the world liberation movement as a whole. It is a difficult struggle, more difficult perhaps than the struggle at the preceding stage of the revolution. This is so not only because of the complexity and depth of the issues facing it, because of the fierce resistance offered by the imperialists to the further development of the revolution. It is due also to the social "material" of the revolution in these countries. In many of the former colonies and semicolonies the front lines of the revolutions striving for deep social changes, are filled, in view of the weakness of the local working class, by vast masses of peasants, semi-proletarians, small and tiny property owners, awakened by the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist protest from feudal and even pre-feudal sleep. They naturally bring with them into the revolution their prejudices and blunders, their waverings.

However, the revolutionary upsurge of the masses which passed through the fire of the anti-imperialist struggle at the first stage of the revolution, the new relationship of forces in the world today, the support the national liberation movement is receiving from the socialist community of nations and the world working-class movement, are a pledge that the national liberation revolutions will successfully solve their new problems and achieve victories no less significant than those already won by the peoples of the former colonies and semicolonies.

## Police Terror in Harlem

Continued from page 3.

cated and sincere leaders are cruelly punished for attempting to advance the interests of an oppressed people in a principled and uncompromising way.

For publicly exposing the injustices committed against the black people of Harlem, Bill Epton, Vivian Anderson, Bill McAdoo, David Douglas, Harold Young, Nat Barnett and Michael Crenovich face long terms in prison and heavy fines. In the finest traditions of those who consider the existence of the HUAC to be an abridgement of the fundamental constitutional liberties of all Americans those dedicated young Harlem leaders have refused to co-operate with the racist Grand Jury or to become a party to the great hoax that is being perpetrated against the black people of Harlem in particular and the American people as a whole.

Under the Kennedy-Johnson, and now the Johnson,

Administration, terror has been unleashed against the black people to a degree not seen since the end of Reconstruction, and there is no reason to believe that it will subside.

In the face of this then, the Epton case, the black people, aided in some cases by white revolutionaries, are on the march for liberation. No amount of terror, beatings, bombing, murders or frame-ups can stop this historic trend. We will be victorious because our struggle is linked with that of our African, Asian and Latin American brothers and sisters who are fighting the same enemy of all people—the pro-fascist and racist U.S. government.

The black people from Harlem to Los Angeles and across the South will continue to rise up against tyranny and achieve their liberation.

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# An Outline of A Method of Constructing A Perspectivic Plan

ALTHOUGH this paper is based on the Polish experience in perspectivic planning it does not represent the official point of view on the subject. A variety of approaches were used in the construction of the Polish twenty-year plan and this happens to be one of them.

As the paper deals to a considerable extent with the problem of choice of the appropriate rate of growth of the national income it is necessary to say a few words about its concept as commonly used in the socialist countries which differs from that applied in the capitalist ones in that it excludes the production of services. It is true that the so-called material services such as transport, laundry, catering and even trade are included. However, the national income does not include the administrative services of the Government, entertainment, education, medical services etc. There are also excluded from the national income services rendered by such fixed assets as residential houses, hotels etc.

I believe that for the purpose of long-run planning this approach has something to commend itself. It is easier to measure the real value of commodities than that of services. For instance, in statistics of capitalist countries the real increase in administrative activities is measured by means of an index of employment of the officials (weighed according to the salaries in the basic year). No account is, (and hardly could be) taken of changes in productivity of labour in this case.

For other reasons it is convenient not to include the residential rent in the national income. The capital coefficient is very high in this case and therefore the application of a general capital coefficient to the national income, in which residential rent is included is fairly meaningless because such a coefficient is very much influenced by the relative share of residential building in total investment.

Our approach does not mean, of course, that services should be neglected in the long-run planning. They are accounted for by appropriate planning of employment (for instance in the case of the administrative activities of the Government) or by planning the capacities of fixed assets of consumer type (e.g. dwelling space).

## INVESTMENT

In line with the concept of national income used here we distinguish in planning the productive and unproductive investment. By productive investment we mean that destined for the production of goods and material services while other investment, such as construction of dwelling houses, streets, parks etc., is classified as unproductive investment.

Before proceeding with the proper subject of the paper it is still necessary to mention that in the Polish perspectivic plan no accrual of foreign credits is assumed and such will be also our assumption in the subsequent discussion. This approach does not differ substantially from assuming an accrual of moderate foreign credits which are fixed beforehand in their amount. On the other hand, the difference between our approach and the assumption that any gap in foreign trade, however large, will be always covered by credits, is of crucial importance; for such an assumption would eliminate altogether the problem of balancing foreign trade which, as we shall see below, emerges as an essential factor in our approach to perspectivic planning.

## II

The average annual rate of growth of the national income may be considered the most important parameter of a long-run plan. Thus the selection of the correct variant

age of labour; in fact the difficulties in foreign trade may make virtually impossible exceeding a certain level of the rate of growth.

## III

The first step in the construction of a perspectivic plan is to draw a crude outline of the plan assuming the rate of growth which is high in the light of the past experience of the country in question (or failing such an experience in the light of experience of other countries in similar conditions). We thus choose deliberately a high variant which it may be necessary to scale down already at the stage of preliminary testing.

Next, we have to make some assumption about the capital coefficient which relates the increment of the national income and productive investment. The value of the capital coefficient will have to be chosen again on the basis of past experience or the experience of other countries taking as much as possible into consideration the specific features of the period and the country in question. It is in any case impossible to have here anything but a crude approximation because the capital coefficient depends to a great extent on the structure of the increment of output which may differ considerably from that in the past or in other countries.

## FIXED ASSETS

Now, having accepted some level of this coefficient for better or for worse we obtain the first approximation to the annual productive investment in the perspectivic plan, say, at its beginning, at its end, and in the middle of the plan. We handle in a similar way the problem of the coefficient relevant to the increase in inventories which enables us to determine this item. By deducting productive investment and the increase in inventories from the national income we determine finally the sum of consumption and unproductive investment at the beginning, at the end and in the middle of the perspectivic plan.

In order to split this item into two components we have to compare the resulting level of consumption of goods with the capacity of fixed assets yielding consumer services (e.g. with the per capita dwelling space in residential reasonable decision which, however, will be obviously to a great extent arbitrary.)

Already at this stage we may find out that the relative share of productive investment plus the increase in inventories in the national income is so high as to make the plan untenable because of the inroads into consumption and unshort-run. However, since the result depends to a great extent on the level of a capital coefficient which is altogether hypothetical in character—it may be safer even in such a case to pursue the variant somewhat further.

## IV

The next step is to establish—at least in general lines—the industrial structure of the national income. We have split the national income in the plan (i.e. at its beginning, at its end, and in the middle) into four major components: productive investment, increase in inventories, unproductive investment and con-

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Michael Kalecki

sumption. If we make still some reasonable assumptions about the future structure of consumption which may be based, for instance, on that of the more developed countries taking into consideration the local conditions of the country in question or on income elasticities of demand derived from family budgets we may proceed to a crude determination of the industrial structure. This is necessary for two reasons: for testing the balance of trade and for obtaining a second approximation to the capital coefficient which would reflect the structure of the increment in output.

Here, however, an important distinction has to be made between two types of industries. (including all branches of economic activity as agriculture, transport, etc.) We shall call these two categories supply-determined and demand-determined industries. By supply-determined industries we mean such activities which have a certain ceiling for the long-run rate of growth for technical and organisational reasons, so that even a considerable increase in capital outlay will not help to raise their output at a higher rate. The demand-determined industries have no such ceilings, at least for the range of the rates of growth of the national income which come into consideration. Thus the output of such industries can increase in the long-run in accordance with demand.

The technological and organisational factors on which, in turn, depend the ceilings of the rate of growth of the supply-determined industries are of a very-varied nature. Limited natural resources are the simplest and most obvious example.

The time necessary for adaptation of new technological processes is another factor. The most serious difficulties in the way of introduction of new techniques are probably to be encountered in agriculture, where there is always a certain element of spontaneity in the development of production. Even the amount of artificial fertilizers which can be profitably absorbed by agriculture is to a certain extent dependent on agrotechnical knowledge.

A further factor impeding development may arise from difficulties in recruiting manpower for certain industries (e.g. coal-mining) or in making adequate progress in training of skilled technicians. Of particular importance can be the deficiency of technical and managerial staff indispensable for construction of new plant which must be highly qualified and experienced. This is in fact the underlying factor of the adverse effect of the long period of construction on the rate of expansion of a particular industry.

## BUILDING SITES

With a given rate of investment in a particular industry, the number of establishments under construction is proportionate to the construction period. If this period is long, and the rate of investment high, the number of "building sites" is so large that the existing highly qualified and experienced technical and organisational personnel cannot master them. If, in spite of that the high rate of investment is maintained the construction period becomes longer still

which results in freezing of capital rather than in accelerating expansion of the industry in question.

After this digression let us turn back to the determination of the industrial structure of the national income. Knowing the value of productive and unproductive investment as well as of the increase in inventories and knowing more-over the volume and structure of consumption, it is possible to make a rough estimate of the home demand for the products of the various branches of the national economy. This involves, of course, some knowledge of the technical coefficients of production with allowance for the future technical progress and also some decision as to the choice of technological variants (more will be said about the latter at the end of the article). Now, if the branch in question is a supply-determined industry, it can be ascertained how much of its product is left for export or how much is necessary to import. Commodities which cannot be manufactured at home at all will also obviously be included in the import requirements. However, the determination of import requirements will have to allow for possible home produced substitutes for imported materials.

## IMPORT REQUIREMENT

In this way the first approximation to the total demand for imports will be established. And after deducting from their value that of exports provided out of the surpluses of the supply-determined industries it may be found how much is still to be covered by the exports of demand-determined industries. Now, the production of these industries must be fixed in such a way that: (a) they should cover the home demand for their products, (b) the total of their contributions to exports should cover the remaining part of import requirements mentioned above. The total output of all branches of the national economy determined in this way is equivalent to the national income for it covers the demand generated by the four major home components either directly or by providing for exports which are required in order to cover the remainder of that demand by imports.

At this stage of the argument it may be wondered whether a problem of equilibrium of the balance of trade really exists at all because, as it follows from above, the imports required are always automatically covered by exports if the total value of output is equivalent to the value of the home components of the national income. However, the equilibrium of the balance of trade arrived at in this way may be of no practical significance. It may be virtually scale corresponding to the export plans set out in a way described above. As a result of the pressure of the supply of the products in question their average prices may fall to the level of foreign exchange required for purchasing the necessary imports. Or, even if it is possible to achieve this purpose, its effect in terms of foreign exchange, will reflect in the national income (which, as said above, we imagine to be corrected for the deterioration in terms of trade.)

If the country bases a part of its plan of foreign trade on long-term agreements, it will be again possible to place in

these agreements only limited quantities of goods available for export. It should be noted, however, that long-term agreements have a considerable advantage over "normal" trade in making at least a part of the plan for foreign trade independent of the changes in international economic situation.

It is from the point of view of practical implementation that the plan for exports must be examined. If it proves unrealistic it is clear that the rate of growth has to be scaled down. It should be added that decreasing the rate of growth of the national income while maintaining unchanged the expansion of supply-determined industries, will contribute considerably to the restoration of the equilibrium in the balance of trade. For this will cause a relatively steep production in the demand for imports and possibly also a steep increase in surpluses of the supply determined industries available for export.

If the plan for foreign trade proves even to be fairly realistic the influence of the expansion of exports upon the capital outlays may, as indicated above, lead to such an increase in the volume of investment that the variant considered will have to be rejected because of the unfavourable effect upon consumption in the short-run.

## VI

Finally, before making an estimate of the necessary investment, the balance of supply and demand for labour has to be considered. For this purpose a forecast of supply of labour based on demographic considerations has to be made. Moreover, on the basis of the industrial structure of the national income, the demand for labour is to be approximately ascertained allowing for the increase in productivity resulting from technical progress. It should be noticed that in estimating the demand for labour in agriculture the specific problems involved are to be taken into consideration.

If the comparison between the demand for and the supply of labour leads to the conclusion that at the assumed rate of growth a labour shortage will be imminent, it is necessary to assume in the plan more mechanisation and modernisation which will, of course, lead again to higher investment outlays. It should be noted that this problem is less likely to arise in underdeveloped countries than that of the difficulties of balancing foreign trade.

## VII

Now, having estimated the industrial structure of the national output in which are inter alia reflected the difficulties in foreign trade and taking into account the impact of the shortage of labour if any upon the capital outlays—we can proceed with estimating again the total productive investment. This estimate may differ considerably from the first one made on the basis of a hypothetical capital coefficient. It may occur that even though it is within practical possibilities to achieve the equilibrium in the balance of trade at the assumed rate of growth, the relative share of productive investment in the national income at which we arrive may prove unacceptable. We have then to reduce somewhat the rate of growth and examine the new variant in the way described above.

The variant finally adopted should be characterised by the highest possible rate of growth at which there is a realistic

possibility of balancing foreign trade and at which the relative share of productive investment plus the increase in inventories in the national income is considered tolerable by the authorities from the point of view of the impact upon consumption and unproductive investment in the short-run.

## VIII

It has been mentioned above that in the course of ascertaining the demand for products of single industries generated by the home components of the national income the problems of choosing between various technological alternatives will be encountered. As an example the choice between electrification and dieselisation of railways depending on the load of traffic on a given line may be quoted. In order to settle such problems it is necessary to have a method for comparing the efficiency of two technological alternatives producing the same final effect. Such methods have been in fact developed in Poland as well as in other socialist countries.

A similar problem arises in connection with various possibilities of earning foreign exchange by means of exports or substituting home production for imports. For the purpose of comparing various alternatives of earning one dollar in foreign trade the same method may be applied as for comparing technological alternatives for achieving the same final productive effect.

It should be added, however, that the importance of such efficiency calculations for the determination of the structure of exports is reduced by two factors: (a) the existence of supply-determined industries, and (b) the imperfection of foreign markets. Indeed, it is impossible to concentrate on the most favourable exports because the development of production of the goods in question which may place these goods on a foreign market in large quantities is impossible without reducing their prices which would make invalid the results of the calculation of efficiency of investment based on given world prices. In this way the planner who has made the most of the profitable exports must also put up with the less efficient export alternatives.

It should be added that the calculation of efficiency should be applied as thoroughly as possible for the purpose mentioned above, and such is the case in Poland and other socialist countries. On the other hand, there is no point in applying them for anything else but the choice of technological alternatives or for the examination of the structure of foreign trade.

## OUTPUT

The structure of output in a planned economy cannot be determined apart from these two aspects by considerations of efficiency. Indeed, in an economy which would be closed and where only one method of achieving a given final productive effect were available, the calculations of efficiency would be out of place. For, as follows from the above argument, with a given rate of growth of the national income, a given relation between unproductive investment and consumption, and a given structure of consumption—the industrial structure of output would be fully determined by the technical coefficients of production.

Continued on page 6

## GHANA'S TREASON TRIAL :

## A Challenge to all Traducers

MY dear Secretary of State, Truth will prevail. Basic to the campaign of vilification of Ghana before and after the recent treason trials, was the allegation that there was no plot to assassinate President Nkrumah and no attempt at subversion and terrorism by the Ghana United Opposition Party.

Now the facts are admitted beyond dispute: The Ghana United Opposition Party pursues a policy of deceit and misrepresentation abroad and assassination, maiming and bomb-slitting at home.

Mr. Kojo Mensah a member of the Ghana United Opposition Party, who claims to have been President Nkrumah's Press Officer, has told the "Sunday Telegraph" (February 14, 1965) that the condemned men were innocent, but were "framed" by the real perpetrators of the plot of which he purports to have full knowledge.

Dr. K. A. Busia, leader of the Ghana United Opposition Party, supports the view that the condemned men were 'victims of frame up' ("Daily

Telegraph", February 15, 1965) by plotters whom, Mr. Mensah suggests still hold Ministerial posts in the Government of Ghana.

The Government of Ghana realises that the plea for clemency made by Mr. J. Grimond, the Leader of the Liberal Party, may arise from a feeling that the men now condemned may not be guilty. To remove all doubts, the Government of Ghana is prepared to submit to a properly constituted international body meeting in Accra, the evidence which convinces it that Dr. K. A. Busia, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah and Dr. Taylor—all leaders of the Ghana United Opposition Party—are associates and accomplices of the condemned men whom they claim are innocent in the hope of confusing world opinion.

The evidence which the Ghana Government will submit to the court will include, among many others, tape-recordings of meetings at which plots for sabotage and assassination of President Nkrumah were hatched out in the presence of an Europe-

an, and the court will have a full opportunity of identifying the voices on the recordings if the three leaders I have named will attend.

In pursuit of this effort to establish and publish all the facts and end the campaign of vilification being conducted against Ghana abroad, my Government is prepared to grant amnesty under United Nations supervision to Busia, Gbedemah and Taylor, so that they can go to Ghana and contest the charges against them in the presence of international observers and international jurists. The Government of Ghana is prepared to leave the decision of guilt or innocence of these three men in relation to plot to kill President Nkrumah entirely to a court constituted by international jurists.

Government's Special Court instantly. I pray members of all parties in the British Parliament to support this move to end an unhappy situation and destroy all suspicion that Great Britain is harbouring would-be saboteurs of Ghana. Obviously, the final decision as to whether this inquiry can proceed rests in the hands of the three men. Justice and human decency demand that they accept the challenge.

Best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Kwesi Armah)  
High Commissioner.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Bottomley, Esq., Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Downing Street, S.W.1.

## EDITORIAL

## Western Press and Ghana

SOME sections of the world press, especially in Nigeria and the United Kingdom have taken it upon themselves apparently to behave as High Court Judges, as political schoolmasters, out to teach Ghana a lesson or two, and as advisers to other sovereign African states on their attitude to Ghana.

For some time they have been seeking an opportunity to lift the anti-Ghana campaign to new levels of vilification and it is not to be expected that they would let slip an opportunity afforded by the death of J. B. Danquah and the verdict passed in the treason trial.

In their anxiety to blacken the Ghana Government and its leadership they are setting out to re-write history. No-one would guess from their eulogies of Danquah that he was decisively rejected by the people, in spite of the fact that the electoral system was supervised and operated by the British Colonial Authorities.

A political innocent reading their comments on the treason trial would think that the murdered, the maimed, the bereaved, on whom such suffering was inflicted by the assassination attempts, were mere figments of Kwame Nkrumah's imagination. It is rather important if not elementary to insist on the fact that assassination attempts were made, that President Nkrumah was the target, and hundreds of humble men and women suffered.

## REACTIONARY FORCES

Did the reactionary forces express any regret at these terrible incidents, did they activate themselves to succour the maimed and bereaved? If they are so sure that they know who did not plot to assassinate Kwame Nkrumah perhaps they will dig a little further into their extensive knowledge of our country's political life, and, in the interest of bringing murderers and assassins to justice, say who did commit these crimes.

Violence and terror are not new to the reactionary forces of Ghana, memories of their anti-C.P.P. campaign are not so short and we do not forget what they were capable of. We don't think that desperation in the face of utter defeat in Ghana will have made them gentler or more passive.

What is new in this campaign is the crudity of the insults, the new depths to which the lies sink and the obvious fact that it is a concerted, highly organised campaign, to whip up public opinion abroad against Ghana. There is an unholy alliance developing between certain sections of the British Press, and sec-

tions of the Nigerian Press which is trying to hurry their country yet further along the shameful road of acting as a neo-colonialist stooge in Africa.

Did the British capitalist Press, now so vocal about Ghana's internal affairs campaign to stop the trial of Chiefs Awolowo and Enohoro? Have they informed their readers about Jibowu, member of the Action Group, who died in detention; do the readers of the Daily Telegraph, and the Guardian know about the widespread arrests, beating and terrorism carried out during the Nigerian elections? Can it be that these violations of what the Guardian and Telegraph would call 'fundamental human rights' or 'the rule of law' can be hidden behind the policy of the Nigerian Government's active co-operation with reactionary world policies? So long as the Nigerian Government keeps Nigeria safe for capitalism its internal policy is ignored, and it is paraded as the model pupil of Parliamentary democracy. Did The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian campaign in their own country for the release of Irishmen detained without trial in Northern Ireland?

## COMMONWEALTH

When they can give a satisfactory answer or when they criticise themselves for these mistakes we may listen.

Perhaps the presence of a handful of Liberal M.P.'s has acted like a rush of blood to the head for the Guardian, it is developing a power complex and has decided to act as the arbiter of membership of the Commonwealth. Perhaps a little word on tactics might be useful here; the Guardian should know that (often) when threats are being hurled about the person threatened he often tends to dig in his heels and refuse to make any concessions; we advise the Guardian not to threaten Ghana or it may find that we shall take steps which will make for difficulties and those not to our disadvantage.

Ghana values its membership of the Commonwealth. Indeed we respect its potentialities as a form of association. We were in the forefront in making sure that it was cleansed of the presence of the South African Government and if it has not been for our determination then, no doubt South Africa would still be a member. We don't remember getting much encouragement from the British and Nigerian Press on that occasion but that did not deter us.

Ghana does desire to remain a member of the Commonwealth. But we also make it clear that we cannot look upon it as another form of imperialism, or accept a position where one country sees its role as that of exercising tutelage over others. That concept of Commonwealth must be banished for ever and the Commonwealth must become a free association of nations who for historical reasons may have certain links and who want the new association to redress, actively, the balance of the old deplorable imperialist relationship.

Membership of the Commonwealth should not confer right allowing interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign states constituting it. There are however those who are perhaps more experienced and cautious than the Guardian and The Daily Telegraph and their friends in the Nigerian Press; perhaps these cautious elements will campaign to restrain their less mature colleagues and suggest at the same time to Busia, Gbedemah and Taylor that they should either keep quiet or they may give out more information than would be good for them, or they should accept the offer of the Ghana Government that an international enquiry should be held into their activities. If their consciences are clear they have nothing to be afraid of.

The offer by the Ghana Government must not be taken as appeasement and it should be firmly kept in mind that we allow nobody to dictate to us what we should do within our own frontiers. Our enemies know that Ghana is forging ahead to rebuild and reconstruct our national life at a pace not equalled by most other countries. Our enemies are frustrated and impotent because they see us achieving the stages of our growth towards real economic independence, free from imperialism and advancing to socialism.

This we realise constitutes a challenge not only to imperialism as a system but also to those African Governments which, afraid to grasp the nettle of fundamental social change, flirt comfortably with imperialism abroad and with capitalist forces in their own country. They are being increasingly challenged by the mass movements of their own people who want to see some of the fruits of independence, here and now.

They will find that they face dangers through procrastination and flirtation with neo-colonialism, greater than those we in Ghana face. We challenge the rottenness of a system they are prepared to come to terms with.

It is clear that aspects of this campaign are connected also with the forthcoming Summit Meeting of the Organisation of African Unity. Every Summit Conference has constituted an advance on the previous one. Now at the next, planned to take place in Accra, there will emerge the

real challenge to all the claims made so glibly about the desire for African Unity. Now we are on the threshold of real constitutional changes being initiated to begin to make Union Government a reality. Some of those African leaders who thought that Unity would never come, and hoped that they could win cheap popularity by going along with the demand for unity, are beginning to realise that they have made a blunder. They have been unable to resist the pressure so far, even though we have been only in the preparatory stages. How can they resist further pressure for actual concrete steps being taken, when those steps are imminent? They have only one way out.

## THE CHALLENGE

Unable to come out openly against African Unity they are trying to discredit the country which has been one of the main pressure points for its achievement. Under a smoke cloud of lies, slander and calumny, all generated around issues which are the internal affairs of Ghana, they will try to withdraw from their com-

mitments to African Unity. They know that their masters want African Unity only if it can be a stooge organisation of imperialism, if it is a vital liberating force in this Continent they will do all in their power to stop it, and this campaign against Ghana is an attempt either to smash the achievements so far established or to try to have unity without Ghana thus depriving it of one of its most consistent anti-imperialist leaders.

If Ghana is under fire today, it is not for the first time. In this trial of principle and adherence to fundamental socialist principles and direction we shall see who, abroad, we can count on as our friends and who will emerge as our enemies. We shall take note. We shall see within our country the pulling together of our great people to resist slander and attacks. They will rededicate themselves to the noble task they have set themselves, undeterred by the petty, the vicious and the unscrupulous. Our conscience is clear, our hands are clean, we will rule and we will build a socialist Ghana.

orientation to situations and strange people whom the urban dweller meets everyday. But indifference removes the confusion in which the city dweller would have found himself amidst the multiple personalities and situations through which he has to order his life.

From the point of view of the city dweller these difficulties do not bother him. He has been so used to them that they do not constitute serious problems, they are part of his very existence and he knows how to manoeuvre them. Remove him from his environment and he will resemble a fish out of water. He argues that all said and done he has gained his real freedom and has become free from the fetters of tribal life as soon as he enters the city. He has emerged from serfdom to freedom and his caste barriers have disappeared. The strain to conform is now replaced by the strain to adjust to new technical and social devices. He is not hampered by the opinion of his neighbours.

Despite his unequalled freedom the city dweller admits

that amidst the artificial environment of the modern city unusual tension prevails. City life is usually as stimulating and interesting as it is wearing and fatiguing. Hence he expresses this by devising several ways of escaping from the undesirable aspects of the city life. Country houses are built and resort is made to country houses. Seaside excursions, exercises, sports, bathing etc., all show evidence that "flight to the suburbs has not abated yet".

If the above quotation were to come true, we cannot help being sceptical about the efficacy of these forms of tribal social order and social control if they were transferred to the city. It cannot yet be imagined how the social order and social control (social organization) of a homogeneous simple society can fit into the structure of a heterogeneous complex urban society. Whatever is our opinion about each way of life (urban or rural) and whatever view we hold about either depends on the focus from which we look at it.

FRANK ESSEL-COBBAH.

## PERSPECTIVIC PLAN

Continued from Page 5

## DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PERSPECTIVIC PLANNING IN SOCIALIST AND MIXED ECONOMIES

MY article on the construction of a perspectivistic plan which has been accepted for this session is based on Polish experience and therefore it applies fully only to a socialist economy. It is useful to consider briefly here some important additional problems which arise when similar planning methods are applied to the so-called mixed economies.

## CONDITIONS

As stated in my article even in a socialist economy the rate of growth of particular sectors is limited for technical and organisational reasons, so that an increase in capital outlay will not be helpful in raising the rate of expansion, there will be in addition powerful institutional factors impeding the growth of some sectors of the economy. Such conditions, such as feudal land ownership and domination of peasants by merchants and money lenders, keep down the rate of growth of agricultural production. The resulting low rate of expansion of the supply of food either limits the growth of the national income or causes inflationary increases in the prices of necessities.

Another problem facing mixed economies as contrasted with socialist economies is that of directing the investment in the private sector. In some cases investment may prove inadequate in particular branches of industry which are essential for a successful implementation of the plan; in other cases private investment which is taking place

may prove excessive or undesirable as, for instance, that in luxury residential construction.

Finally the problem of financing economic development in a mixed economy differs in some aspects from that in a socialist economy. In the latter the relevant problem is the contradiction between the fast rate of growth assuring high consumption standards in the longer run and the level of consumption in the near future. But once the Government has taken a compromise decision on the subject, the problem of financing investment is resolved simply by appropriate fixing of prices and wages. The position in a mixed economy is different in so far as Government investment is financed to a considerable extent by taxation. Now, direct or indirect taxation of the poor, as long as the very rich are in existence, is inequitable. But the very rich and the well-to-do and last but not least the foreign companies resist the imposition of taxes which affect them by their political influence upon the Government; and even if the respective laws are passed, they nevertheless manage frequently to evade them. The result is in part shifting of the burden of financing investment to the poor and in part the restriction of the possibilities of accumulation.

## BASIC POLICIES

The difficulties facing the mixed economies in their economic development which were enumerated here may not be insuperable. However, it is necessary to allow in perspectivistic planning for basic policies aiming at overcoming these institutional obstacles to rapid economic growth.