

**IN THIS ISSUE**

Apartheid means big profits for Big Business (See page 3)

# THE SPARK



Notes of the Week	2
The African Village	5
Soviet Economic Discussion	6

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

No. 137 2p.

FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1965

**EDITORIAL**

**STRIKING CONTRAST**

A GROUP of young Soviet science and mathematics teachers who have for the last two years been teaching in our secondary schools left for home this week.

The shortage of science teachers was one of the most serious shortcomings of the inadequate and one-sided educational system bequeathed to us by colonialism.

Without science teachers it is impossible even to begin the training of the engineers, the physicists, the chemists, the agriculturalists that are necessary if we are to achieve genuine economic independence.

The Soviet teachers came to help fill this gap.

Before they left for home they were received by Kwame Nkrumah, who on behalf of the nation thanked them for their efforts.

The Soviet young people won our respect by their knowledge and competence, by their enthusiasm and hard work.

They won our affection by the quiet modesty with which they came and did their job, and by their sympathetic understanding of our hopes and aspirations, and of our determination to build a Socialist Ghana.

It is impossible not to contrast the quiet way in which they came and did their job with the much-publicised activities of such organisations as the American "Peace Corps", whose leaders make no effort to conceal the fact that they see its members as propagandists of the "American way of life", "missionaries of freedom" and champions of capitalist free enterprise.

Indeed, there are indications that for many in Washington this propaganda role is primary. Otherwise, how are we to account for the fact that, according to U.S. Congressmen, the majority of "Peace Corps" teachers are not qualified to teach in the United States itself?

There was also the case of the twenty-six "Peace Corps" volunteers designated for agricultural work in a tropical country—but according to evidence given in the U.S. House of Representatives at the beginning of March last year, only six could in any way be described as specialists in agriculture—and not one was a specialist in tropical agriculture.

The organisers of the "Peace Corps" are concerned less about professional skill than about the ideological purity of the volunteers.

They see the "Peace Corps" not primarily as a means of assisting the developing countries, but as a means of winning support for the "American way of life" among young people, and of influencing those who will be the future leaders of their countries.

Those who guide the activities of the "Peace Corps" have no sympathy with our efforts to build a Socialist Ghana in which the exploitation of man by man will be ended; they would like to see the developing countries take the capitalist road, the road of continued subordination to neo-colonialism.

This has been recognised by a number of developing countries which have either restricted the activities of the "Peace Corps" or rejected its dubious services altogether.

Other neo-colonialist Powers have followed the U.S. example, by setting up their own "Peace Corps", trying to harness the idealism of youth and use it for their own ends.

There is talk of a "Combined Peace Corps" uniting groups of volunteers from these countries for a "joint offensive".

Such projects clearly demonstrate that the intentions of their inspirers have little in common with the aim of giving genuine disinterested assistance to the developing countries. They are merely ill-concealed attempts to extend the Cold War.

# What is going on in Salisbury?

## Is Wilson planning new 'Facing both ways' Deal?

by a Spark Correspondent

WHAT goes on in Salisbury, where Mr. Clewdyn Hughes, the British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations has for nearly two weeks been carrying on talks with racist Prime Minister Ian Smith? The subject of the talks has been a closely-guarded secret in both Salisbury and London, but there are clear indications that Mr. Hughes is preparing the way for a deal at the expense of Rhodesia's African majority.

The first ominous indication of what was afoot came when on his arriv-

in a series of moves the racist Prime Minister has made to cement relations with Portugal, Rhodesia's partner together with South Africa in an alliance to maintain white domination south of the Zambezi.

Other moves planned include a red carpet tour of Rhodesia by the Governor-General of Portugal's neighbouring colony of Mozambique, while Mr. Smith's deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Mr. Dupont, was in Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique, last month and, in the words of the London "Economist" (3. 7. 65) "came back smiling".

**CLEAR HINT.**

Commented the London journal: "The pieces are falling into place for a thorough-going alliance of the white south, with Rhodesia assigned the major task of holding the Zambezi frontier against the black north. The time will come when Mr. Smith will feel secure enough to go over from the defensive to the offensive in his pursuit of independence."

Mr. Smith had already given a clear hint of what "independence" under the rule of the white settler minority would mean for the African majority in a press interview significantly timed to coincide with Mr. Hughes' arrival. Mr. Smith said that while he did not believe in apartheid now, "this is not to say I will feel the same in twenty years' time". He admitted that under the present constitution it would take around thirty years for an African majority to elect an African Prime Minister.

And he made it clear that the white minority believe they have made "all the concessions they could morally be asked to make when the electorate (that is, the overwhelmingly white settler electorate—Ed.) accepted the 1961 Constitution."

It was this Constitution which the present Labour leader when in opposition described as "intended to implement constitutional proposals which fail to provide for the African people of Southern Rhodesia either adequate safeguards against discrimination or



Mr. Smith says he doesn't believe in apartheid now—but "this is not to say I will feel the same in twenty years' time."

adequate representation in the legislature."

The present British Chancellor of the Exchequer, the present British Home Secretary, the present British Minister for Overseas Development and the present British Attorney-General all predicted in every detail the tyranny and oppression which would result from its imposition.

**FORM OF WORDS**

Are they now conspiring with Smith to find a form of words which they hope will mollify the African Commonwealth leaders but on every essential give Smith what he wants with independence under this Constitution?

Mr. Wilson has on other issues shown that he likes to be everything to all men: for the men in Washington, he has given service support for

every new U.S. move to step up the war in Vietnam—but for growing number who demand an end to the way he has posed as the champion of peace.

Is he now trying to do the same thing on Rhodesia—satisfy Mr. Smith and the white supremacists both in Salisbury and London on the one hand while seeming to satisfy the African majority and the African leaders of the Commonwealth on the other?

But this time the "facing both ways" trick won't work. This time Mr. Wilson has to decide which side he is on.

Mr. Wilson, like his Tory predecessors, pleads that Rhodesia is a "self-governing colony" (whatever that may be) and that a Parliamentary convention prevents the British Government exercising

Continued on page 6



Mr. Nkomo, the detained African leader. "Distance involved is too great", said Mr. Hughes.

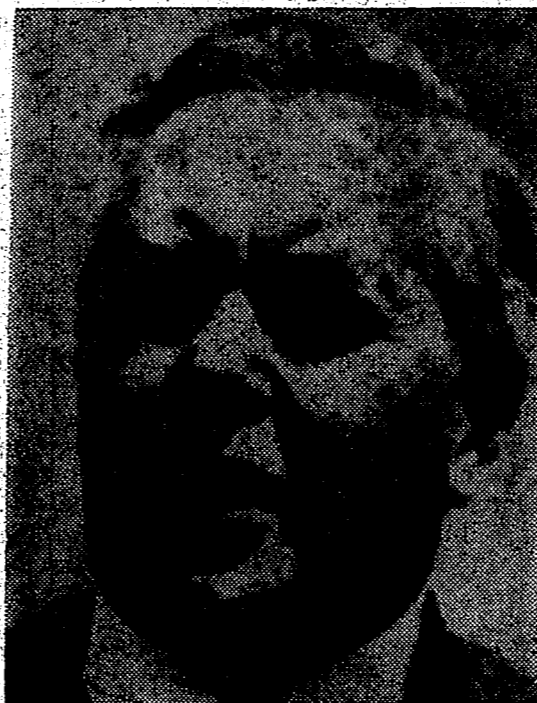
al in Salisbury Mr. Hughes said it was unlikely that he would see Mr. Nkomo, the detained African leader, because "The distance involved is too great"—a scarcely convincing plea in this age of air travel.

After only two days of talks, Mr. Ian Smith told a public meeting that progress had been made on Rhodesian independence.

**LISBON JOB**

"I have made it clear to the British Government that we will have our independence. The only uncertain thing is in what manner we will have it", he declared.

Mr. Smith is already going ahead with plans to set up his own Embassy in Lisbon—the latest



"Mr. Wilson has on other issues shown that he likes to be everything to all men... Is he now trying to do the same thing on Rhodesia?"





# Consultation—Designing—Delivery—Erection Setting into Operation—After-Sales Service

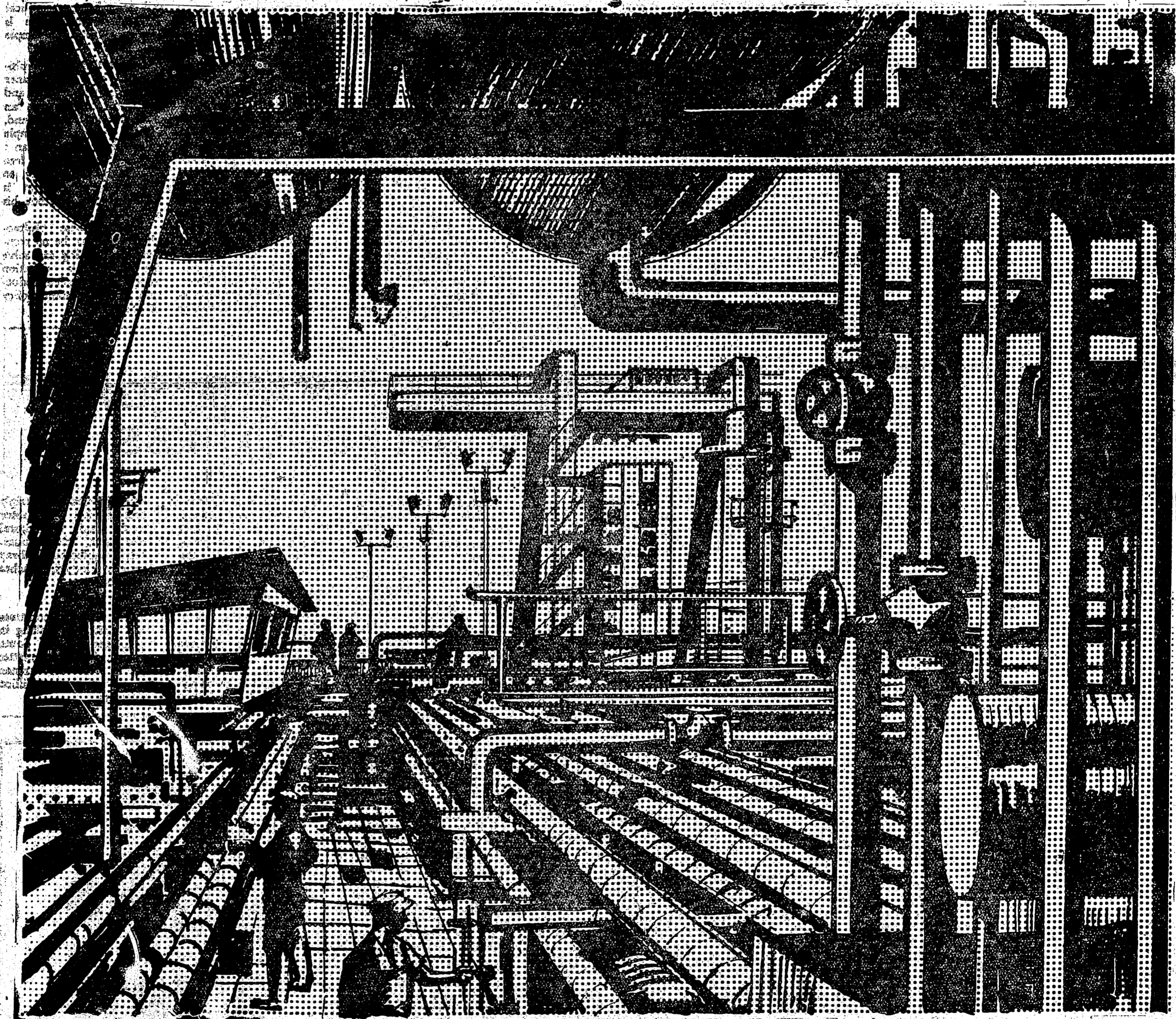
of chemical plants...  
and new...  
with...  
add to...  
these...  
and...  
can...  
"Because...  
the...  
long...

Plants for the manufacture of organic-chemical products

Plants for the inorganic chemistry

Plants for the food chemistry

Chemical apparatus and individual equipment



102 Berlin, Rosenstr. 15  
German Democratic Republic

chemieanlagen-export GmbH



# SOME PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN VILLAGE

**THE African Village is deceptive.** On the surface it appears to be just awaking from sleep. Men talk lazily in the shade. From beyond fences come the voices of women preparing dinner. Some faces have an expression of apathy, and the very rhythm of life appears slow and monotonous.

The unusual, it seems, could never happen here. Each new day is repetition of yesterday. If someone comes from a neighbouring village, it is a whole event.

The stability of political regimes often depends on the mood and wishes of the village. In Africa the peasant is an integral part of the revolutionary forces. This is well understood from Senegal to the Congo.

## MANY FORCES

Events in the Congo have shown how angry the peasant can get. Of course, it was not the peasantry alone that stirred up the sleepy kingdom of the Belgian colony and then smashed the emerging government machinery.

A great variety of contradictions have become intertwined in the Congo. Many forces are struggling on the political arena.

But if the village had not joined the struggle, the imperialists and local reactionaries would have long ago established their tyranny.

When I visited the neighbouring kingdom of Burundi in 1964, I saw samples of the weapons used by the Congolese guerillas. I was shown iron-pointed wooden javelins, a spear and a quiver with arrows, all similar to those I had seen earlier in a Leopoldville museum. How much the peasant must hate the present way of life if he is ready to face government troops with such weapons!

The peasant fights the Katanga police force and white mercenaries but there are far more serious forces he has challenged. To him colonialism means more than Belgian officials or merchants.

The Congo's villages also seek liberation from the fettering limitations of tribal life and from oppression by the clan aristocracy and the upper crust of the commune.

## HOW IS IT?

How is it that the African village, to all appearance sleepy and conservative, has become the cradle of revolt? Is it poverty?

But some of the most devastated and impoverished regions of Africa are well known for their conservatism.

Is it brutal exploitation? But the African village was never so ruthlessly plundered by colonialism as it was between the two world wars, yet there was little in those years to disturb the colonial peace.

Apparently, the desire to break out of poverty and the anger against colonial degradation, to be found everywhere, come to a head in specific conditions.

One condition to my mind is the aggravation of the social struggle within the peasantry itself that is, the movement of the lower sections of the village population against the exploiting upper crust.

The time has obviously come in the history of the African village when the scattered, weak and chaotic

"thrusts" of dissatisfaction have suddenly taken on definite direction and thereby acquired unusual strength.

Social relations in the African village have been a topic of debate for decades. It is often said they are feudal relations. Advocates of this view point out that in many parts of the continent the peasant is faced by a section of society that has power over the village and the land.

## ARISTOCRACY

The peasants must serve the tribal aristocracy in many ways; they cultivate the land and are obliged to make numerous gifts which, in effect, are assessments.

Opponents of this view underline the strength of the African peasant commune. In pre-colonial Africa, they say, there was no feudal system of landholding to speak of: the land belonged to the commune or tribe.

According to them, the duties of the peasant arise from communal traditions. They deny the feudal character of the tribal upper crust in Equatorial Africa, which very often is not hereditary and in composition is very unstable.

Even the top chiefs, the advocates of this view point out, are bound by the customs of the commune and tribe, and in many cases can be replaced by ordinary commune members.

The debate itself shows what a many-sided picture the African village presents. Scholars are often confused at the complexity and contradictory character of the dominant social relations.

What is more, there are many different ways of life in the African village. But everywhere in the past few decades the African commune has shown signs of a breakdown of the relations between people sanctified by tradition. The commune is crumbling.

To understand what is happening, we must discard certain widespread illusions about the African commune, namely that there is equality, no exploitation of man by man, and the commune is monolithic.

None of these assertions could be made about the pre-colonial villages, they are even less true today.

## THE WOMEN

One of the specific features of the village commune in Equatorial Africa is the division of labour between the generations, and between men and women.

Throughout the African West none but women make pottery, and only the men have a right to work up metal. In most of the African tribes there is a strict division of all agricultural duties between men and women.

I was told in Brazzaville that the women of local tribes still do all the field work except for clearing the ground of trees and under-bush.

Over the centuries there has developed a very detailed division of labour between the different age groups. Custom divides the adult population of the village into three main groups: the youth, the married, and elders. Their rights and duties differ greatly.

On the outskirts of the town of Segou in the Mali Republic I saw work crews

A Soviet student of African affairs, VLADIMIR IORDANSKY, discusses some of the developments which he believes are taking place and which are changing the pattern of life in the African village

of youth cultivating the collectively-owned field, looking after the areas and clearing the savannah. Before, the young peasant took no part in the affairs of the village council and had no land of his own.

At the top of the traditional society are the elders and chiefs. Everywhere custom released them from a direct part in agricultural work and gave them administrative duties.

The elders saw to the redistribution of communal land, maintained order and handled relations with neighbouring villages. Their privileges were extensive and their authority indisputable.

The division of labour within the commune was once a means of uniting the members in an integrated labour process. The advent of colonialism brought a radical change.

## EXPLOITATION

The division of labour between men and women became means of exploiting the women. And the division of labour between the generations consolidated the subordinate status of the youth in relation to the elders in farm production.

In the hands of the tribal upper crust the whole system became a means of subjugating and exploiting the lower strata of the village.

At the same time capitalist relations have begun to develop in the village, perhaps slowly when measured by the limits of one human life, but rapidly when viewed historically.

The landless peasant used to be the young peasant without a family. Now it is the peasant that has lost his land because of debts, or the settler who is too poor to buy land.

The only source of wealth in times past was the labour of ordinary commune members, who were subordinate to the elders. Now in the more developed areas the rich man tends to rely more on the labour of sharecroppers or hired labour.

## CHANGING

The very character of the village upper crust is changing. The prestige stemming from age is giving way to the power of money.

The mixture of clan and class contradictions produces a kind of acid that is according to the former foundations of peasant life. Morals, religion and customs.

It is difficult to grasp the depth of the spontaneous revolution, but it has affected everything. The striving of the peasants to get their families out of the clan and the growing emancipation of women are putting an end to traditional morals.

Politically the peasant sentiment is often expressed in the demand to do away with the institution of the chiefs or at least with their privileges.

The democratic Party of Guinea has dedicated itself to fighting the traditional

and so-called "cantonal" Chiefs. In Ghana the government has reduced the role of the chiefs to the minimum and put them under its control.

Reforms in Nigeria have also somewhat restricted the influence of the top chiefs and their entourage. But this is not all the peasants hope for.

In February 1963 I met a group of teachers in Elizabethville who had come to see whether there was any chance of getting back pay which the authorities had held up for several months.

The teachers worked in village schools, they loved their work, and it was only dire need that drove them to the city.

One of the most interesting of the group was a thin man with a sensitive, strained face. After questioning him about school

affairs, I asked about the sentiment of the peasantry.

The people were exhausted, he said. There were no manufactured goods to be had. They could not sell their produce. The villages struggled with each other over the land because there was not enough of it.

The poverty was worse than it had been for a long time. The peasants had hoped for something better, they had expected the land would be given to them and they would be helped to acquire implements, but it had become even worse than before.

Of course, the situation in the Congo has developed rather unusually. The government machinery has practically collapsed. The attempts made at the beginning to ease the plight of the peasantry somewhat have not been continued.

But the sentiments I heard from the teachers in Elizabethville may be heard in other countries of the continent as well.

In many African countries the causes of peasant dissatisfaction have yet to be removed. Ghana, Mali and some of the other more advanced nations are taking steps to reduce the dependence of the peasant on the communal hierarchy, and a great variety of attempts are being made to modernize production in the villages.

## DIFFERENT

The situation is different in countries in the grip of neo-colonialism. The Ivory Coast and Upper Volta have retained the power of the chiefs whose control over the distribution of communal land has not weakened in the late years.

In the Republic of Niger the government safeguards the aristocracy from any infringements on its privileges. The leaders of the Moslem sects of Senegal have retained all their influence and continue to exploit the peasantry.

The old machinery of enslavement that existed when life followed the com-

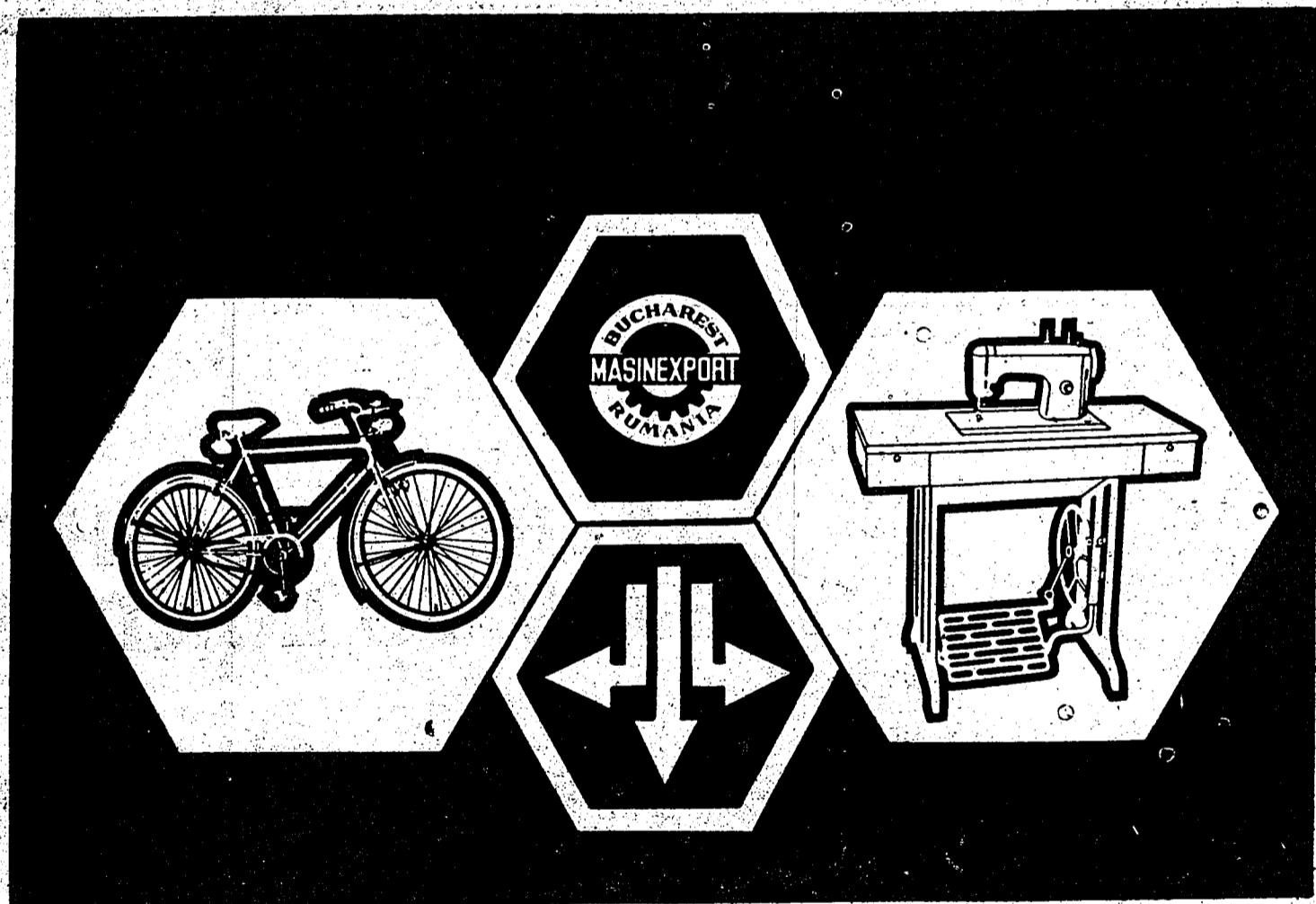
munal pattern has not been destroyed. It was once used by colonialism. Now it is used by foreign interests and neo-colonialists regimes. The solicitude of Africa's reactionaries for "social antiquities" has a political explanation.

When I visited the capital of the Ivory Coast, Abidjan, a prominent official of the Ministry for Internal Affairs told me:

"You may be right about growing anti-commune sentiment among the peasantry in the less developed areas and increasing class conflicts in the more developed, but that does not disturb us. The peasants can do no more than boycott hated elders. At the worst the village will refuse to pay taxes. As long as there is no opposition in the cities capable of uniting the dissatisfied in the villages, there is really no threat to the government".

But the present rulers of the neo-colonialist states cannot be sure that the present way of life is stable. There are constant internal disturbances and conflicts, and the village with its aggravated social contradictions is more and more being drawn into them.

Only a large-scale Programme of economic and Social reforms can satisfy the African peasant. Ultimately, of course he will get the reforms.



## UP-TO-DATE EXECUTION ! ADVANTAGEOUS DELIVERY TERMS ! RUMANIAN-MADE HARDWARE

for household, commercial and industrial purposes  
— Bicycles for men and women  
— Sewing machines for household and industrial purposes  
— Alba Lux electric washing machines  
— Natural and liquefied gas cooking stoves  
— Liquefied gas cylinders  
— Household and commercial scales

— Radial and axial water meters  
— Welding outfits with oxygen pressure reducer  
— Needles for sewing and knitting machines  
— Enamelled pig iron bath tubs  
— Pig iron radiators for central heating  
— Pig iron draining tubes and fittings for sanitary installations etc.  
— Sparking plugs for thermic motors

EXPORTERS :

# MASINEXPORT

FOREIGN TRADE STATE COMPANY - BUCHAREST - RUMANIA

Bucharest - Rumania

7, Maghera Blvd

Telex : 216 ; POB : 113

Cables : MASEXPORT - Bucharest

For prompt information apply to the Rumanian Commercial Office

# ECONOMIC DISCUSSION IN SOVIET UNION

**THE** Swiss newspaper "Tribune de Lausanne" made a staggering discovery the other day. It found out that there is a revolution going on in the Soviet Union:

The newspaper, it is true, adds that it is "less violent in nature than it was fifty years ago, but no less far-reaching."

Where has the *Tribune de Lausanne* discovered this revolution? Apparently in the introduction into the Soviet economy of "the hated concept of profit and the concepts of competition and freedom for enterprises".

### NOT ALONE

The Swiss paper is not alone in its "discovery". Many western newspapers and magazines have been writing in sensational terms about the discussion which is taking place in the U.S.S.R. on the problems of enhancing the role of profit, material incentives and commodity-monetary relations in general in the Soviet economy.

Even the modest Khar'kov economist Yevsel Liberman, one of those who are advocating an enhanced role for profit, is presented by these publications as some kind of super-hero and discoverer, and his name is linked with certain mythical transformation due to take place in the very near future in the actual social structure of Soviet society.

The Paris *L'Express*, for instance, recently claimed that it was only three years ago that Soviet people were able for the first time to read in an article by Liberman, published in a Moscow newspaper, such sentences as "The higher the profits the stronger the motive to produce" and "What is good for the enterprises is good for society".

The French journal's assertion, however, is simply the result of ignorance, if not something worse.

The fact of the matter is that in the Soviet Union profit, as an economic category, has never been rejected. Furthermore, starting from 1921 Soviet enterprises have been making this "hated" profit in the form of money.

It was precisely at that time that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, was tirelessly emphasising the need for "increasing the productivity of labour and achieving the self-sufficiency and profitability of every state-owned enterprise".

### LENIN

Lenin himself proposed in 1922 that the amount of the wages paid to the employees of trading enterprises should depend on the trade turnover and the profits made by Soviet trading organisations.

Commodity-monetary categories which act as material incentives for production have also been introduced as an organic part of the planned economy, proceeding on the basis of certain theoretical prerequisites and the experience accumulated both in the Soviet Union and in other socialist states. Here it is a question of profits and prices.

The point is, however, that in the conditions of a planned economy these categories, while not undergoing any outward changes, do undergo a fundamental internal change as regards their social content.

This is seen very clearly in the case of the category of profit.

by Ivan Artyomov

In the sphere of so-called free enterprise, profit is the only motive for production—its alpha and omega. In the conditions of the socialist economy however, profit is only a very useful index determining the level of economic efficiency.

As regards the motive for production, the planned economy has only one motive—the satisfaction of society's needs.

The question arises: If the basic principles of the planned economy have long since been determined and are clear, what then is the subject of the present lively discussion which is being conducted by Soviet economists and by economists in many other socialist countries as well?

What is actually being discussed is the question of a better, more flexible application of these principles in accordance with the tremendous successes achieved in economic development.

### NEW CONDITIONS

To begin with, the entire industrial output of the U.S.S.R. during the whole of 1921 is now produced in approximately one and a half working days. The number of enterprises has increased dozens and dozens of times over.

In the new conditions it has become much more difficult to plan and take into consideration the special features of each individual enterprise.

This explains the natural and obvious desire to deter-

mine in a single state plan only the main indices for the operation of enterprises and to give the enterprises

greater independence, regulated by such economic levers as profit and the introduction of material incentives for the employees to achieve the maximum profit.

The economists are now also posing the following

## WHAT IS GOING ON IN SALISBURY?

Continued from page 1

to the full its legal authority over Southern Rhodesia.

This convention is aid to derive from the fact that for forty years successive British Governments have not used their powers to safeguard the African majority, and that, in effect, these powers have become obsolete.

In other words, because Britain has not interfered with the internal machinery of Southern Rhodesia's government, it cannot. This contention has no legal justification.

### FALSE NOTION

The notion that Southern Rhodesia has enjoyed control of its own internal affairs for forty years is false.

The history of the convention to which British spokesmen refer in fact only goes back to 1957. It was contained in a joint announcement

of the United Kingdom Government and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and does not even actually refer to Southern Rhodesia as a separate political entity.

### DUBIETY

The dubiety of the entire "convention" argument was highlighted by a Tory Attorney-General, Sir John Hobson who in reply to questions during a debate in the British Parliament in July, 1963 admitted that it was not quite accurate to say "that the convention had existed for forty years."

He argued instead that it had "coalesced or congealed into the formality of a convention much more recently"—as recently in fact, as 1961.

Furthermore, in regard to British Parliamentary authority over Southern Rhodesia, he suggested that "the convention and its relevance to the powers

specific question: Should not enterprises pay a certain percentage for the production capacities given them by the state?

The amount of idle equipment that is needed by new projects is now growing with alarming speed. If there are now ten uninstalled machine tools at some enterprise, the director of that enterprise is not greatly worried about it because he does not have

to pay for them.

In short, there are many such problems. The discussion, portrayed in the West as a "revolution", as a renunciation of socialist economic methods and gradual transition to capitalism, is devoted precisely to solving these problems.

Western newspapers are thus showing themselves to be not only ignorant but also unscrupulous.

of this Parliament and whether they should be exercised may be subject to discussion hereafter."

What is more, the Marckton Commission appointed by the British Government in 1959 un-animously agreed that the Federation and therefore Southern Rhodesia "falls short of the status of a full international person", that "it is not an independent sovereign state" and that "it is the United Kingdom who remain ultimately responsible in international law."

The members of the Commission found that "the United Kingdom Parliament has inherent power to legislate for any part of Her Majesty's dominions except in so far as in this has been qualified by the Statute of Westminster" — and in regard to Southern Rhodesia there was and is no such qualification.

The British Government's plea that the

British Parliament is powerless to intervene to end a racist regime in a British colony which does not differ in essence from the vicious and brutal regime which exists in Verwoerd's South Africa is therefore baseless.

Britain can act. It must act. There must be no backstairs deals with Mr. Smith.

### Our Flag

RESPECT for our national flag should be an essential feature of our life.

But in many places and institutions torn and dirty flags are being used. This is a disgrace to the Nation, and certainly shows little respect.

All concerned should do their utmost to check this.  
A. O. Marquay, Accra.

## NOW 3 DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS WEEKLY TO LONDON BY

# Ghana Airways VC10

THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

Twice weekly Ghana Airways VC10 jetliners speed across the world to London... in only 6 1/2 hours! A third flight takes you to Amsterdam and Zurich en route. Magnificent aircraft, magnificent service... flying Ghana Airways VC10 is the finest way you can travel.

Get full details of routes and timetables from:  
GHANA AIRWAYS CORPORATION,  
Ghana House, P.O. Box 1008, Accra.  
Telephone: 64850-64859

	THU./SAT.	WED.	MON
ACCRA	0900	0900	0900
ROME		1515	
ZURICH			1555
AMSTERDAM			1645
LONDON	1625	1850	1945

