

THE SPARK



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ZANU-ZAPU Reconciliation

EDITORIAL

The Real Cause

IT IS reported that GATT (the organisation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) has published a survey of world trade in which it alleges that the trade deficits of the developing countries are due to their trade with the Socialist countries, whose sales to the developing countries exceed their purchases from them.

The membership of GATT is overwhelmingly capitalist; it is dominated by the United States, Britain and other major Western neo-colonialist Powers. It is therefore natural that it should seek to divert attention from the real causes of the foreign trade difficulties of the developing countries. It is a case of the pick-pocket shouting "Stop, thief!"

The main cause of the developing countries' trade deficits is not their trade with the Socialist countries, which in any case as yet accounts for only a relatively small part of their foreign trade, but the unequal terms which they are obliged to accept from the Western capitalist countries which still exercise a dominant influence in the world markets.

Thanks to Big Business manipulation of world markets, the prices of the primary products upon which the developing countries are, thanks to the legacy of imperialism, still obliged to depend have fallen to an all-time low.

Meanwhile, the prices of the industrial products which they must buy from the developed industrial countries have risen to an all-time high.

As a result of this continuation of the traditional imperialist policy of buying cheap and selling dear, the development plans of many newly-independent countries, which rely for finance on export earnings, have been placed in jeopardy.

Another major cause of the foreign trade difficulties faced by the developing countries is the extraction of vast sums in the form of profits and dividends by foreign companies, and in the form of interest on foreign loans, both private and governmental.

These payments far exceed the most-publicised "aid" given by the Western countries—in fact, many developing countries now find themselves in the position of having to take out new loans to pay the interest on the ones.

GATT's claim that the Socialist countries' sales to the developing countries far exceed their purchases is based on gross misrepresentation.

During the first half of this year, the Soviet Union's purchases from the developing countries went up by over one-third as compared with last year, and the Soviet Union, unlike the Western capitalist countries, has implemented the U.N. Trade and Development Conference decision on lifting tariffs on imports from developing countries.

GATT's claim is likewise hypocritical, because it is the Western Big Business monopolies which it mainly represents which are using the key positions which they still hold in the economies of many of the developing countries to obstruct trade with Socialist countries by restricting the range of commodities which the Socialist countries can buy.

The basic cause of the developing countries' foreign trade problems is in fact not their trade with the Socialist countries, but their unequal trade with the neo-colonialist Powers and the effects of the influence still exerted in their economic affairs by the Western monopolies.

Only and by preventing a united front to neo-colonialism through economic integration can the developing countries force the neo-colonialists to trade on equal terms.

OAU Must Take Firm Action

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

THE six-nation committee set up to bring about a reconciliation between ZAPU and ZANU has recommended that the Organisation of African Unity seek other means of fulfilling its pledge to liberate the four million Africans of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Sources close to delegations attending the current O.A.U. Council of Ministers session in Accra indicate that despite prolonged and arduous effort the Commission, made up of Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, has been forced to conclude that it is impossible to convince representatives of the two major nationalist movements of the overriding need to submerge their differences and establish a common front for the liberation of their country.

SUSPEND AID

According to some delegates, the Commission recommends that the O.A.U. suspend all forms of assistance to ZAPU and ZANU until such time as they establish a common front.

It is reliably reported to have concurred with the view that while both ZAPU and ZANU talked about unity, they did so only in order to win the sympathy and support of the O.A.U.

Neither in fact wanted unity except on its own terms—ZAPU demanding the unconditional return of ZANU members to ZAPU, while ZANU insists on the continued existence of the two parties within the framework of a common front.

The Commission is understood to have voiced sharp criticism of the attitude of the representatives of the

movements with whom it had conducted negotiations, singling out the attitude of the ZAPU spokesman for especial censure.

According to delegates, members of the Commission took the view that Mr. Nkomo and the Reverend N. Sithole, leaders respectively of ZAPU and ZANU, both of whom are held in detention by Ian Smith's racist regime, would have accepted the Commission's proposals.

Members of the Commission were said to be emphatic in their view that the unco-operative and short-sighted attitudes of the representatives of the two parties should not be taken as those of the two leaders.

The Commission repeatedly warned the representatives of the two parties that their refusal to submerge their differences in the interests of the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe could only play into the hands of Ian Smith and the white minority.

KENYATTA

Conference sources point out that the Commission went to great lengths in its efforts to bring about a reconciliation, but the representatives of the two parties persisted in their obduracy even despite the urging of Kenya's President Kenyatta.

The Commission is understood to have recommended that no member-state should allow its soil to be used by any

party, which thus defies the efforts of the O.A.U.

It is believed to have recommended that the steps to be taken by the Organisation should be incorporated in a programme to be approved by the African Heads of State and Government.

The implementation of such a programme will be the responsibility of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.

The discussion of the Rhodesia problem in the Council of Foreign Ministers has been characterised by sharp criticism of the attitude of Great Britain.

CONTRAST

There have been calls for the severance of diplomatic and other relations between Britain and all O.A.U. member-states if Britain did not act in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith's regime.

Several speakers are understood to have spotlighted the contrasts between Britain's kid-glove treatment of the white minority regime in Rhodesia with her treatment of other genuinely representative governments seeking independence in other colonial territories, notably British Guiana and Aden.

According to some sources, there has been a proposal that the Foreign Ministers recommend to the Heads of State and Government due to meet later this week the immediate consideration of the mobilisation of an African

military force, with outside assistance if necessary, to secure the liberation of Zimbabwe.

It will be recalled that when Kwame Nkrumah addressed the Commonwealth Conference in London earlier this year, he declared:

"It is said that politically the United Kingdom Government could not commit British troops to suppress a rebellion in Southern Rhodesia though they could use British troops for similar purpose in Aden or British Guiana."

"I do not propose to argue about this. I am sure that other Commonwealth countries will be in a position to assist Britain if there is a need for a peace force to ensure harmonious transfer of power to the majority."

Many delegates, too, recall that in the same speech Kwame Nkrumah pointed out that the real issue in Rhodesia is not that of a unilateral declaration of independence, but of the ending of a vicious and brutal racist regime.

NO CHOICE

For the African population the choice between a unilateral declaration of independence and the continuance of the existing state of affairs as a British colony is no choice at all.

If Ian Smith declares independence unilaterally, less than a quarter of million white settlers will die four million Africans.

But if Smith decides not to declare independence—well, less than a quarter of a million white settlers will still go on ruling four million Africans.

Furthermore, delegates point to the tendency of apologists for the British position to plead that the maintenance of the existing state of affairs will in some way "save" the African people from the worst excesses of apartheid as exemplified by the Verwoerd regime.

DIFFERS LITTLE

They point out that even now, while Rhodesia is a British colony, the position of the African majority in essence differs little from that of their fellow-Africans in South Africa.

Just as in South Africa, Zimbabwe Africans have, for example to carry identity cards, and are subject to repressive and discriminatory legislation, including vagrancy laws and a Preventive Detention Act which owes much to the South African model.

Delegates have also noted with concern the intense efforts being undertaken by influential sections of the British ruling class to prevent any effective action by Britain.

While disappointed by the unsuccessful outcome of the attempts to bring about a reconciliation between the ZAPU and ZANU representatives, which they see as an object lesson in the necessity of unity, delegates are confident that the O.A.U. will continue its efforts to bring about the liberation of the four million Africans of Zimbabwe, and that these efforts will be crowned by success.

Freedom For Zimbabwe!

Towards the Decolonisation of Ghana's Law



Making Law serve the people

by Dr. EKOW DANIELS
(Deputy Attorney-General)

"The law should be the legal expression of the political, economic and social conditions of the people and of their aims for progress"—
(Dr. Kwame Nkrumah)

BEFORE independence the colonial laws passed by the Colonial Administration were designed mainly to suit the ends of colonial exploitation and domination.

Firstly they introduced laws here which had become extinct in England. Thus even up till now our system of conveyancing or land transfer is based on the conveyancing laws in force in England prior to 1874.

You only have to examine the commercial laws existence here during the colonial regime to see how these laws stifled our economic growth; they were outdated and incompatible with twentieth century conditions.

For example, until only recently the Companies Law of Ghana was based on the English Companies Act of 1862.

ARCHAIC

We lacked an all-embracing law relating to Insurance or Sale of Goods or Banking. The first Income Tax law was passed as late as 1943.

There was no bankruptcy legislation in Ghana until the Gower Report of 1961 observed that in the present day conditions in Ghana, a bankruptcy law, fairly but vigorously administered, might enable the reckless and dishonest few to be weeded out to the enormous advantage of the responsible and honest many.

In brief, in the colonial days our laws relating to Commerce were a sordid collection and a disgraceful example of archaic, moribund and uninspiring legislation. Secondly, the colonialist

administration denied us the benefit of modern legislation vital to our economic, political and social growth.

Trade unionism was never encouraged in Ghana until 1941 when the first Trade Unions Law was passed. Our workers were unprotected, exploited by the big economic combines of colonial days.

Thirdly, some of the laws applicable during the colonial days tended towards encouraging capitalism.

Fourthly, even where the colonialist decided to introduce modern into the colonial regime they brought in those laws which were sometimes incompatible with our social and cultural background.

CONTEMPT

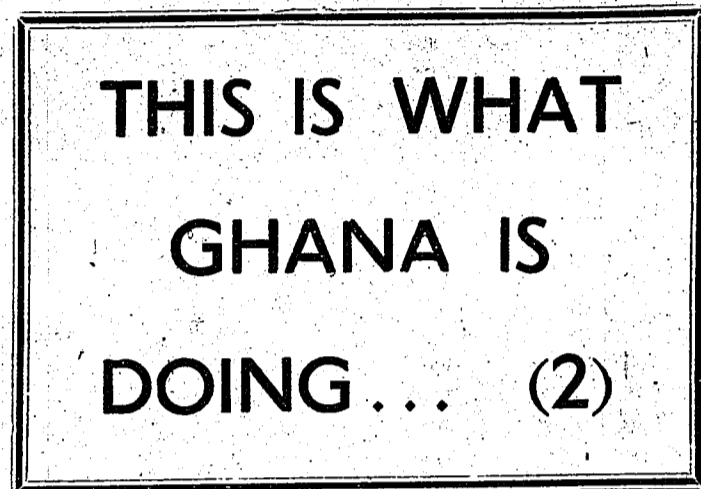
Lastly, let it be noted that the attitude of the colonialist administrators towards our indigenous law and institutions was not that of adaptation but contempt for a worthless thing, which should be abandoned and replaced by European law whole and underlie!

In Ghana, before the Republican Constitution and the passing of the Courts Act, 1960, customary laws were to be regarded as foreign law on our own soil!

Our own customary laws could be recognised only

were recognised. His answer was as follows:

"Morality and justice must of course mean British and not African conception of these. Were that not so British justice would be looking in two different directions at once."



when an English judge in the colonial days said so. Once a colonial administrator was asked to explain the meaning of the "natural justice and morality" to which our customary laws must conform before they

could be recognised. His answer was as follows: "Morality and justice must of course mean British and not African conception of these. Were that not so British justice would be looking in two different directions at once."

political, economic and social conditions.

The Westminster model on which our 1957 Constitution was based was designed solely to suit English conditions and should not have been transplanted whole and unmodified to a society entirely different.

It begins with the Governor-General and explains that the Governor-General shall be appointed by Her Majesty the Queen and may exercise his powers in Ghana during her Majesty's pleasure.

THE PEOPLE

There it is clearly stated that the executive power in Ghana was vested in the Queen, which might be exercised by the Queen or by the Governor-General as Her Representative.

Next in order of mention, is Parliament, which was said to consist of Her Majesty the Queen and the National Assembly.

Then finally we come down to the Judiciary.

The people are not mentioned anywhere. The im-

pression is given that the organs of the State, that is the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary, are the highest institutions of the State, amongst whom all the powers of the Government are distributed.

In other words, all the powers are distributed before they reach the people, who are not mentioned at all. There is no mention made of our national ideology and aspirations.

Indeed, you may even be misled into thinking that our Constitution of 1957 was just like an ordinary Act of Parliament.

INALIENABLE

It can therefore be appreciated why Osagyefo, the President, fought hard to teach us to discard such 18th Century constitutional ideas. At the Prorogation of the National Assembly on June 30, 1960, he made this very pertinent observation:

"We have adopted a Republican Constitution not through any lack of affection for Her Majesty nor because of any dissatisfaction with the way in which the office of the Governor-General has been discharged. The people of Ghana have enacted for themselves a new Constitution because of our convictions that we need a form of Government which will more truly interpret the aspirations and hopes of the people of Ghana and give full expression to the African personality."

Our Republican Constitution is based on the doctrine of the inalienable rights of the people. That is why our Constitution starts off with the people and ends with them.

ASPIRATIONS

It must be remembered that in vesting sovereignty in the people we are not introducing any new philosophy in Ghana.

By doing that, we are entitled to say that we fulfilled, or rather incorporated into our new Constitution the main features of our indigenous political system.

As soon as you pick up a copy of our Republican Constitution, you are immediately made aware of its national ideology and aspirations.

Apart from the fact that prominence is given to the powers of the People, there are other features in our constitution which clearly demonstrates our efforts totally to decolonize our legal and governmental systems.

Article 1A, makes provision for the establishment of the Convention People's Party as the one National Party and gives legal recognition to the C.P.P. as the vanguard of the people their struggle to build socialist society.

Our ultimate aim with regard to the formation of a continental Union Government of Africa is expressly stated in Article 2 as follows:

"In the confident expectation of an early surrender of sovereignty to a Union of African States and territories, the People now confer on Parliament the power to provide for the surrender of the whole or any part of the sovereignty of Ghana: Provided that Sovereignty of Ghana shall not be surrendered or diminished on any grounds other than the furtherance of African Unity!"

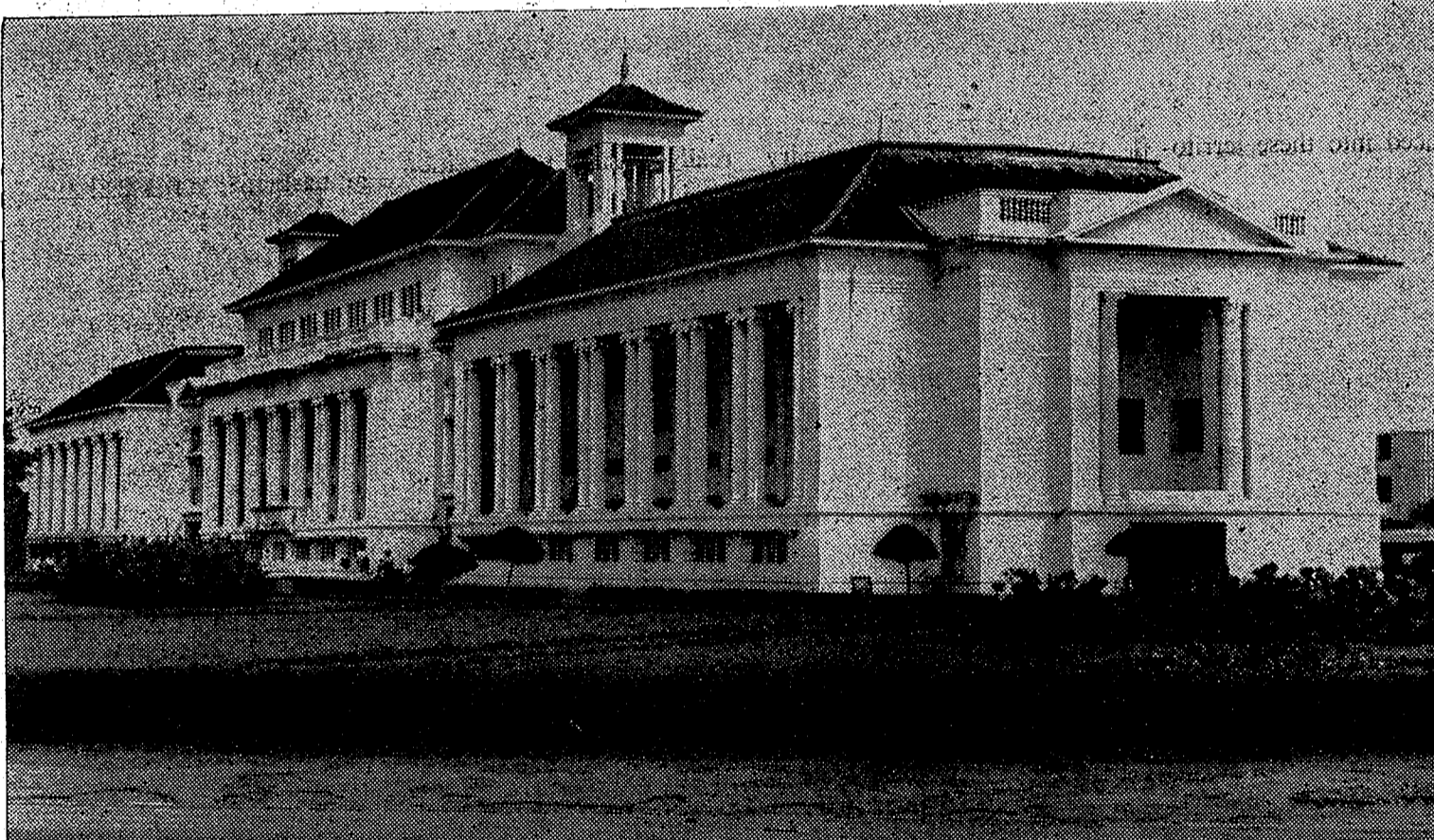
Africa is determined to rid herself of colonialism and neo-colonialism, then the most logical step in this direction is the establishment of a continental Union Government for in unity lies our strength.

HALLMARK

It has been said that one of the hallmarks of an advanced society is that its laws should not only be just but also that they should be kept up-to-date and readily accessible to all who are affected by them.

The Government is doing everything in its power to reduce the negative forces in our law so as to bring the laws in line with our socialist transformation.

There is established a Law Reform Committee under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Justice and Attorney-General whose functions are mainly to examine and advise on legislation and in particular Bills which are controversial, or of great public interest. Membership includes judges, representatives of the Ghana Bar Association and academic lawyers.

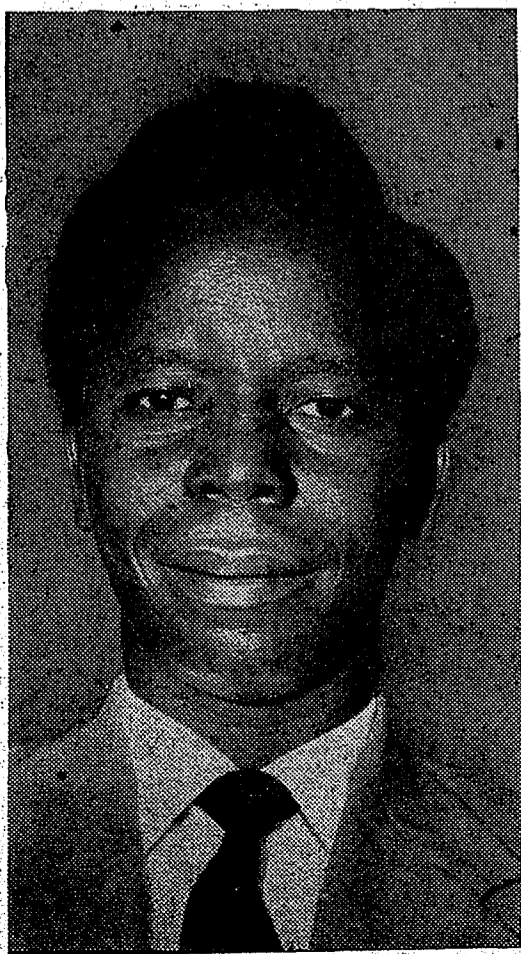


The Supreme Court Building in Accra

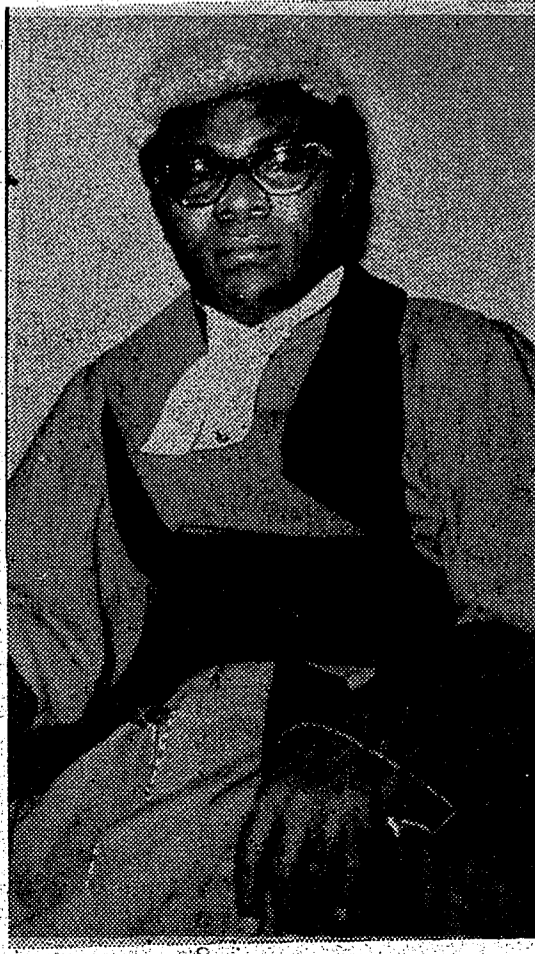
Men who are shaping Ghana's New Laws



Chief Justice SARKODIE-ADOO



Attorney General KAW SWANZY



Justice DJABANOR



Justice AKAINYA



Extracts from documents which have become landmarks in Africa's fight for Peace, Freedom and Unity

FOR FREEDOM

2nd Conference of Independent African States, Addis Ababa, June 15th—24th 1960.

CONSIDERING further that the present awakening of the people of Africa and the independence movements can no longer be contained, without the risk of seriously compromising relations between the diverse nations.

Believing that the restoration of natural rights and human dignity to the Africans, in those parts of Africa, at present under foreign subjugation, as well as the peaceful enjoyment of the hard-won freedom by the peoples of the Independent African States, could only be achieved through the complete eradication of colonial rule from our Continent;

Recalling the courageous stand taken by the freedom fighters in Africa, and saluting the memory of those who sacrificed their lives in defending the liberty of their respective countries;

Conscious of the responsibility of the Independent African States towards those peoples fighting for independence and also of the active solidarity which should be shown towards all African freedom fighters;

Taking into consideration the petitions presented by the representatives of the nationalist movements in the non-independent countries of Africa (Angola, Kenya, Uganda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, the Union of South Africa and South-West Africa);

1. Urges the Colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for the immediate attainment of Independence by all non-independent countries and to communicate those dates to the people concerned;

2. Resolves that the Independent African States continue to exert concerted actions to achieve through all possible peaceful means the complete eradication of colonial rule from Africa;

3. Condemns the practice of colonial Powers of enlisting Africans, against their own will, in foreign armed forces to suppress the liberation movements in Africa;

4. Appeals to the conscience of all Africans to resist enlistment in such foreign armed forces;

5. Appeals further to leaders, political parties and other organisations of non-independent countries, at this historical phase of their struggle, to unite in a national front to achieve speedy liberation of their countries;

WELCOMING the recent attainment of independence by several countries of Africa;

Re-affirming its faith in the total liberation and emancipation of Africa in the shortest possible time;

Considering the difficulties with which the emerging nations of Africa may be confronted in the political, economic and social fields;

Noting that new forms of colonialism could be introduced into these territories, under the guise of economic, financial and technical assistance;

Considering that some of the non-independent countries may out of necessity and under pressure, enter into agreements and pacts with foreign powers which would restrict in advance their total independence and hinder their future freedom of action;

Calls upon all colonial powers to refrain from any action which might compromise the sovereignty and independence of the emerging States.

FOR UNITY

2nd All-African Peoples Conference, Tunis, January 25th—30th, 1960

The Conference

Affirms the absolute necessity of turning the economy of the African countries to the profit of its peoples, and of acting with unity in the economic field, as in the political and cultural fields;

Proposes therefore the creation by all the Independent African States, of common organisations for the conduct of finance and commerce, and of centres of social and economic research, for the purpose of studying the forms of technical assistance to Africa and of training the technicians whom Africa needs to ensure her economic development and her social progress;

Proclaims finally the irrevocable character of the movement towards African independence, liberty and unity;

The Conference

Sends out a resounding call to all the peoples of Africa to redouble their watchfulness, so that the African continent shall henceforth be a land propitious to the blossoming of liberty, dignity and well-being.

The Conference

Affirms that independence is a pre-requisite to all economic development.

Declares that the peoples of Africa are determined to work for the economic development and liberation of Africa, for the benefit and under the control of the masses

Recommends to the Independent African States:

1. The intensification of their efforts to wrest their respective countries from economic dependence on the imperialist countries

2. The refusal to enter into any undertaking with foreign Powers which may either directly or indirectly prejudice the movement for the liberation and unity of the African continent

3. The development of the co-operative system and the harnessing of the essential resources of their territories in the interests of the masses, to ensure social justice and raise the living standard of their peoples

4. The promotion of industrialisation, the direction of efforts towards agrarian reform, the modernisation of agriculture in order to make Africa's economy independent.

5. The encouragement of joint enterprises and inter-African companies in order to achieve the maximum result from the development of the resources of Africa in the interest of the peoples, and move along the path of African unity

6. The removal of customs barriers between the Independent African States.

7. The progressive liberation of commercial exchanges and the conclusion of multilateral payments agreements, with a view to developing economic exchanges and the consequent setting up of an African Common Market, the formation of an African Transport Company (Land, Air and Sea) to promote exchanges among the African territories

8. Regular meetings between Economic and Finance Ministers with a view to co-ordinating their economic policies

9. The setting up of an African Investment Bank to promote development

10. The creation of an African Institute for Research and Training of the various cadres.

11. The Conference decides that its Secretariat should edit a popular review on social and economic studies.

At the recent second meeting of the U.N. Trade and Development Board in Geneva, representatives of over fifty nations discussed the pressing problems of international trade and the associated problems of the newly-emerging nations' economic growth.

The entire proceedings were keyed by the decisions adopted last year at the Geneva U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

That conference, attended by nearly 120 nations was a public trial of the remains of colonialism in world trade.

It saw growing co-operation between the socialist and developing countries as the key issues of international economic relations, and this co-operation was responsible for the positive results of the conference, many of whose decisions bear an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial character.

EQUALITY

The conference approved by an overwhelming majority the important Resolution on Principles Governing International Trade Relations and Trade Policies.

This resolution insists on the principle of the sovereign equality of states in international economic intercourse and outlaws discrimination based on difference of social and economic systems or level of economic development.

Important decisions were also taken on specific trade problems of keen interest to the new nations. Ways were mapped out of expanding trade in primary products, semi-manufacturers and manufactures, which should increase these nations' export earnings and give them the wherewithal to speed up their economic advance.

At the suggestion of the Soviet Union, the conference recommended limiting the rate of interest on state loans and credits to developing countries to 3 per cent.

It was furthermore decided to set up special U.N. machinery on world trade and economic development.

Whereas previously no international organization concerned itself with the entire range of these questions, now the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development will be meeting periodically.

Its working body is the Trade and Development Board, on which are represented all the main groups of state—the socialist, the developed capitalist, and the developing.

PRICE TRENDS

How are the recommendations of last year's Geneva conference being implemented? How are international economic relations developing now?

The first thing to be said is that the underdeveloped countries are still in severe difficulties in their foreign trade. World price trends for the goods they sell and buy in the world capitalist market are still unfavourable.

Prices of primary products—their chief source of export earnings—did rise for a short time at first, but this year they again started falling. Since the beginning of the year they have dropped by an average of 4 per cent, with food prices down by all of 8 per cent.

In the case of some tropical goods, the position is partially bad. The price of cocoa beans and cane sugar is now down to the crisis level of the thirties. Some suppliers of coffee and cocoa beans have even

World Trade

International trade expert
P. IGNATYEV discusses
the recent meeting of the U.N.
Trade and Development Board

been destroying part of their stocks in an effort to check the falling prices.

Prices of the manufactured goods which the under-developed countries import from the developed capitalist states are, on the other hand, increasing.

This disparity between the prices of what they sell and what they buy is retarding the emergent countries' economic development programmes.

A good deal of additional foreign exchange could be derived by these countries from broader trade in manufactures and semi-manufactures. But that the imperialist powers are bent on preventing. As U.N. Secretary-General U Thant has pointed out,

"The whole bias of tariffs in the developed market economies is designed to discourage local processing or growth of industrial export from the developing world."

Many difficulties could be obviated by special tariff preferences for the developing nations on the part of the industrial states. The Soviet Union has, beginning with January 1 of this year, abolished all duty on the goods of under-developed countries.

PRIVILEGES

The Western Powers, on the other hand, instead of really easing the position of the new nations, have been giving tariff privileges to only some of them, to the detriment of the others.

For examples, already during the Geneva conference, the Western-European Common Market granted tariff privileges to certain African states, thereby increasing their dependence on itself. The UNCTAD Secretary-General, the prominent Argentine economist Raul Prebisch, therefore had good reason to say:

"Unfortunately, there are some symptoms that the spirit of Geneva is not being applied, and that on the contrary there is an aggravation of the tendency towards a system of discriminatory preferences."

By favouring some developing countries as against others, the Western Powers hope to undermine the solidarity of the developing world.

The basic Western tactical line is to evade carrying out the measures decided on at Geneva. Instead, much is being made of the non-existent "services" of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), which enjoys the unenviable reputation of being a "rich men's club".

CONCESSIONS

Latterly there have even been attempts to counterpose this body to the Trade and Development Board.

Feeling change to be inevitable, the leaders of GATT have set out to activate their "club", to make a show of "modernizing" it in line with the interests of the developing countries.

But even the Western press admits that the GATT undertakings are exceedingly indefinite, or "vague", to use the words of London *Financial Times*.

Now the West is talking about possible tariff concessions in the course of the Kennedy Round—that latest cycle of GATT talks, over a year old now and still with no end in sight.

Far from all the developing nations belonging to GATT, however, they have agreed so far to take part in these talks. In the words of the *American Christian Science Monitor*,

"they feel generally that the latter [the Kennedy Round] would benefit significantly only the developed countries."

CONCERN

This was the background to the Trade and Development Board's second meeting. On the agenda were many important items connected with the execution of the Geneva recommendations, among them the problems of world trade in primary products and manufacturers, East-West trade, and also the question of preparations for the second U.N. trade and development conference.

Speakers from the developing nations expressed grave concern over the state of their countries' foreign trade. Many difficulties, they pointed out, were due to the terribly slow, manifestly insufficient progress in carrying out the Geneva decisions.

The representatives of Ghana and Pakistan, of Argentina, Brazil and the Organisation of African Unity all spoke of this.

The Ghanaian delegates, in particular, criticized the U.S. and Britain for restricting imports of primary products from the developing countries.

"Disappointment over the slight progress in implementing the many sweeping recommendations of last year's United Nations Conference of Trade and Development," wrote the *New York Journal of Commerce*, "appears the prevailing theme on Trade and Development," the 'developing countries'.

MANOEUVRES

The Western representatives opposed special arrangements for the developing countries, declaring that only the GATT negotiations would bring them relief. The delegate of Argentina, among others, showed up these manoeuvres. He said:

"We are being invited to look to GATT and the Kennedy Round for solutions to the problems that plague us. But our view is that effective solutions for the developing nations can best come from the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development..."

The most stiff-necked attitude was that of the U.S. delegates, who came out against any tariff preferences for the developing countries.

NEGATIVE

Equally negative was their stand in the discussions on East-West trade, which, they tried to tell the meeting, did not come within the competence of the Board.

They failed to obtain support, however, not only from the "third world" but even from some of the Western Powers, who recognize that broader economic exchange between states with different systems is an important factor in normalizing world trade as a whole.

The delegates of Nigeria and the United Arab Republic emphasized when speaking on this subject that

normalization of East-West trade would also benefit the economies of the developing countries.

A disproportionate amount of time went in debating where the Secretariat of the Board should have its headquarters.

At its previous meeting the Board had decided to station the Secretariat in Geneva, not New York, which was something of a setback for the West.

Subsequently it had been claimed that in Geneva there was not room enough for the necessary staff. The Italian Government proposed Rome. Then Switzerland, reconsidering, suggested either Geneva or Lausanne. The British plumped for London.

Several of the "third world" delegates, for their part, suggested having the Secretariat in the capital of one of the developing countries.

EVASION

There were also heated debate over the juridical character of the Geneva conference resolutions. The Western Powers wanted to dodge responsibility for the developing countries' economic difficulties, which stem from the policies of Big Business, and get out of complying with the many resolutions which are justifying this their delegates proceeded to cry that the Geneva resolutions were not binding.

The root of the matter does not lie in their views on the juridical character of the recommendations of the Geneva forum, but in their wanting to reshape international economic relations in keeping with the dictates of the times.

As against these tactics of evasion and delay, the socialist countries have pursued a clear and consistent policy of developing equal and mutually beneficial trade relations with all nations.

Their delegation at the meeting of the Board cited many facts which demonstrate that their foreign trade is developing in the spirit of the Geneva decisions.

The Soviet delegate mentioned, in particular, that Soviet turnover with the developing countries in the first half of this year was up 20 per cent on the same period of 1964; and the biggest increase was in Soviet purchases from these countries—here the figure was 37 per cent. Hungary's turnover with the developing nations is up by 11 per cent and Rumania's by 18.

USEFUL

Before closing, the meeting resolved to convene the second U.N. conference on trade and development in the first half of 1967.

In spite of the artificial obstacles of the Western Powers' making, the meeting was a useful one. Its decisions and the entire course of the debates showed the true causes of many of the things which interfere with the normalization of world trade and the economic growth of the young nations.

Certainly the outlook for the work of the U.N. Trade and Development Board is not unclouded. The struggle between the two opposite trends in international economic relations will continue. But the forces of imperialism and colonialism stand on chance of winning it.

And that is what the London *Economist* must have had in mind when it said in a recent issue that the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development "has begun a process that ... may prove irreversible".

WHO IS THE LEPER NOW?

Retreat on Racism by Labour Government

by Dipak Nandy

THERE is a new mood amongst Britain's coloured people today—a mood of humiliation, of bitterness and anger. Not so long ago every discussion of the racial situation in Britain would end, as likely as not, with the words: "The Labour Party will do something about it."

In that hope many coloured people worked for the Labour Party, canvassed for it, and in some areas their votes played an important part in Labour's victory.

The shattering of that hope, naive in the extreme as it seems now, has left them feeling resentful and angry. Politicians will from now on have to reckon with that feeling.

FIRST BLOW

The first blow came in October and November of last year, when the Labour Government not only extended the operation of the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, but seemed excessively anxious about "evasions" of the Act they had themselves fought tooth and nail two years before.

Shortly after came the proposals for tightening up the operation of the Act, with the threat of further measures if these were not adequate.

Then, in April 1965, after over a decade, Fenner Brockway's Bill to outlaw racialism made its appearance in the disguise of the Race Relations Bill.

It was something of a masterpiece of its kind. Not only was there no mention of the two critical areas of discrimination—employment and housing—but in the areas it did propose to tackle, a set of proceedings was devised so crude and cumbersome that it was doubtful whether the legislation would work at all.

When criticisms of the Bill were voiced (the Committee against Racial Discrimination presented a most painstaking and detailed memorandum on the subject) the Government declared its willingness to

accept amendments of parts of the Bill.

Since then we have seen the shameful spectacle of the Labour Government accepting amendments in alliance with the Tories (ably led by Peter Griffiths) against its own backbenchers and others, both Liberal and Conservative.

WHITE PAPER

The third blow came in June, with the Department of Education Circular on **The Education of Immigrants**. In its lack of clarity (e.g., the definition of "immigrant children"), in its total evasion of what figures and statistics are available, in its arbitrariness (the magic figure of 30 per cent as the proper ratio of immigrant to non-immigrant children), above all in its utter lack of concern for or consultation with the people who were to be directly affected—the coloured people—that circular sets a new standard for British public policy documents.

And finally, in the last days of Labour's first session in Parliament, came the White Paper—**Immigration from the Commonwealth**.

To the student of contemporary politics, this White Paper is bound to appear as

an historic document—it marks the moment when the Labour leadership finally capitulated to racist pressures, both outside its ranks and within.

The contents of that White Paper are by now well known. Briefly they are these: As from August 2, 1965, there will be only 8,500 Ministry of Labour vouchers issued per year, as against just over 20,000 a year previously. Of the three categories under which vouchers were issued, the third, Category C, is to be discontinued.

Vouchers will continue to be issued to those with a specific job to come to, and to specially qualified people: doctors, dentists, nurses, scientists, technologists, and teachers. Of the prospective immigrant's dependants, only his wife and children under 16 will be allowed in as of right.

In keeping with this Government's sensitiveness to "evasions" of the Act, new measures are proposed to control this deplorable habit of the coloured races. Certain categories of Commonwealth citizens, previously allowed unconditional entry, are now to enter on conditions imposed "at the discretion of the immigration officer".

Finally, the Home Secretary will be given powers of "repatriation", "if he considers the public interest to require it."

OLD PROPOSALS

Readers will note that none of these proposals is new. They were being put forward, from the mid-1950's, by each and every "Immigration Control Association" in the country, by Sir Cyril Osborne, Peter Griffiths, and by all those who believe that the only way in which Britain can solve the colour problem is by not having any coloured people around.

A more cynical and inhumane piece of legislation it would be difficult to imagine. In the first place, underlying each word printed here is the view contained

a million coloured people?

Is it the "presence" of coloured people that "creates" social tensions? Or is it perhaps the "presence" of prejudice (that cannot tolerate people who are "different")?

No discussion of race relations can get off the ground which does not recognise that the "colour problem", "the problem of immigrants", and all those other euphemisms we use, amounts to nothing more or less than the problem of prejudice and discrimination.

The White Paper takes the tempting—and dishonest way out by adopting implicitly the sedulously propagated racist thesis that coloured people themselves are the cause of racial problems.

SORDID

In the second place, a Labour Government has now publicly declared that, as its contribution to International Co-operation Year and to aiding the poorer Commonwealth countries, it is proposing to take from poor nations one of the scarcest, most priceless, resources—their trained people.

As Dr. David Pitt, Chairman of CARD, put it recently: "They want our scientists and technologists. But they don't want our ordinary people".

To these sordid depths has the "New Britain" sunk. Simple humanitarianism, not to mention socialist principle in this context, might have nagged the framers of this shameful proposal from their pages.

Thirdly, the new figure of 8,500 (or 7,500 for the Commonwealth) itself requires consideration. The number of vouchers issued can be highly misleading. For example, in the first year and a half of the immigration Act, only 53 per cent of the vouchers issued were actually taken up.

At the proposed rate of issue of 7,500 a year, immigration from the Commonwealth has not merely been

such a political liability to the Labour Party as it did a year ago.

Many other points can be made. There is, for those concerned to improve race relations, the stark contrast in this document between the stringent and specific detail of the measures to control immigration and the pious generalities which masquerade as positive proposals for integration.

In the section dealing with housing, for example, the whole discussion is based on the assumption that the immigrants are somehow responsible for the wretched housing conditions in which they live:

"The main cause of unsatisfactory living conditions among immigrants is the multiple occupation of houses originally designed for only one family" (p. 11).

Anyone capable of thinking consistently for two minutes on the subject will realise that multi-occupation, far from being the cause of unsatisfactory living conditions, is the result: first of the failure of successive Governments to make any provisions for the immigrant workers on whose backs they have ridden to "never-had-it-so-good" affluence, and secondly of the widespread discrimination in housing to which they have turned (and continue to turn, pace the Race Relations Bill) a blind eye.

The British Government has spent upward of £34,000 on a Royal Commission to

report on housing problems in London, the Milner Holland Report.

Were the drafters of this White Paper unable to procure a copy of that report, or were they perhaps not sufficiently literate to read it? For in Chapter 9 of the Report of the Committee on Housing in Greater London we are told that, apart from the difficulties which immigrants experience in common with other newcomers,

"for coloured immigrants these difficulties are accentuated by a marked degree of reluctance to make rented accommodation available to them" (p. 194).

This is restrained Blue-Book prose, but its meaning is unequivocal: discrimination. What does the White Paper propose in the way of positive measures? Consider the following passage:

"Local housing authorities already have a wide range of powers, which, if judiciously used, can make a major contribution to this end. As time goes on, immigrants will qualify for rehousing by local authorities either by virtue of residential qualifications or through being displaced by slum clearance or other redevelopment. Thus it will become common place for Commonwealth immigrants to be rehoused by local authorities in pursuance of their normal statutory responsibilities. This in itself will tend to break up excessive and undesirable concentrations...." Local author-

ities, it is hoped, do their utmost to assist and promote housing associations which have integration as one of their aims." (p. 11).

Anyone with the slightest notion of the complex of problems created by the discrimination and prejudice in housing will realise what the Government is doing: it is simply "whistling in the dark". If problems could be wished away so easily, we should be in paradise now.

MILESTONE

This White Paper is a milestone: it marks the extent to which the leadership of the Labour Party has shed every scrap of principle in its single-minded quest for electoral popularity.

In October 1964, in his opening address on the Queen's Speech, Harold Wilson uttered some trenchant and forceful words:

"Is the Leader of the Opposition proud of his Honourable Friend the Member for Smethwick? Does he now intend to take him to his bosom? Will the Conservative whip be extended to him, because if he does accept him as a colleague he will make this clear: he will betray the principles which not only his party but also his nation have hitherto had the right to proclaim. And if he does not, if he takes what I think is the right course... the Smethwick Conservatives can have the satisfaction of having topped the poll, and of having sent here as their

Member one who until a further General Election restores him to oblivion, will serve his term here as a Parliamentary leper."

And all because Peter Griffiths had the nerve to get elected by cracking the racist whip. But where have those principles gone which were so prominent last October? Who is the leper now?

GLOOM

When the White Paper was published, there was gloom amongst all those who have been working to improve race relations in this country. The only sound of jubilation came from the Immigration Control Associations—the reactionaries and their allies.

And understandably, all those who work in the field of race relations agree that the racial situation presents a bleak prospect in the coming years.

The racialists and reactionaries have scented blood and they will not let up. And why should they? Views which barely two years ago might have been characterised as "extremist" and "inflammatory" are now being promulgated by a Labour Government. The future is with the racialists.

All those who have pinned their faith on the organised labour movement, on the solidarity and unity in the fact of reactionary pressures and divisive forces, cannot but view the Labour Government's betrayal with grave concern.

	1963	1964	% Change
Entry into Britain of Commonwealth (i.e. coloured) workers	30,125	14,705	-51
Entry into Britain of alien (i.e. white) workers	39,683	42,554	+6.8

accept amendments of parts of the Bill.

Since then we have seen the shameful spectacle of the Labour Government accepting amendments in alliance with the Tories (ably led by Peter Griffiths) against its own backbenchers and others, both Liberal and Conservative.

in this White Paper, the coloured people are in themselves "problem people" that it is the very presence of coloured people which causes racial problems.

If readers doubt this, they may care to turn to p. 10 where, after specifying in exemplary detail how the Government proposes to keep coloured immigrants out, the White Paper turns to that most nebulous section, Part III, to consider the problem of "Integration".

After a concession (costing nothing) about the "most valuable contribution to our economy" made by coloured people, the Paper goes on:

"At the same time it must be recognised that the presence in this country of nearly one million immigrants from the Commonwealth with different social and cultural backgrounds raises a number of problems and creates various social tensions in those areas where they have concentrated."

What problems? What tensions? The housing problem is not "raised" by the "different social and cultural backgrounds" of immigrants. And would the housing problem be any less acute if a million Irish and European workers had come into this country instead of

restrained—it has virtually been choked.

And if we look at the facts of immigration into this country for the last year, something of the prejudiced logic of this White Paper begins to emerge. The accompanying table shows the direction in which immigration policy is moving.

The British economy needs extra workers to meet its chronic post-war labour shortage. The Government is in effect turning off one tap and turning on another.

No one pretends that the housing problem will be eased one bit. No one pretends that schools will find it any easier to deal with non-English-speaking alien children than with coloured children.

ROUGHSHOD

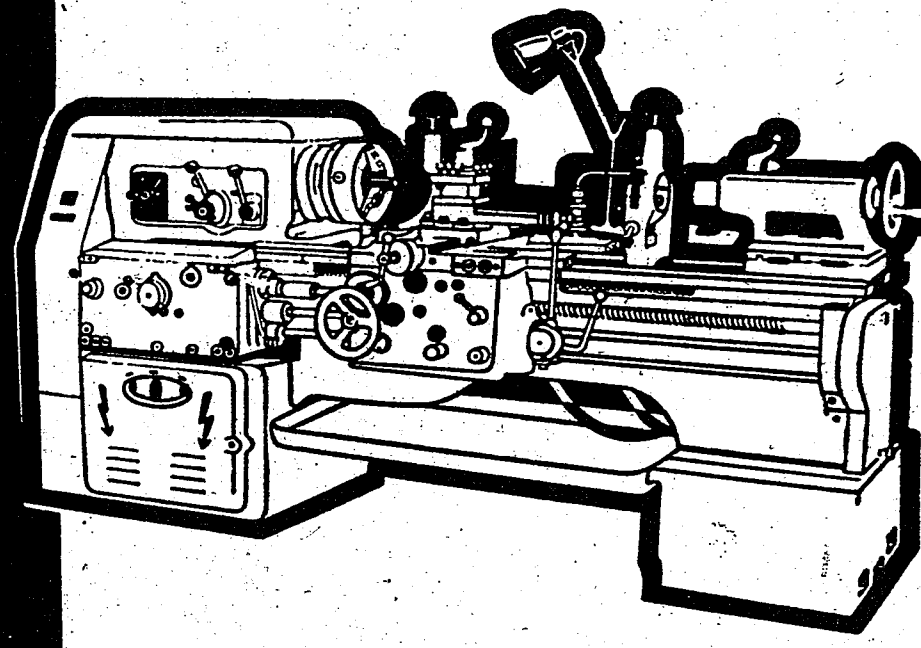
Nor are the "different social and cultural backgrounds" going to be erased—as British tourists to the Continent testify summer after summer.

The only difference is that, by riding roughshod over coloured people, Labour M.P.s have proved that they are no "nigger-lovers".

Colour will not, at least in the very short run (and that is all that Harold Wilson cares about), prove quite

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