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The Myths of Modern Capitalism

by Ron Bellamy

EDITORIAL

WE SHALL WIN

THE two-day Emergency Meeting of Ghana's National Assembly can mark a decisive turning point in the fight for Zimbabwe's Independence.

In his speech to the Members of the Assembly, Osagyefo the President, has presented an analysis, an exposure and a programme of action. This latter is backed with the force of the law of our Republic in the special Parliamentary Bill.

The analysis shows what we are dealing with in the Rhodesian crisis, is not old-fashioned colonialism but the most up-to-date, ruthless neo-colonialist forces, which aim to create a massive system of apartheid including Katanga, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Mozambique ruled by the Portuguese.

This is the grand strategy which the people of Africa are up against. The events in the Congo, with yet another military coup bringing further dangers and instability, underline all too forcefully the dangers which the President outlines.

The Ghana Government holds the British Government responsible for the present situation. In particular the refusal of Britain in 1963 to accept Ghana's resolution in the Security Council to prevent the handing over of the bulk of the armed forces of the defunct Central African Federation, has given Smith the actual military means of defying the British, and suppressing opposition.

The debate moves back and forth on the issue of sanctions. The President proves that the only circumstances under which they could possibly be effective, are those which will require the use of military force for making them operate. The British Government has already shown that it is half hearted on this proposal and will not use military means to enforce them.

While the discussion rages and blame is being apportioned, there is the danger of the central issue of the Rhodesian crisis being obscured.

THE CENTRAL ISSUE IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S INDEPENDENCE.

The President's speech directs the attention of the world to this major question with its forthright programme of immediate action.

NOW we mobilise our armed forces and form a militia.

NOW we call on our Brother African States to unite for action.

NOW we offer our full resources to Zambia to help her to defend herself.

NOW we offer materials and all possible help to the people of Zimbabwe to launch their struggle.

NOW we call for the Constitutional Conference with the Zimbabwe leaders to establish independence now on the sacred one man, one vote principle.

NOW we express our confidence that other powers will move in to offer along with us the full force of their power to protect Zambia and the Zimbabwe peoples.

The central struggle is not between Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence and the authority of the Queen of England. That is not our fight. The struggle is to defeat the vile forces of oppression and exploitation and win the right of the people of Zimbabwe to decide their own future.

Ghana has pledged her total resources for the service of liberation. Pressure on Britain must be unrelenting to force her to do what is right, the demand for United Nations action through the O.A.U. must ring out every minute.

Now Ghana, through the voice of Kwame Nkrumah calls to the conscience of the world; now we have a realistic programme, now we shall see who is for action and liberation; we shall win.

"As long as oppressive classes exist there can be no such thing as peaceful coexistence between opposing ideologies". (Conscientism)

WHENEVER unavoidable difficulties arise in any country of Africa which has chosen the non-capitalist path, voices press from the outside—and find some ears inside—to suggest that if only the non-capitalist path were abandoned and a capitalist path substituted for it, all difficulties would disappear.

Thirsty people are not always careful about the pools from which they drink. Deprived of knowledge by colonialism, people in Africa are thirsty for it. There is no lack of foreign agencies eager to quench their thirst. Senator Morse and Senator Fulbright have recently pointed to the part played by some US institutions of higher education and research in the counter-insurgency programme of the CIA in Latin America. The London Times last week, always more frank about American than British activities, wrote of a rich and influential institution, the Ford Foundation, "which is inviting applications for a new president to direct its activities. Mr. Bundy, the special assistant to the president for national security affairs has been asked by the Ford Foundation if he is available to become its president. The appointment would place Mr. Bundy at the forefront of the leadership of the American establishment (emphasis added RB)". The same note adds that Mr. McNamara, Secretary of Defence, was also approached, as well as Mr. Bell, Director of the Agency for International Development. Learned institutions in West Germany also show great interest in providing material for Africa. One such, the IFO Institute in Munich is reported in Mr. Andrew Shonfield's new book (Modern Capitalism. Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press) to have received a subsidy of 300,000 marks from industrial sources. One of its

publications to be found in Ghana expresses gratitude for a grant from the Fritz Thyssen Foundation. Whatever its present control, the name carried by this Foundation is that of the powerful Ruhr steel owner who wrote the book I Paid Hitler, and also the name carried by the present Thyssenhutte which is reported in the London Times of 6.6.65 to be Europe's largest steel producer and West Germany's largest industrial enterprise. It seems at least unlikely that the preponderance of work supported by such sources will be unduly critical of capitalism. Whatever the personal motives of those who publish or teach under such auspices, their work forms part of an ideological offensive, supported by ample funds, to combat the ideology of the socialist or non-capitalist path of development.

OFFENSIVE AIM

The aim of this offensive is to expunge from the minds of millions of people such concepts as imperialism, neo-colonialism, monopoly, economic crisis, exploitation all so long associated with capitalism. It attempts to persuade us that imperialism ("if it ever existed") no longer exists, that economic crisis is a thing of the past, that the modern monopolies are the source of all technical progress. Above all, it seeks to persuade us that private ownership of society's means of production either no longer exists, or, if it does (another variant) that any harmful effects are offset by countervailing private forces or by the intervention of a neutral state.

The myth of the end of imperialism, spread in the labour movement of the developing countries by books with titles such as The End of Imperialism or After Imperialism is not likely nowadays to win much support in Africa. Not only has this myth received a tremendous intellectual blow from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's work Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism but conflicts ever more sharply with the facts of daily

African experience. Unfortunately it is not so easy for the people of Africa to check by the acid test of personal experience the other myths of capitalism, because they relate primarily to the centres of monopoly capitalism themselves. We propose therefore to confront these myths, in a systematic and scientific manner, with the facts.

ECONOMIC POWER

President Roosevelt's New Deal Government was responsible for setting up an investigation (the temporary National Economic Committee) into the concentration of economic power, whose scores of monographs appeared in the early 1940's. This concept of the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small and very rich oligarchy was normal currency among the intellectuals of the 1930's and 1940's.

Any myth which seeks to expunge this concept must take one of two forms—either it must say that property ownership doesn't matter: it is control over the means of production that matters, and this control (it must say) is no longer in the hands of the owners. This form of the myth, known as the theory of the 'managerial revolution' we shall discuss next week. Its other form is to accept (realistically) that control of economic life goes to those who own the means of production, but then to assert that the evils of oligarchy can be prevented by the encouragement of "property-owning democracy" (this is one of the slogans of the British Conservative Party), by the diffusion of ownership of industry in such a way that capitalism (private ownership of means of production) becomes "people's capitalism" (this is the version more familiar in USA and W. Germany).

Some large firms in Britain make a practice of distributing free, or on privileged terms, a number of their shares to those who work in their enterprises. Recently, when certain enterprises in West

Germany (nationalised by the allies after World War II) were being denationalised, the West German regional government issued 'people's shares'. This year (as reported in The Times 13.7.65) Herr Alfred Krupp has recently united more closely the two biggest firms under his control and marked the occasion by issuing for sale "people's shares". Referring to Krupp's appeal earlier this year for greater industrial concentration in Germany as the only means of competing with both industrial giants of the USA and the huge state-owned industrial complexes of Eastern Europe The Times notes that "the fusion of the two major Krupp steel holdings will bring about the first issue of so-called 'people's shares' by private industrial undertaking. German financial circles believe that these developments herald a new phase in the development of the House of Krupp" (Editor's footnote: the part played by the House of Krupp in the rise of Nazism and the use of slave labour during Hitler's new order is documented in the proceedings of the America Nuremberg Trial of War Criminals in 1946). Krupp's appeal for further concentration of industry is based upon the simple fact that modern technique requires enterprises of a size that can only be financed with tens, even hundreds, of millions of pounds. For example, one new steel works to be built in Holland will have an output equal to 40% of West Germany's present output. The resources deployed by concerns such as Shell, Unilever, ICI, are of the order of £1,000 million, or nearly twice the national income of Ghana. The former liberal illusion that from small beginnings, on thrift and hard work, everyone can grow to be a large capitalist, is now fit only for naive dreamers. Equally, if we want to retain the fruits of modern technique we cannot break up large enterprises into small ones (the other liberal illusion of anti-monopoly legislation). For

developing countries there is a lesson here. Indigenous capitalists, starting from small beginnings are no more likely to grow to large ones than are the small capitalists of the developed capitalist countries. Either they will not be able to grow at all in rivalry with established giants, or (more dangerously) they may attempt to do so by accepting some kind of partnership. Therefore any attempt to produce a property owning democracy within the framework of private ownership will have to show that share ownership is spreading, and the concentrations of ownership in the hands of the oligarchy, are breaking up. All the facts show exactly the contrary.

DR. Kwame Nkrumah's book 'Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism' exposes the way in which monopoly capitalism, driven out of its colonialist strongholds, seeks to perpetuate the imperialist relationship.

The apologists of capitalism can scarcely deny the predatory nature of the system, because for generations, the peoples of the world have suffered at its hands, especially the working people and the colonial peoples.

These apologists now try to answer the kind of exposure which Kwame Nkrumah's book typifies, by pretending that capitalism is now different.

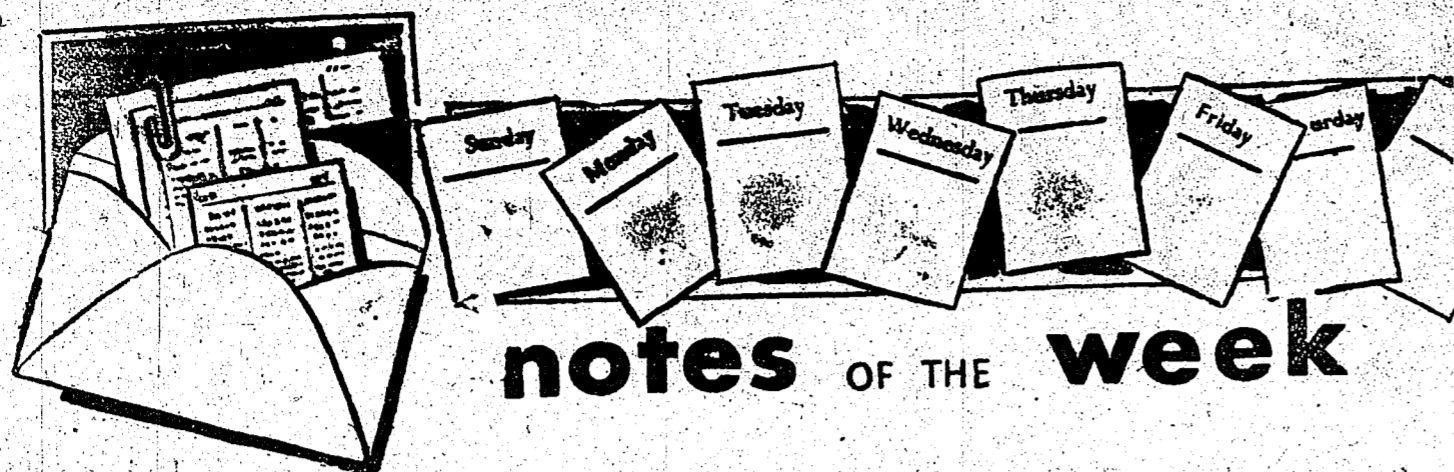
Today we begin the first of our series of articles by Ron Bellamy, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Economics, The University of Ghana.

The series deals with the views now current that the capitalist system has painlessly transformed itself into some other economic system, which is not however socialism.

In the attempt to prove this changed character of capitalism many economists obscure its essential features which persist in spite of some new forms of development.

We have asked Mr. Bellamy to examine these views which are being widely advocated in Britain, in the United States and Western Europe. We have asked him to do this because we believe that these theories of a 'transformed capitalism' have their effects here in Africa, and that they retard our struggles to build real socialism.

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THE news that the Heads of State of India and Pakistan have agreed to meet in the Soviet Union to hold peace talks for the settlement of their dispute will be welcomed by every anti-imperialist in the world.

One of imperialism's classic devices of divide and rule was operated, when India and Pakistan were created, on the winning of their independence from Britain. Pakistan territory was divided into two and Kashmir's status left unsettled. This constituted a source of perpetual tension which has now led to open conflict.

The need for unity which is so urgent in Africa, as we can see from our own experience, is equally necessary in Asia. Imperialism tries to perpetuate its influence by splitting the anti-imperialist camp in as many ways as possible, and its efforts of late have been fairly successful.

The capitalist press, imperialist diplomacy and general tactics, seek to extract the maximum advantage from such divisions, and friends of India and Pakistan have been deeply concerned that they were being drawn deeper into their "own" war as well as the Cold War, with the United Nations apparently powerless to influence events.

Both countries are developing states, needing all their resources for peaceful social construction and the war between them could only weaken their economies still further leaving them prey to neo-colonialism.

Within Africa we have heard and still have border disputes. One of the great political victories of O.A.U. was its success in settling the border dispute between Algeria and Morocco. The O.A.U. was successful in reaching a settlement because it was able to seal off the negotiations and

proposals from the interference of the imperialists who hoped to take advantage of the position. The O.A.U. acted as a protective umbrella under which the discussions could continue without further complications.

The Soviet Union, in making its offer to the Pakistan and Indian leaders to meet in Tashkent in Soviet Asia has launched a most powerful initiative for peace. We see in practice the interests of peace, anti-imperialism and Socialism coinciding, with the strength of socialism able to act as a shield against further provocation.

The Imperialist powers, will of course, launch a counter offensive, if they can, to try and wreck the talks.

There is a great deal at stake, there are first, the lives and security of the people of Pakistan and India, and second the peace of Asia and the rest of the world.

There is no basic clash of interests between newly independent states, which cannot be solved by negotiations and if areas of tension can be protected from the interference of those who stand to benefit from splits in the anti-imperialist camp, the dangers of any open clash can be averted.

Early next year, the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Conference will take place in Havana. It is vitally important that it should be in a position to offer the strongest possible challenge to imperialism, and the settlement of the Pakistan-Indian dispute would be a significant factor in achieving this.

We hope that the Tashkent negotiations will be the forerunner of further moves to settle this and all other outstanding disputes which serve only to weaken our unity and help to perpetuate the domination of the third world, by imperialist interests.

LIES FOR WAR

PRESIDENT Johnson has been caught out in two lies. Firstly, in a speech at Baltimore earlier this year he falsely claimed that the United States was ready for "unconditional negotiations" to bring about a Vietnam settlement; secondly, on July 13th this year he falsely asserted that "there has not been the slightest indication that the other side is interested in negotiation."

Washington has now been obliged to acknowledge that far from favouring "unconditional negotiations" it insists on the acceptance of at least two conditions before it is prepared to talk peace.

The first is that there shall be no political recognition of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in the final settlement.

In other words, Washington refuses to recognise the body against which it is fighting; such a condition makes peace negotiations virtually impossible.

The second condition imposed by Washington is that the National Liberation Front, which has already liberated some four-fifths of South Vietnam, shall not be permitted to retain any territorial base in South Vietnam.

In other words, Washington hopes to achieve at the conference table what it has failed to achieve on the battlefield: the restoration of the rule of its Saigon puppets over the whole of South Vietnam.

Regarding the President's second lie—that "there has not been the slightest indication that the other side is interested in negotiation"—it has now been confirmed that in August last year the United States rejected an offer to begin peace talks in Rangoon.

The offer was conveyed by U.N. Secretary General U Thant to President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. It was subsequently conveyed more formally by the Secretary General to the then U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the late Mr. Adlai Stevenson.

Washington rejected this opportunity to negotiate a peaceful settlement because in the words of a State Department spokesman, Mr. Dean Rusk had a "sensitive antenna" and therefore "knew" that "there was no serious intent on the other side".

"This comment reminds one of the ancient Roman practice of drawing auspices from the flight or the entrails of birds. It would be a shuddering thought that the fate of nations and of thousands of young Americans depended on Dean Rusk's antenna", observed the *New York Times* editorially (18.11.65). Furthermore, this offer of

August, 1964 was neither the first nor the last. There was an earlier offer in 1963, shortly after the overthrow of the Diem Government in Saigon, when discussions for the establishment of a coalition government including National Liberation Front representatives, were proposed.

And since the August, 1964 offer, Vietnamese representatives have approached the U.S. Embassy in Paris and been rebuffed; likewise a "very prominent senator" was, according to the *London Times* (18.11.65) approached ear-

lier this year by Algerians who told him that the Vietnamese National Liberation Front was willing to begin informal talks. The information was passed on to the State Department, where it was ignored."

So the U.S. President is demonstrated to have been a liar. America's brutal colonial-type war against the people of Vietnam is "justified" by the Big Lie of alleged "aggression" from the North; now the Big Lie is being backed up by other lies.

The lie is in fact becoming

a routine instrument of U.S. policy. When the U-2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union, Washington first tried to claim that it was a weather plane; at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, Washington claimed that the planes that bombed Cuban airfields came from Cuba, when in fact they came from CIA-operated bases; earlier this year "Washington tried to deny that CIA agents had offered the Prime Minister of Singapore a bribe, only to have to admit the unsavoury truth latter.

DIARY

NOVEMBER 5:

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah in a message sent to Soviet President Anastas Mikoyan and Party leader Leonid Brezhnev on the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution called for further strengthening of the bonds of friendship between Ghana and Soviet Union.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The British Premier Mr. Harold Wilson, today discussed the latest moves in the Rhodesian crisis with senior members of his Cabinet in London following the rejection of his terms for a Royal Commission on Rhodesia's future by the colony's white settler minority spokesman Ian Smith.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE):

Leopoldville. Premier Everiste Kimba has announced that his Government would concentrate its diplomatic efforts in seeking friendly ties with fellow African States.

MOROCCO: King Hassan of Morocco will leave Rabat on November 29 for a state visit to Bonn, West Germany on the invitation of President Heinrich Lübke.

NOVEMBER 6:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Rhodesian White Minority regime of Ian Smith has rejected Britain's proposal for a Royal Commission on the colony's independence issue. The rejection was contained in personal message sent by Smith to British Premier Mr. Harold Wilson.

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah's latest book "Neo-Colonialism—The Last Stage of Imperialism" will be launched in London on Thursday. A five-

man Ghana delegation led by Mr. Kwesi Armah, Minister of Trade, has left Accra for London to attend the Launching ceremony.

IVORY COAST: Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouët-Boigny has been re-elected President for a new term of five years.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has warned the Rhodesian white minority regime that, in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence they would find Zambia not easy to handle.

NOVEMBER 7:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Ghana Peace Council has reminded the United Nations that any move by the Southern Rhodesian settler regime towards unilateral declaration of independence to the minority regime will be a threat to world peace.

* The Chinese "People's Daily" in an editorial on Southern Rhodesia today said "the African people can win real independence only through unflinching struggle and not harbouring illusions about imperialism."

* The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr. Diallo Telli has said in Rome, Italy, that African States would settle the Rhodesian problem if Britain and the United Nations did not take effective action.

* British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson today twice called in senior Cabinet Ministers to discuss latest moves in the Rhodesian crisis.

NOVEMBER 8:

MAURITIUS: British proposal to buy from Mauritius the

Island of Diego Garcia, with the intention of establishing an Anglo-American base there, are threatening to break up the all-party government of Premier Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

NIGERIA: The Government of Eastern Nigeria has come out in support of the role played by the Eastern Nigerian Broadcasting Service and the daily newspaper Nigeria "Outlook" published during and following the disputed Parliamentary elections in Western Nigeria last month.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): The Conservative Catholic Paper "La Libre Belgique" reported today that the Congo (Leopoldville) Chamber of Deputies (Parliament) has "formally condemned" President Joseph Kasavubu's policy, particularly his removal of Moise Tshombe from the Premiership.

TANZANIA: "The nationalist" today took the Federal German Press to task for insulting Tanzania recently and making an effort to isolate her from co-operation with Kenya and Zambia.

GHANA: As an important contribution to African Unity, a revised import and export list, based on the standard international trade classification of the United Nations, will be introduced throughout Africa, in January next year, Mr. E. G. Quinlan, Regional Customs Adviser to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, announced it in Accra today.

ETHIOPIA: Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, (O.A.U.) will have talks in New York with U Thant, United Nations Secretary-General, on co-operation between the two bodies.

ZANZIBAR: Tanzania's First Vice-President, Shikh Abeid Karume, announced today that 1,986 families would be given free plantations by the Zanzibar Government before the end of this year.

Continued on page 3

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ROME	ARR. 1655	1705		
ZURICH	ARR. 1745			
AMSTERDAM	ARR. 1900			
LONDON	DEP. 1950	1820	1825	

Speech At A London Reception To Mark The Publication Of Kwame Nkrumah's 'Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage Of Imperialism'.

The Answer in Africa is Unity

by Professor A. A. Kwapong

ANYONE familiar with the contemporary scene in Africa, Asia or Latin America, who reads the press, listens to the radio broadcasts or has heard the speeches of the delegates of these countries at the United Nations General Assembly, knows the feelings and passions aroused by the three words, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The violence with which these evils are denounced! Afro-Asian leaders varies; course, from country to country; in "moderate" independent state in Africa, for instance, the tones in which these evils are denounced are much more muted and restrained than they are in the so-called "militant and radical" ones. It is also fashionable for Western apologists to pooch-pooch this outcry and to dismiss the dangers of imperialism and colonialism: after all, have the colonial powers not liberated the bulk of their colonies and successfully transformed their empires into commonwealths or communities?

A DEFINITION

The real danger, so it is claimed, comes from world communism, and "partnership" with the "free world" is the surest guarantee for the future prosperity and wellbeing of the developing nations. As for neo-colonialism, many Western apologists (and, among these, very highly-placed statesmen like Sir Alec Douglas-Home) even go so far as to profess ignorance of its meaning and to deny its very existence. At best, neo-colonialism should be dismissed, it is claimed, as the figment of over-sensitive anti-colonialist imaginations. But the ordinary African, Asian, or Latin American knows better. We in Ghana, who live in the vortex of change and con-

trovery and at the very epicentre of the African revolution, are very much aware of the continuing menace of these three evils, thanks largely to the watchful and vigorous leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. But familiarity with "neo-colonialism" is not enough. How well do we know and understand this menace? What is neo-colonialism? It is the great merit of President Nkrumah's new book, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* that, at last, no one, be he friend or foe, can plead ignorance of the phenomenon of neo-colonialism. To the question "What is neo-colonialism?" Dr. Nkrumah gives the following unequivocal answer at the very outset of his book: "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside" (p.ix).

It has to do with power. "Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practise it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress" (p.xi). Exit Old-style Colonialism by the front-door, to the fare of independence celebrations; enter New-style Colonialism by the backdoor, unheralded and unsuspected but more insidious and dangerous, because more deceitful and irresponsible. That is the author's thesis. Dr. Nkrumah is not content to assert that neo-colonialism means, in short, colonialism by deception. In 259 pages, he dissects and analyses the phenomenon. With a wealth of overwhelming detail and factual sta-

tistical information, he laments the intricate and labyrinthine maze of the international world of Big Business through which Neo-Colonialism operates: the mining monopolies and cartels, the consortia, the finance groups, holding companies, subsidiaries etc., all linked together and intertwined in complex and confusing combinations, exploiting the primary resources of the richly endowed but poor under-developed countries, to the impoverishment of these latter countries and the enrichment of the industrialised nations of Europe and America.

ANALYSIS

Dr. Nkrumah is first and foremost an African statesman and the bulk of his book is devoted to an analysis of neo-colonialism in Africa, where it is perhaps at its most virulent. With clinical thoroughness and the clarity of an anatomical manual, he lays bare the operations and interconnections between the great combines like the Anglo-American Corporation, the diamond companies of Southern and Central Africa, Tanganyika Concessions, Rio Tinto, Patino, Union Minière du Haut Katanga, Société Générale, Du Pont, I.C.I., Unilever; the big names behind the giant, ubiquitous corporations like Harry Oppenheimer, Rockefeller, Olin Mathieson, to name a few—all these emerge from the financial back pages of newspapers into the full light of day. It is a fascinating and necessary service of enlightenment which should be compulsory reading for all practising politicians in the African states, in particular, and for all students of the contem-

porary political, economic and social scene in the developing countries, in general. In performing this salutary operation, the writer leads the reader on a fascinating tour from Africa to Western Europe, North and South America, Australia, Asia and back to Africa. But though the book's most valuable feature is this detailed and factual clinical analysis, complete with illustrative charts, of the economic domination and exploitation of the states subject to neo-colonialism, the work is no mere dull encyclopaedic catalogue of statistics. This may be shown by two quotations which illustrate the essential character of colonialism, whether old-style or new. The first is an extract from a petition which Lo Bengula, Chief of the Matabele, wrote to Queen Victoria to protest against the trickery by which Cecil Rhodes' agents had robbed him of his lands: "Some time ago a party of men came into my country the principal one appearing to be a man named Rudd. They asked me for a place to dig gold, and said they would give me certain things for the right to do so. I told them to bring what they would give and I would then show them what I would give. "A document was written and presented to me for signature. I asked what it contained, and was told that in it were my words and the words of these men. I put my hand to it. "About three months afterwards I heard from other sources that I had given by that document the right of all the minerals of my country. I called a meeting of my Indunas and

also of the white men, and demanded a copy of the document. It was proved to me that I had signed away the mineral rights of my whole country to one Rudd and his friends. I have since had a meeting of my Indunas and they will not recognise the paper, as it contains neither my words nor the words of those who got it.

PLUNDER

"After the meeting I demanded that the original document be returned to me. It has not come yet, although it is two months since, and they promised to bring it back soon. The men of the party who were in my country at the time were told to remain until the document was brought back. One of them, Maguire, has now left without my knowledge and against my orders. "I write to you that you may know the truth about this, and may not be deceived" (p.154). The second is from Lord Macaulay's description of the relations between the directors of the East India Company and their Agent, Warren Hastings, plunderer of India. "It is probable that, 15,000 miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they [the directors—Ed] never perceived the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their lieutenant in Calcutta. "Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees" (p.257). Today the barefaced plunder of colonial territories,

save in old-fashioned backwaters like the Portuguese colonies in Africa, is no longer possible or expedient; nor, the safest course is both to preach the sermons and to find the rupees. President Nkrumah concedes that not all who preach these sermons are insincere. President Truman, for example, was no doubt sincere when he said in 1951: "The only kind of war we seek is the good old fight against man's ancient enemies, poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy; but "the stark fact remains." President Nkrumah remarks "whatever wars may have been won, since 1951, none of them is the war against poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy" (p.256). It is clear from President Nkrumah's massive documentation and penetrating analysis that he has proved his thesis that the maximum returns which the "international financial complex" makes are essential for the developed capitalist countries if they are to maintain simultaneously both the benefits of the welfare state and the heavy burden of armament costs. Western commentators will no doubt jib at the inclusion of this or that agency (like the M.R.A., Hollywood, the C.I.A., the U.S.I.A., the Peace Corps or the I.M.F.) in the catalogue of mechanisms of neo-colonialism; but no one can deny the effectiveness and clarity with which the workings of the "international financial complex" are detailed and spelled out. Doubtless, too, many of the corporations and industrial combines so anatomised will plead innocence. One may well despair in

the face of all these overwhelming odds, but Dr. Nkrumah rejects the counsel of despair. His message directed, in the first place, to his African colleagues is positive, optimistic and clear, since he is writing as a practical African statesman. (The book came out on the eve of the recent Summit Conference of African Heads of State). The message is this: Neo-Colonialism can only operate with success if in Africa, elsewhere, its victims, or potential victims, remain divided and disunited. The answer in Africa is unity; an effective union government, not an ethereal and vague concept to be realised in the distant future, but practical, political union which cuts across the vertical leading strings binding the newly independent African States to their ex-colonial masters. On a world scale, he concludes: "... for the first time in human history the potential material resources of the world are so great that there is no need for there to be rich and poor. It is only the organisation to deploy these potential resources that is lacking. Effective world pressure can force such redeployment, but world pressure is not exercised by appeals however eloquent, or by arguments, however convincing. It is only achieved by deeds. . . (p. 258). Again: "The danger to world peace springs not from the action of those who seek to end neo-colonialism, but from the inaction of those who allow it to continue" (p. 259). Any impartial observer will surely agree with this conclusion. Herein lie the great value and importance of the latest of President Nkrumah's books, not only to Africa, but the whole world. Its publication by a professional writer would have been impressive enough; that it comes from the pen of a busy Head of State, so soon after the appearance of his recent work, *Consciencism*, is a truly remarkable tour de force.

UNITY NOW

Western commentators will no doubt jib at the inclusion of this or that agency (like the M.R.A., Hollywood, the C.I.A., the U.S.I.A., the Peace Corps or the I.M.F.) in the catalogue of mechanisms of neo-colonialism; but no one can deny the effectiveness and clarity with which the workings of the "international financial complex" are detailed and spelled out. Doubtless, too, many of the corporations and industrial combines so anatomised will plead innocence. One may well despair in

Socialism and Economic Planning

"THE revolution will destroy the old system, but it will not produce a new and better one"—such was the opinion, (and fond hope) of the foes of socialism in 1917, immediately after the October Revolution. It was predicated on an analogy with bourgeois revolutions, which destroyed the obsolete feudal society and cleared the way for capitalism. But the development of capitalist relationships became the task of hte profit seekers; the new exploiters who took over after the revolution. These ill-intentioned predictions proved way off the mark. For they failed to take into account the fundamental difference between bourgeois and socialist revolution, also the fact that socialism does not come into being as a result of unco-ordinated actions by individuals motivated solely by the lust for profit. Socialism is the result of conscious constructive effort by the whole people working to carefully prepared and scientifically substantiated plans. The Marxists, their enemies maintained, have no model of socialism, no time-table for bringing society into the new world. In a way that was true; the founders of scientific socialism believed it unnecessary, harmful in fact, to draw up ready-made recipes for re-fashioning the social structure. They left that to the day-dreamers. Lenin wrote: "There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new' society. No, he studied the birth of the new society

out of the old, the forms of transition from the latter to the former as a natural historical process." And the historical process is subject to definite objective laws. They were revealed by Marxism. Shunning all utopian dreams, all attempts to invent ready-made formulas, Marxism converted socialist and communist ideas into a science firmly anchored in reality. To quote Lenin again, SCIENTIFIC LAWS "Marx treats the question of communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of development, say, of a new biological variety, once he knew that such and such was the origin and such and such the exact direction in which it was changing." Marxism has always regarded the working class as the main progressive force capable of transforming society along socialist lines. And it gave the working class an invincible weapon—precise knowledge of the laws of social development, the laws that determine the historic need for the revolutionary change-over from capitalism to socialism. The working class has acted in accordance with these laws and has foiled all the hopes of world reaction, has effectively, disproved the capitalist contention that Lenin's party, which performed the October Revolution, had no programme of action. There was such a programme. And it was not an abstract schema, a set of dogmas divorced from living reality,

In recent issues Cambridge economist Maurice Dobb discussed the real significance of recent economic developments in the Socialist countries which some claim to be "a return to capitalism and the profit motive." Soviet economist L. A. LEONTEV, a corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, here continues the discussion. It was the result of concrete analysis of a concrete historical situation. That programme, elaborated by Lenin and adopted by the Communist Party, has stood the test of current and historic reality. For nearly half a century now it has been put into practice, consistently and successfully. The secret of its success is that it rests on the firm foundation of Marxist science, which does not hesitate to lay bare the deepest roots of social processes. Despite all the dark forebodings of its enemies, the socialist revolution produced not chaos, but a remarkably harmonious organizational pattern to enable the new society to cope with the immense work of reconstruction in a minimum space of time. For the October Revolution released all the latent energies of the working people and brought to bear their immense initiative and enthusiasm. It was this constructive force of the October Revolution that converted Russia from a weak and backward country into a powerful modern state. Its enemies find themselves compelled to admit that. Witness this from the West-German *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*: "The development of the Soviet Union, now the world's second biggest industrial and economic power, has invariably been attended by erroneous prognostications and repeated predictions of collapse." Be it added, however, that this does not prevent the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* and other capitalist newspapers from misrepresenting the decisions taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) at its meeting in September. The constructive forces released by the October Revolution continue to grow and assume more perfected forms from year to year. For as one goal set by the Communist Party is attained, new and more complex tasks arise. A NEW PHASE They follow from the consistent policy of strengthening socialist society and raising the living standards of its members. And it is in the light of these new conditions and new tasks that the Communist Party creatively applies and develops the ideas given it by Lenin. Socialist construction cannot, and does not, follow abstract patterns invented by armchair theorists. The building of socialism is the work of the millions who create the material and spiritual values of society. The present reorganization of economic planning and management is meant to pro-

vide the widest possible scope for initiative. The underlying idea is to combine centralized planning with maximum initiative and operational independence at factory level to bring into closer identity the interests of the state, the factory and the worker. The C.P.S.U. Central Committee decisions emphasize that the value of the new reform measures lies in the fact that they make possible the full application of the profitability principle within a centrally planned economy, combine industry-wide planning with broad economic initiative at all levels, and one-man management with a bigger role for the factory collective. Is this a "retreat" from planning, as our enemies contend? Is this acceptance of capitalist methods, as reactionary propaganda would have the world believe? A hundred years ago Marx described the English workers' struggle for legal restriction of working hours as a great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws, which forms the political economy of the bourgeoisie, and social production controlled by social foresights, which forms the political economy of the working class. And Marx regarded the success of the English workers' organized action in this struggle as the first open surrender of bourgeois political economy to working-class political economy. Some fifty years later the socialist revolution in Russia signified the complete and final victory of the working-class political economy in the world's biggest country. That was followed by victorious socialist revolutions in several other countries. This greatly extended the application of the working-class political economy, which Marx defined as social production controlled by social foresight. Social production controlled by social foresight—that formula, with its far-reaching implications, is given full play as the socialist economy develops, and as socialist economic methods become more mature. ECONOMIC LIFE In a socialist country economic life, the main sphere of human endeavour, is one and for all liberated from the despotic power of blind forces. Socialist planning is based on scientific prognostications. Social foresight precludes all manner of arbitrariness and subjectivism. It requires that decisions concerning the economy be based on a precise assessment of realities, a clear understanding of development trends in science and technology, careful evaluation both of available resources and of the rising requirements of society. The socialist economy is powered by the interests of the whole of society, the wellbeing of the people not by the selfish interests of capitalist exploiters. The genuine interests of society determine economic

goals, the entire direction, in fact, of building socialism and communism. That is borne out by the record of the Soviet Union beginning with the electrification plan in the early years of Soviet government, the industrialization plans of the twenties and Lenin's co-operative plan, which found expression in agricultural collectivization. No one is today likely to dispute the value, significance or efficacy of the pre-war and post-war five-year programmes, or of the seven-year plan, which is being completed this year. Yet socialism's enemies predicted certain failure for all these plans. In our day economic endeavour follows two divergent courses. In the socialist countries production develops according to plans based on scientific prognostication. In capitalist countries—despite the substantial changes of the past few decades—economic spontaneity still holds sway. Planned development of the economy is just as inviolable a basis of socialism as the rule of blind forces is a built-in feature of capitalism. These are not merely two different principles; they are direct opposites. There is no valid basis for theories about the "growing similarity" between capitalism and socialism, or "convergence trends." Economic planning is basic to the building of socialism and communism. The record of the past nearly half-century shows that it gives the new system immense advantages and superiority. It opens up vast opportunities for rational production, distribution and economical use of available resources, and makes possible long range prognostication. Continued on page 2

MOBILISE IN DEFENCE

MR. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly. Exactly two weeks ago today, some European settlers in the British Colony of Southern Rhodesia revolted against the Government of the United Kingdom and seized control of the colonial machinery of government. It is now time that we took stock of the situation thus created and decided on what practical steps we should take.

Mr. Speaker,

Since then there have been directed against them millions of words of denunciation. If words could kill, the entire rebel regime would be now in their graves. But rebellions are put down by action not by words. It is true there have been many calls for action but these have been calls for action by others. We must avoid the habit of looking outside the African Continent to some former colonial power to set right those problems which are our duty to settle. The time has now come for us to take action ourselves. This means that we must examine the Southern Rhodesian rebellion with utmost realism and in the realities of the African revolution.

SCRUTINY

At first sight the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia appears to be aimed at enabling the settlers to continue unimpeded their policy of oppression and degradation of the African population. If we examine the circumstances of the revolt, however, it will be seen that this is not the explanation. The British Government had already conceded to the settlers everything for which they asked short of formal independence. They could have continued as long as they liked to practise apartheid under the shadow of the Union Jack and with the assurance that whatever crime against humanity they committed they would be defended by the United Kingdom Government at the United Nations.

Despite the fact that the present British Government when in opposition had denounced the Southern Rhodesian Constitution, despite the fact that the British Prime Minister had described it as a police state, the United Kingdom Government were perfectly prepared to allow the settlers to continue to rule so long as they wished—provided only that they acknowledged the sovereignty of Britain. Why were they unwilling to do this? In such circumstances

there can only be one reason for the rebellion, namely, that the settlers wished to demonstrate to the world that they were powerful enough to defy the might of Britain.

Naturally they would not have embarked on this course unless previously they had obtained promises of support from South Africa and from Portugal. What we are facing is an alliance of the three apartheid countries aimed at taking over the whole of Southern Africa. The talk of Bechuanaland becoming independent in the near future becomes meaningless when viewed against this terrible background.

Mr. Speaker,

Let me first state the position of Ghana, which remains unchanged. We consider that the United Kingdom has under the Charter of the United Nations certain positive obligations towards the African people of Southern Rhodesia which are set out in Article 73. If Britain is unwilling or unable to fulfil these obligations the United Nations must step in. Ghana considers that the proper organ through which the United Nations should intervene is the Organisation for African Unity. This view has now been supported by the Security Council of the United Nations.

In a Resolution passed five days ago the Security Council called on the United Kingdom—and I quote—"to quell this rebellion of the racist minority and to take all other appropriate measures which would prove effective in eliminating the authority of the usurpers and in bringing the minority regime to an immediate end". Further, the Resolution—and again I quote—"called upon the Organisation of African Unity to do all in its power to assist in the implementation of this Resolution in accordance with Chapter 8 of the Charter". Chapter 8 provides that Regional Organisations such as the Organisation of African Unity may be empowered by the Security Council to take all suitable action, including military action.

In response to this decision of the Security Council, for which the United Kingdom Government voted in favour, and in accordance with the Resolution on Southern Rhodesia, unanimously passed at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity held in Accra last month, a Bill will be placed before you

Address by Osagyefo at an Emergency Meeting in the National Assembly on 25th Nov. 1965.

tomorrow which will enable Ghana to play its full part in any action that may be decided upon.

I would remind you that in their Resolution on Southern Rhodesia the Heads of State and Government decided that in the event of the failure of the United Kingdom Government to take decisive action on the Southern Rhodesian issue, the African States would—and once again I quote—"use all possible means, including the use of force, with a view to opposing a unilateral declaration of independence. In addition, the Heads of State and Government decided—and I quote once more—"to give immediate and very necessary assistance to the people of Zimbabwe with a view to establishing a majority government in the country". The Bill which you will be asked to consider tomorrow will make it quite clear that Ghana is prepared to play its full part in implementing this Resolution.

SUPPRESSION

Ghana's position is that the United Kingdom Government, having affirmed that it has full authority and responsibility for dealing with the Southern Rhodesian situation, should act to quell the rebellion. In my view, for the various reasons which I will explain later, it will prove impossible to quell the rebellion by purely economic means. From the very beginning of all this, I have made it clear to the British Prime Minister that I consider it would be necessary for Britain to use armed force against the rebels. I am still of this opinion. Even Christ had to use the whip to drive the wicked money changers from the temple. That is why the Government of Ghana believes that it is only by the use of force that this rebellion can be checked. I am extremely doubtful as to whether sanctions could be operated effectively; and I can foresee that in the end it will be necessary either for the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity to use military force to put down the rebellion, if the United Kingdom is unwilling to act.

I believe that it is possible, if a complete trade boycott

were feasible, for the rebel regime to be overthrown in this way. Even so, nothing would be achieved by this except the creation of a state of anarchy, and unless there was an alternative government prepared and ready to take over from the rebels.

The British Colony of Southern Rhodesia is a landlocked territory some one hundred and fifty thousand square miles in extent; in other words, it is about one and half times the size of Ghana. Southern Rhodesia is bounded on the north by Zambia and on the west by the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland. It has a southern frontier with South Africa, and on the east a common frontier with Mozambique. Its rail communications are through Bechuanaland and through Portuguese territory. There is road but no rail communication direct with South Africa. An economic blockade of Southern Rhodesia would thus require the co-operation of four countries; the United Kingdom—which still controls the external relations of Bechuanaland, South Africa, Portugal and Zambia. Britain and Zambia are agreed on blockading Southern Rhodesia provided this is ordered by the United Nations. South Africa and Portugal have given no indications that they would accept a decision of the Security Council to impose economic sanctions.

There is no economic reason why the United Kingdom should not enforce a blockade since Rhodesian trade with Britain represents less than one per cent of the United Kingdom total trade turnover. In contrast to this the sacrifice demanded of Zambia is colossal. One-third of Zambia's trade is with Southern Rhodesia. Further, all the essential imports required to keep the Zambian economy running are supplied through a railway system which passes through Southern Rhodesia.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

If, therefore, as the United Kingdom Government suggests the only method of bringing down the Smith regime is to be an economic blockade, this will impose on both Zambia and Malawi an intolerable economic burden, while the sacrifice made by Britain will be minimal. In any event if any economic blockade of Southern Rhodesia is to be effective, either the United Nations must compel Portugal and South Africa to join in economic sanctions or else all the other nations in the world must agree to extend sanctions so that they apply equally to the Portuguese colony of Mozambique and to South Africa. I hope that the United Nations would be prepared to take this action but I have doubts whether the Security Council, as at present composed, would vote in favour of this. If they are not prepared to do so, all talk of economic sanctions is nonsense.

It is possible, of course, in the coming elections to the Security Council for the African States to insist that only such states as are prepared to support a blockade of not only Southern Rhodesia but South Africa and Mozambique in addition, are elected to the Council. Even so, there is no guarantee that the United Nations Security Council has the authority to see that such a blockade was effectively enforced. For these reasons I believe that it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to defeat the Southern Rhodesian rebels by purely economic means.

If the United Kingdom Government and the other major powers are sincere in their professed desire to carry out an effective blockade of

Southern Rhodesia, the first step is clearly to inform Portugal and South Africa that United Nations inspectors will be sent to their territory to ensure that no goods are sent to Southern Rhodesia or are exported from it. If South Africa and Portugal refuse to accept this proposal then the Security Council must order that the same sanctions are applied against Mozambique and South Africa as are applied against Southern Rhodesia.

The enforcing of such sanctions would result in, at least, a naval and air blockade of the whole of Southern Africa and would thus involve the use of far more military force than would be required if direct military action were taken against the Southern Rhodesian rebels.

It is for this reason that I think the economic sanctions are unrealistic and that the only sensible course is for direct military action against the rebels.

MOBILIZATION

No one African State by itself can undertake this military action and if it were left to African States alone, they might well have to seek assistance from outside the African continent in order to deal with the situation which might arise if Portugal or South Africa came militarily to the assistance of the rebels.

What then are we to do? Our first step must be to mobilise the conscience of the world so that in the last resort if African States are compelled to act on their own, they will have the sympathy of all peoples outside the African Continent.

At the moment far too little is known of the sordid history of Southern Rhodesia and the oppression suffered by its African inhabitants. We all have a duty to make the facts known.

A year ago, when I was writing *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, I described the Southern Rhodesian situation, as it was then, in these words:

"Rhodesia, while theoretically a colony, is really a fossilised form of the earliest type of neo-colonialism which was practised in Southern Africa until the formation of the Union of South Africa. The essence of the Rhodesia system is not to employ individuals drawn from the people of the territory itself to run the country, as in the newer type of neo-colonial State, but to utilise instead an alien minority. The majority of the European ruling class of Rhodesia only came to the Colony after the second world war, but it is they and not the African inhabitants, who outnumber them 16 to 1, that Britain regards as 'the Government'."

PROTECTION

This racist State is protected from outside pressure because under international law it is a British colony, while Britain herself excuses her failure to exercise her legal rights to prevent the oppression and exploitation of the African inhabitants (of which, of course, she officially disapproves) because of a supposed British parliamentary convention. In other words, by maintaining Rhodesia nominally as a colony, Britain in fact gives her official protection as the second South Africa and the European racists are left free to treat the African inhabitants as they will.

The Rhodesian system thus has all the hallmarks of the neo-colonial model. The patron power, Britain, awards to a local government over which

it claims to have no control unlimited rights and exploitation, within the territory. Yet Britain still retains powers to exclude other countries from intervening either to liberate its African population or to bring its economy into some other zone of influence. The manoeuvring over Rhodesia's 'independence' is an excellent example of the workings of neo-colonialism and of the practical difficulties to which the system gives rise. A European minority of less than a quarter of a million could not maintain, in the conditions of Africa today, rule over four million Africans without external support from somewhere. When the settlers talk of 'independence' they are not thinking of standing on their own feet but merely of seeking a new neo-colonialist master who would, in their view, be more reliable than Britain."

That is what I wrote a year ago.

Southern Rhodesia came into existence by tricky and force of arms. At the close of the 19th century, Cecil Rhodes, the South African diamond buccaneer who had become Prime Minister of what was then the British dependency of Cape Colony, invaded Southern Rhodesia and Zambia. Rhodes, dreaming of the Cape to Cairo British empire, pushed from Matabeleland into Mashonaland across the Zambesi, into the country now called Zambia. Thus he drove a wedge between the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola. This expedition was undertaken by a pioneer column of mercenary free-booters who were recruited from among the English and Boer populations of South Africa. Each man who took part in the expedition was promised not less than fifteen gold claims and a farm of three thousand acres. These individuals were the first white settlers in Rhodesia and the National Day of Southern Rhodesia is described as "Pioneer Day".

PIONEER COLUMN

It commemorates the arrival on the 12th of September, 1890, of this pioneer column at the spot where the present capital of Salisbury is now situated. Thus the first white settlers only arrived in Rhodesia and Zambia seventy-five years ago and they were a tiny minority among the African population. For the fifty years prior to the arrival of Rhodes' Pioneer Column, what is now Southern Rhodesia had been dominated by the Africans of Matabele. Their famous chief, Lo Bengula, was tricked into signing an agreement with Rhodes' agents under which he gave away to Rhodes' British South Africa Company all the mineral rights in his domain.

When Lo Bengula woke up to the bitter realisation of the trickery that had divested him and his people of the rights in their own land, he petitioned Queen Victoria. Despite the fact that Lo Bengula's letter showed clearly the nature of the fraud which had been perpetrated on him the British Government of the day did nothing. Rhodes was allowed to bring in additional troops. He picked a quarrel with the Matabele, declared war on them and crushed them. The British Government granted a Charter to Rhodes' British South Africa Company which continued to rule Southern Rhodesia and Zambia up to 1923. In that year the British Government organised a referendum among the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia so that they could decide whether they wished in future to join South Africa, or to be a 'self-governing British Colony'. The then population of some three million Africans were not allowed to vote and the only people participating in the plebiscite were some fourteen thousand European settlers. By a narrow majority they decided against joining South Africa.

In the same year the British Government made a famous statement of policy known as "The Devonshire Declaration" which is now reproduced in substance in Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Devonshire Declaration declared, and I quote: "His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount and if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail." In the spirit of this declaration the British Parliament insisted on maintaining some control at least over how the settlers treated the African majority of the colony. Since that date the whole history of Southern Rhodesia has consisted of the efforts made by the settlers to throw off this restraint and to obtain complete freedom to oppress and degrade the African population as they wished.

Their first attempt consisted of a plan to extend Southern Rhodesian settler control over what is now Zambia and Malawi. At first they had some success. In 1953, despite the opposition of the great majority of the African population of the territories concerned, the British Government set up a Federation composed of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia and the then two British Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The constitution of this Federation, enacted by Britain, gave the political control of its Government to the European settlers.

"DOMINION PARTY" This Federation lasted for only ten years. The heroic resistance of the peoples of Zambia and Malawi made it possible for the European settlers to continue ruling, and at the end of 1963 the Federation was dissolved and Malawi and Zambia became independent. During the period of the Federation's existence the present Rhodesian Front Party was born. It was called then "the Dominion Party" because it had as its policy the creation of independence racial dominion which would include the rich copper belt areas of Zambia and Katanga as well as Southern Rhodesia. In 1962 this Dominion Party, re-christened the "Rhodesian Front Party", won the settler general elections in Southern Rhodesia. They have ruled the colony ever since.

In a sense, the rebellion of Southern Rhodesia has been inevitable since September, 1963, when the British Government frustrated a move by the Security Council of United Nations to prevent the arming of the Rhodesian settlers. What happened was this. During the time of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland the British Government built up a strong army, and air force in the territory. In practice these forces were under the control of Britain though in name they belonged to the Federation. When the Federation broke up and its assets were being shared up neither Malawi nor Zambia was independent. And in any event these two States did not have the revenue or the facilities to keep hold of any but a very small part of the Federation's air force and army. The British Government proposed that the bulk of these armed forces should be handed over to the racist settlers of Southern Rhodesia.

As soon as it became known that Britain was intending to hand over the armed forces to the racist settlers, Ghana took the initiative of raising the question in the Security Council of the United Nations. This move was backed by all the African States. In the Security Council itself not only the African members, Ghana and Morocco, but also all the other non-permanent members representing other regions of the world supported the Ghana Resolution. Except for Britain, no single member of the Security Council was opposed to it. The Resolution, moved by Ghana, would have prevented



"I think a few years here or there do not matter..." — Prince Philip

OF AFRICA

the handing over of any armed forces or military aircraft to the racist régime of Ian Smith. This régime was then already in power and had already boasted of its intention to seize independence by force. The Resolution would have been carried and the subsequent revolt prevented except for the fact that the United Kingdom Government used its veto to prevent it being passed.

Why did the United Kingdom Government hand over these armed forces?

The United Kingdom Government may have genuinely believed that by handing over these armies to Rhodesia, the Settler government would be persuaded to accept the conditions demanded as a basis for the independence of Rhodesia and that an independent Rhodesia would act as a bulwark of Britain's east of Suez policy.

This explains what is otherwise not clear about Britain's policy towards the rebellion in Rhodesia. The British quarrel with the settlers is that the Ian Smith régime has broken the implied bargain with Britain, and is now insisting on using Rhodesian armed forces for his own purpose. This purpose can only be one of aggression against other African States, in league with South Africa and Portugal.

BRITISH QUARREL

Under previous settler Governments the condition of the African population was bad enough. Under the Rhodesian Front Party it became intolerable. Indeed the persecution of the African population of Southern Rhodesia has reached such a pitch that the continuation of settler rule in any form is impossible.

Just before the rebellion began, three recently recruited Southern Rhodesian policemen from Britain deserted, horrified at the conditions in Rhodesia. Now back in Britain they have been telling British newspapers of their experiences. They say they were told by the settler officers to shoot Africans to kill and thus save hospital fees. They were advised not to hit Africans on the head, "as it's four times thicker than a European's, but to remember that the African has a weak stomach"—and aim for that. They claim that the police deliberately incite African riots. Nor are they the only witnesses to the callous brutality with which the four million African population is treated. The Roman Catholic Archbishop and Bishops of Southern Rhodesia have declared and I quote from their pastoral letter:

"Wages are inadequate, housing conditions in many instances are unworthy of human beings, and terms of employment are such that husbands are separated for long periods from their wives. Such a state of affairs cries to heaven for vengeance and even in the natural order can only breed crime and chaos".

HELL'S BITTERNESS

Under the Land Apportionment Act passed by the settler government all the best land is given to the Europeans. Four million Africans are compelled to live on the worse land while the 217,000 Europeans occupy one-half of the total farming area. The treatment of African domestic servants, of whom there are some 80,000 is little short of slavery. There are no schools for their children. Husbands and wives are not allowed to live together or have their children with them. A servant cannot see a film, go to a dance, attend an athletic event, hear a lecture or go for a walk at night. If he stays at home and drinks an alcoholic beverage he is guilty of a criminal offence for which he can be punished by a term of imprisonment.

Similar conditions apply to most of the industrial workers. They are compelled to live in African locations where, as often as not, they are separated

from their families. Eighty per cent of the accommodation provided for the African workers of Salisbury is for single men. Usually four men are compelled to live and cook in one small room. The African town worker may only have a visitor to stay with him if he obtains the permission of a Superintendent of a location; he may only leave his lodging for two weeks unless he obtains special permission; and in many cases may not be out of doors after 9 p.m. He automatically loses his home if he is dismissed by his employer or if he is convicted of any political offence or even if he transgresses some of the provisions of the "Pass" Laws.

OPPOSITION

Against these conditions the African population of Southern Rhodesia has sought to establish political parties which could organise opposition to oppression. The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union—ZAPU—was established after the African People's Conference in Accra in 1958 and campaigned against the efforts of the settlers to negotiate with the British Government a constitution which would give the settlers a freer hand than they had already possessed for ill-treating and oppressing the bulk of the population. In spite of the opposition of ZAPU, Britain insisted on granting to the settlers the notorious 1961 Constitution. This Constitution was at the time denounced in the British Parliament by the British Labour Party, then in opposition. It was condemned by overwhelming majority of the General Assembly in the United Nations which asked Britain not to bring it into force. Nevertheless the Constitution was established, and it has subsequently provided the means by which Ian Smith has established his illegal régime.

GHANA'S BELIEF

Ghana believes, as I think do all other African States, that it is a tragic misfortune that ZAPU has now been split and that there are in Southern Rhodesia two nationalist African parties, each claiming to speak for the African people. Nevertheless such disunity is bound to occur in conditions where all political activity is forbidden, the leaders of both parties are imprisoned, and there is no opportunity to test by free elections which party the people support. At all costs we must avoid a situation in which we refuse to support the masses of the African people of Southern Rhodesia merely on the ground that two parties are claiming their allegiance. A simple election on a universal franchise could easily decide this.

It is clear that the African people of Southern Rhodesia are today putting up a strong resistance to the illegal Smith régime and they deserve our full support.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

There is nothing now to be gained by recrimination over past events. The United Kingdom Government has stated it is determined to end the rebellion and to establish a new régime in Southern Rhodesia. As a member of the United Nations, of the Organisation of African Unity and of the Commonwealth, Ghana has a duty to make positive and constructive proposals to Britain as to how this may be done. The problem can be looked at under two heads. First, how is the rebellion to be ended? And, secondly, when the rebellion is over what type of Government is to be substituted for the present régime? These two questions are closely inter-related. If the United Kingdom rules out military intervention by its own forces and is opposed to military intervention by the United Nations or by the Organisation of African Unity, then the only way the Smith régime can be overthrown is by an internal revolt against the present régime. But such as

internal revolt can only be brought about if those seeking to restore law and order within Southern Rhodesia are given positive assurances as to what will happen to them after they have overthrown Smith. No single person in Southern Rhodesia is prepared to move a finger to restore the discredited 1961 Constitution. Therefore, it seems clear that if the United Kingdom Government really wants to create an effective opposition to Smith within Southern Rhodesia, it must not only revoke the 1961 Constitution forthwith but also hold out hopes for something better in the future.

Up till now, according to the United Kingdom Government that one obstacle to holding a Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference at which all political parties would be represented, was that Smith's settler government was opposed to the holding of such a Conference and the British Government could not override his wishes. Well, the Smith Government is no more. From Britain's point of view, Smith and his Cabinet are private citizens and what they say or do has no constitutional validity. In any event, even if Smith had continued as the legal Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, the British Government were pledged to considering the holding of a Constitutional Conference despite his opposition. I will quote to you the exact words of this pledge as set out in the Final Communiqué of the last Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference:—

"In this process of seeking to reach agreement on Rhodesia's advance to independence a constitutional conference would, at the appropriate time, be a natural step. If the discussions did not develop satisfactorily in this direction in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government having regard to the principle enunciated by the Commonwealth Secretary of Unimpeded progress towards majority rule would be ready to consider... promoting such a conference in order to ensure Rhodesia's progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole."

What should be the theme of this Constitutional Conference? Again, I quote from the same communiqué, which states that the other Commonwealth Heads of Government welcomed the statement of the British Government that the principle of 'one man one vote' was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia."

In my view the United Kingdom Government should summon immediately a Constitutional Conference to devise a Constitution for Southern Rhodesia which would provide for the establishment of majority rule in the shortest practical time. The United Kingdom Government should state that once majority rule had been established on a firm basis, Zimbabwe should become independent, but that there should be no question of Southern Rhodesia becoming independent on any other basis than 'one man one vote'.

But we must be realistic. The downfall of the Smith régime will create a vacuum. This vacuum must immediately be filled by the United Kingdom. Britain must establish immediately a system of direct rule through agencies immediately responsible to the British Government so that conditions can be created for the holding of a Constitutional Conference and the emergence of a constitutional Government based on universal adult suffrage.

If the people of Southern Rhodesia are to rise against Smith without any external military aid, they have a hard and desperate task before them. They cannot be expected to undertake that task

unless they have a clear goal before them. A Constitutional Conference now is the first requirement of the situation.

There is only one basic problem in Southern Rhodesia. It is the presence of the white settlers. It is therefore Britain's duty to consider means by which those of them who will not co-operate with a majority Government can be induced to leave. It is quite wrong to suppose that the majority of these settlers are people who have lived in Southern Rhodesia for generations. The majority of them came there after the last world war to escape the austerity and high taxation which had to be faced in Britain as a result of Britain's part in the struggle against Hitler. Clifford Dupont, the so-called officer administering the rebel government, is still enrolled as a Solicitor in London. He only left England in 1948 and it would be no hardship to him if he was compelled to resume his British law practice. The majority of Rhodesian Front supporters are similarly situated.

At the time of Indonesian Independence, the Netherlands, which is a small country and heavily populated, nevertheless repatriated to Holland over two hundred thousand colonial residents of the former East Indian colonies.

PROMPT DISCUSSIONS

I propose that discussions should take place immediately among Commonwealth Governments to see how many settlers could be resettled in other Commonwealth countries. At the moment, Australia, for example is calling out for European immigrants. Grants and assisted passages are provided by Australia for tens of thousands of settlers from Austria, Germany and other European countries. The other Commonwealth countries could, I believe, make a positive contribution by agreeing to take a fixed quota of such Southern Rhodesian settlers as wished to leave.

Short of these major measures, there are certain other positive steps which Britain could take here and now. The United Kingdom Government has now taken power to legislate for Southern Rhodesia and it has used this power to clear illegal Press censorship imposed by Smith. Britain should, I consider, immediately use these same powers to revoke all the detention orders in force against African nationalists who have been imprisoned for opposing the Smith Regime. How can Britain possibly hope that Smith will be overthrown and British authority reasserted if the United Kingdom Government do nothing to aid those who have been imprisoned for opposing the rebels? It seems to me extraordinary that even in the case of Mr. Garfield Todd, who was a missionary from New Zealand and was for five years Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, nothing has been done by the British Government to free him from detention.

Finally, there is the question of the armed forces and the police. Almost all the European officers in the police are British, as are about one-third of the officers in the Army and Air Force. Southern Rhodesian citizens only comprise a small fraction of the Rhodesian armed forces and police and, next to Britain, South Africa provides the largest contingent. Without their British officers, Southern Rhodesian Air Force, Army and Police would be crippled. It seems to me imperative that Britain should recall at once all British Air Force and Police Officers and should state that the United Kingdom Government would regard as treason the action of any British subject who continued to serve in the Smith forces after a certain date.

Many of these officers are in receipt of pensions from Britain for past services in the Rhodesian Police or defence forces. It should be



made clear that the pensions of any officers who continue to serve under Smith will be forfeited.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

If the United Kingdom Government were to take the various steps which I have outlined, it is possible that these would bring the rebels down but there is no certainty of this. It is therefore much more appropriate that the Southern Rhodesian question is dealt with by the United Nations.

Hitherto the United Kingdom Government has always claimed that Southern Rhodesia is a purely internal matter. Such a claim is nonsense today. British authority does not extend beyond a deserted villa in the suburbs of Salisbury where the British Governor wanders through the empty corridors.

The Resolution of the Security Council taken five days ago states—and I quote its actual words:—
"That the situation resulting from the proclamation of independence by the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia is extremely serious, that the United Kingdom Government should put an end to it that its continuance in time constitutes a threat to international peace and security."

It is important to note that this wording places the Southern Rhodesia issue under Chapter 7 of the Charter of the United Nations which is the Chapter that deals with threats to world peace and which enables the Security Council to give mandatory instructions to all member states. Under this Chapter the United Nations can halt all road, rail and air communication with Southern Rhodesia. It can also order military sanctions. I consider that the Security Council must, if the United Nations is to survive as an effective force, order such military sanctions if the present economic sanctions are proved ineffective against the Rhodesian rebellion.

MILITARY INTERVENTION

It is necessary to point out that the Security Council can order military intervention without necessarily setting up a United Nations force. In my view it would be much better if the Security Council in the United Nations were to authorise African States, either collectively or individually, to intervene militarily to suppress the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia in the event of the United Kingdom Government being unable or unwilling to do so. It would be desirable if all permanent members of the Security Council guaranteed against attack by Portugal or South Africa the African States undertaking these police measures on behalf of the United Nations. But it would not be necessary in practice for all the permanent members to give such a guarantee. If it could be ob-

had promised. The Government cancelled all internal and external services of Ghana Airways and used the aircraft to transport our troops. We shall not hesitate to do the same thing again. The Bill also enables airports, seaports and roads to be closed in whole or in part in order to facilitate troops movements. I must warn you that a mobilisation on the scale which we have in mind must entail considerable disorganisation of civilian life but in a crisis of this nature we must put military necessity first.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

In everything we must be realistic; it would not be possible for Ghana alone to defeat the forces of the Southern Rhodesian settlers. Nevertheless Ghana forces, if properly mobilised and deployed, could provide very powerful support for any African State which was threatened by the Smith Regime. Ghana, in conjunction with a number of other African States who may have taken the same steps of military preparedness as we have done, would certainly be able to defeat the rebels.

Any war against the rebels would not be like a normal war. For every racist in Southern Rhodesia there are sixteen Africans. Once arms have been put in their hands the war is as good as over. As I see it, if African armed forces are compelled to put down the Smith régime by force then this will not be done by means of conventional warfare but by organising a rising in mass by the people.

Mr. Speaker,

I consider that when the African States meet at Addis Ababa on the 3rd December, there is one other step which should be considered most seriously. Outside the African continent there are thousands—indeed hundreds of thousands—of individuals who military training who are prepared to fight against racialism. In fact I have already received numerous telegrams and letters from individuals and organisations outside Africa who are prepared to fight for the liberation of Zimbabwe. We must consider realistically how we can mobilise and equip them. In some countries voluntary contributions could be organised by which these volunteers would be provided with the necessary equipment. This is a proposal we must consider in all its implications.

PROPOSAL

In any event it is my firm view at the forthcoming Addis Ababa meeting the African Defence Organisation, which was approved by the Heads of State at the recent Accra Summit Conference, should be set up immediately.

It is unfortunate that the proposal which I made two years ago for the setting up of an African High Command was not taken up, otherwise Africa would not find itself in this predicament.

I am reminded of a story. A little boy had read many stories in his children's books about many a life and death struggle between a man and a lion. In all the stories no matter how fearlessly and ferociously the lion fought the man each time emerged the victor. This puzzled the boy so he asked his father: "Why is it, father, that in all those stories the man always beats the lion when everybody knows quite well that the lion is the toughest and strongest animal in all the jungle?" The father answered: "Son those stories will always end like that until the lion learns how to write."

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

These are serious days for the world. I wish that I could believe that the United Kingdom Government was sincere in its desire to put down the rebellion but from their past actions I see no sign of it. I hope that time may prove me wrong; if it does not, then a heavy responsibility will fall upon all African States and we in Ghana must today begin to prepare to take our share in that responsibility.

THE Ministry of the Interior has as its main responsibility the maintenance of law and order in Ghana. Other matters for which it is responsible, some of them connected with law and order, are: the control of arms and ammunition, the control of immigration of foreigners into Ghana, citizenship legislation and the registration or naturalisation of non-Ghanaians who wish to become citizens of Ghana.

The Ministry also deals with Road Traffic legislation and Road Safety, with Prisons and Borstal Institutions and with several miscellaneous matters such as Extradition, Fire Services and Public and Bank Holidays.

For carrying out its duties the Ministry has to assist the Police, the Prisons, Immigration and Fire Services, and the Customs and Excise Department.

The best-known of these Services is the Police Service which is responsible for the prevention and detention of crime, the apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order, the protection of persons and properties and the due enforcement of all the laws and regulations with which it is directly charged.

The Police are also responsible for the licensing of persons and vehicles under the Road Traffic Act, the licensing of fire arms, the issuing of permits and the inspection of weights and measures.

Until the end of 1957 ad-

and detection of crime will also be intensified by the introduction of modern techniques in criminology.

The salient features of this will include the introduction of Police dogs and the purchase of more up-to-date equipment for the Forensic Science Laboratory for experiments and investigations of criminal cases.

The Prisons Service is charged with the responsibility for the safe custody of law breakers and all persons committed to custody, the enforcement of the law relating to prisons and the execution of government policies on penal administration.

The Prisons Service falls into four main divisions, namely:

- A. General Administration
- B. Prisons
- C. Prison Officers Training School and
- D. Borstal Institution.

The Borstal Institution is for youthful law-breakers. Here the schooling aspect is regarded, as far more important than the prison aspect and most of the boys after their discharge from the Borstal are potentially far better citizens than they were when they entered it.

They are taught as well as ordinary school subjects, trades which they can take up after they have left; and the Prisons Service can claim that the number of them who do not emerge and continue as useful citizens is very small

Protecting Ghana's Citizens

by L. R. Abavana
(Minister of the Interior)

prisoners. A Prison Officers College will be established to train cadet officers in modern penal methods and to provide refresher courses for superior officers. Industrial training in the trades on modern methods will be stepped up so as to enable the average prisoner when discharged to play a useful role in the community. The Immigration Service was formerly manned by Po-

outside the Civil Service, by the absorption of the erstwhile fire services or brigades which were not organised on a centralised national basis, and some of which comprised mainly part-time staff and lacked up-to-date equipment, and consequently constituted

my Ministry is that of Customs and Excise, responsibility for which was transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of the Interior in November 1962.

The Department is primarily concerned with the collection and protection of revenue arising from customs and excise duties, purchase tax and sales tax, and is responsible for the administration of legislation relating to these.

The Department operates at the two main sea ports of Tema and Takoradi, at the Accra International Airport, and the land boundary post at Aflao.

The Department is far and away the greatest revenue earner for the Government, and in the financial year which ended on December 31, 1964, the Department alone contributed nearly 70 per cent of the total national revenue in the sum of £77 million.

The successful implementation of the massive industrialisation programmes of the Government imposes special responsibilities on the Customs & Excise Department.

The Department has therefore made plans to establish a network of Customs & Excise posts all over the country to enable revenue to



A modern and up-to-date Headquarters is being built for this Department at a cost of £127,000. It is situated at the side of the old Customs & Excise Headquarters on the 28th February Road and will be completed during the current year.

Road Traffic legislation, Road Safety and the Highway Code are also the responsibility of the Ministry. Every year many people are killed or injured on our highways, and it is the responsibility of the Ministry to frame the laws so as to reduce, as far as possible, the reasons for these accidents.

This is a large responsibility

the roads always under review and introduce new measures when necessary to improve Road Safety.

Important remedial measures including harsher penalties for dangerous and drunken driving, the use of reflecting triangles, etc., will be introduced shortly in an attempt to reduce the high incidence of accidents on our highways and the consequent loss of life.

Closely linked with Road Traffic and Road Safety is third party insurance. The Third Party Insurance Act was passed in 1958 in order to ensure that all victims of road accidents have a means

THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING

an inadequate preparation for the fire risks that exist in this country and are rapidly increasing with industrialisation.

The National Fire Service headed by a Chief Fire Officer is charged with the responsibility of extinguishing fires and dealing with all cases of fire outbreaks, and with the maintenance of an effective operational machinery for the protection and rescue of persons, animals and properties from the threats and effects of fire.

There are at present nine fire stations fully manned and it is proposed to establish ten new fire stations at Koforidua, Nkawkaw, Ho, Tamale, Bolgatanga, Cape Coast, Takoradi, Achimota, Sunyani and Navrongo, Bawku and Wa in the near future.

Besides fighting and extinguishing of fires, the Service performs other services generally known as "Special Services". These are vital in maintaining the efficient running of airports, harbours and industries.

Last year, the National Fire Service attended about 295 fire calls which included Marine, Aviation and domestic fires in the country.

The Civil Aviation Unit handled 48 "Special Services" including "Wet" Start and Apron spillage, and the units at Takoradi and Tema Harbours between them attended calls on 405 occasions involving 9,269 hours, a total of 37,076 man-hours.

The Tema Harbour unit handled a total of 59 oil tanker vessels which discharged and loaded a total of 999,786 tons of crude oil and refined petroleum.

The National Fire Service will be considerably expanded during the Seven-Year Plan period and methods of training our firemen in advanced fire-fighting techniques will be introduced. Modern and up-to-date fire fighting appliances will be purchased, as a preparation against all types of domestic and industrial fires.

A National Fire Service Headquarters, a central station and stores will be built in Accra in the near future. Two sub-stations for the city of Accra are to be built at Aborsey Okai and in the eastern Ring Road area.

New fire stations are planned for the Accra International Airport, Kumasi City, Sekondi/Takoradi City and Central Training School and a Central Workshop are to be built at Tema. Besides, it is proposed to provide Fire Service facilities in all the regions.

Finally, it is intended to improve communication and mobilisation in the Fire Service by building HF/VHF stations at Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi/Takoradi for short-wave inter-station communications.

The last Department under



Fire Brigade at Work

vanced training for officers and potential officers was catered for by sending them overseas to attend appropriate courses.

When Ghana became a sovereign independent State it was decided to establish a Ghana Police College. This was done at the beginning of 1959.

HIGHEST ORDER

The Police College now provides training facilities of the highest order and it is no longer necessary to send officer cadets abroad for training.

The main body of the Police Service is distributed throughout Ghana in each of the eight administrative Regions, the boundaries of the Police Regions coinciding with the political administrative Regions.

For the purposes of Police administration, however, Accra and Tema are regarded as separate Police Regions.

It is the intention to expand the Police Service so as to make the services of the Police available in the country on the widest possible scale down to the village policeman level.

At the same time it is Government's policy to improve and modernise the Police Service and accordingly more police stations and living quarters will be built during the remaining phases of the Seven-Year Development Plan.

A Police Driving School will soon be established to teach good driving in the Police Service. The investigation

indeed.

Even in the adult prisons the rehabilitation aspect is now regarded as far more important than the penal aspect. Now prisoners are not only kept safely but they are taught various trades.

Those who cannot read and write are taught to do so either in English or any of the indigenous languages. The principal trades taught in the Central Prisons and the Prison Camps for men are tailoring, mat weaving, cloth weaving, animal husbandry, carpentry, painting, poultry keeping, cabinet making, brick making, cane-chair weaving etc.

At the female prisons, females are taught soap making, knitting, sewing and embroidery. In addition female prisoners are given lectures on child welfare, personal hygiene and the art of cooking.

For the future, it is the Government's intention that the extension and modernisation of existing prisons should be continued, that additional prison accommodation should be provided and that measures should be taken to alleviate overcrowding.

Measures to deal with overcrowding include the construction of a new Central Prison at Juaben in Ashanti, a Special Block in Nsawam Prison and extension to existing prisons.

Improved methods of mechanised farming will be introduced and new prison farms will be made at Sekondi, Ho and Tamale in order to increase food production to offset the high cost of feeding

lice personnel with the Commissioner of Police as Principal Immigration Officer. In May 1960, however, it was shorn of its connections with the Police and transferred to the Civil Service under the Ministry of the Interior.

Functions of the Service are the examination of travellers entering or leaving Ghana and non-Ghanaians applying for variations in existing immigration permits, the examination of applications for visas, entry permits and exit permits and the authorisation of such permits in appropriate cases, and the conduct of court prosecutions of non-Ghanaians who are not in possession of valid immigration permits.

The Immigration Service maintains immigration posts at Tema Harbour, Accra Airport, Takoradi Harbour, Aflao, Half Assini, Dormaa-Ahenkro, Tamale and Kumasi and it is proposed to open up new immigration posts in the near future along our land frontiers.

SPECIAL SERVICE

A National Fire Service was established in 1963 consequent upon the passage of the Fire Services Act. The rapid pace of industrialisation in this country, the introduction of new manufacturing processes and new raw materials with the attendant fire risks, called for effective counter measures to prevent disruption to industry and production.

A National Fire Service was therefore formed as part of the Public Services of Ghana



Police officers at a training lecture

be effectively collected.

It is also planned to revise regulations and procedures for the exporting of locally manufactured goods so as to encourage manufacturers to export their products and to earn for the country more foreign exchange.

Furthermore, the Department will set up a research unit to devote its attention to the comparative study of customs practices of as many countries as possible with a view to evolving a system of revenue control suitable to this country.

and one may think that the ever-increasing number of road accidents makes it look as though the Ministry is not handling this matter very well.

But the Ministry can only tell people what to do as regards road safety, and see to it that they are punished if they are caught doing wrong. The Police cannot be with drivers and road users all the time preventing them from doing wrong.

What the Ministry does is to keep all the Road Traffic laws and all the measures designed to increase safety on

of claiming compensation. Certain defects however have become apparent as a result of the operation of the Act. The Ministry proposes therefore to introduce certain amendments in order to remedy the situation.

The above gives a summary of the responsibilities and work of the Ministry of the Interior and the Services and Departments under its control. It is not possible to deal exhaustively with the work of the Ministry within the scope of an article of this nature.



A Policeman on road safety instruction

Self-management—the basis of Socialist Society

FIFTEEN years have passed since the first workers' councils began to manage economic enterprises in Yugoslavia.

When the foundations of this, a unique social institution of the time, were laid, the system of workers' management was accepted as a necessary and logical step in the development of socialist democracy, but also as an experiment which was to show its advantages and justifications in practice.

The idea was not a new one. "Factories to the Work-

On November 29th the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia celebrates its 22nd anniversary. A special correspondence here discusses the system of workers' self-management which forms the basis of Yugoslav Society.

because it undertook them in exceptionally difficult circumstances.

Fifteen years ago, the Yugoslav economy was, on the whole, underdeveloped, an inheritance from the prewar

effected a complete social transformation.

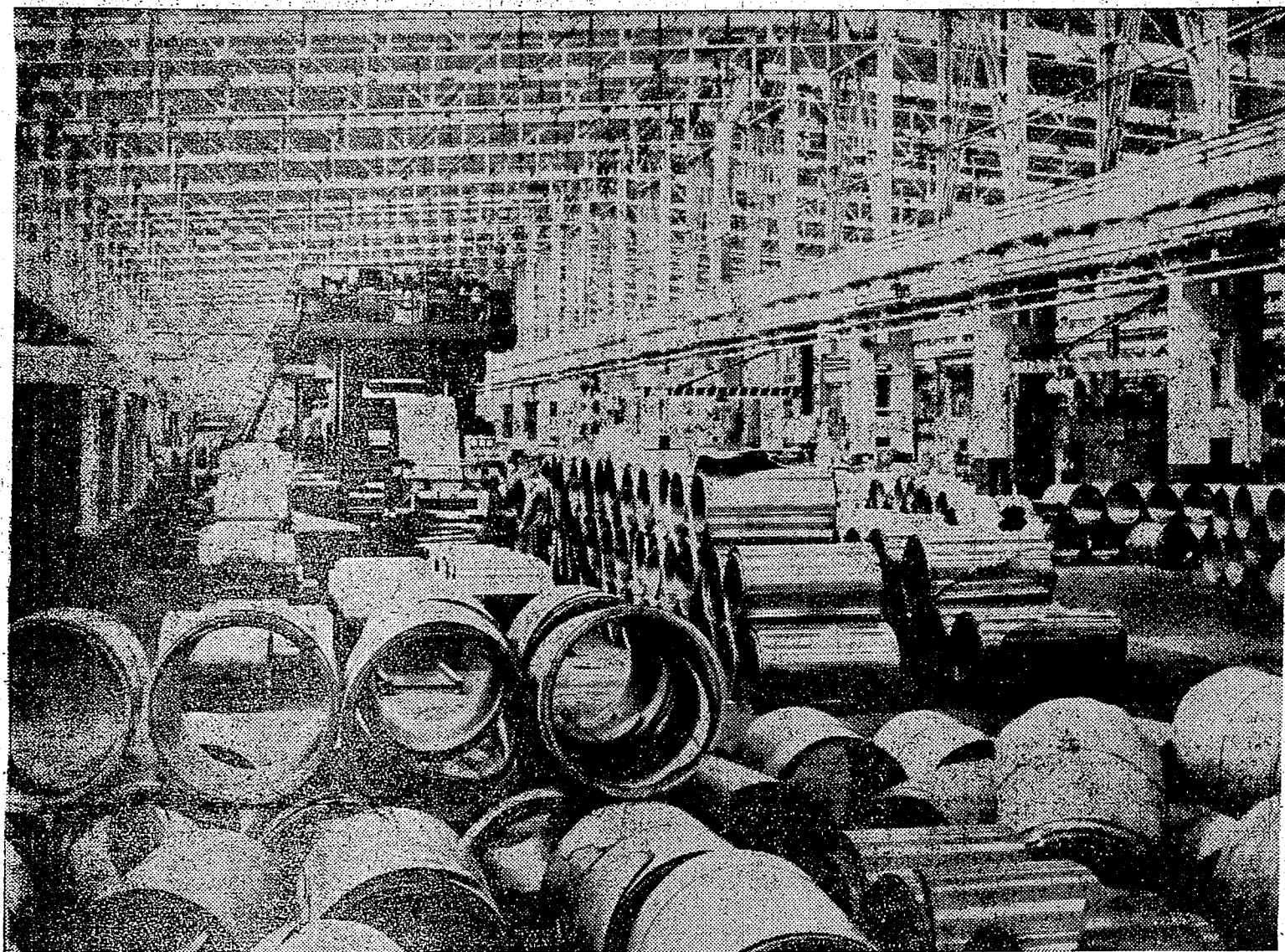
On the other hand, it carried in itself the tendency to free the initiative of the producers and so advance and accelerate production.

December 23, 1949.

This was "The Instructions for the Formation of Workers' Councils in State Economic Enterprises". After this, 215 enterprises were selected and authorized to elect their first



Leisure too has its place. Traditional sports still attract our people.



The Copper Mill of Sevojno makes sheets, strips, and tubes of copper, brass, bronze and other copper alloys. The Mill's output of finished products grows at a rate of 4-5 thousand tons a year.

ers"—the motto of the working class and the guiding idea of its scientific thought—had to be implemented.

Thus, a new process was initiated as the producers themselves began to make decisions on production, income distribution, products, investments and other matters pertaining to production relations.

The Yugoslav working class then assumed a great responsibility before the international working class movement, for it decided to blaze new paths in the realization of its great idea.

Its responsibility and obligations were all the greater

period, and in the course of the war had suffered unbelievable devastation.

The country's economy had been reconstructed in the brief period of four years, but it remained undeveloped. This was a transition period in the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

At this point, the idea that the management of production should be turned over to the workers had dual significance.

On the one hand, it stood for the realization of the age-old dream of the working class about the management of its own work, an essential element of socialist democracy in a country which had

The essential prerequisite of Yugoslavia's further social development was the strengthening of the community's material basis, the establishment of conditions in which the citizens would be able to exercise their democratic rights completely.

EXPERIMENTAL PHASE

After many months of preparations and discussions in Central Council of the Federation of Trade Unions, in the People's Assembly state organs and social-political organizations, the first public document on workers' management was made public on

workers' councils in this "experimental phase".

The response to this step was greater than the most optimistic estimates. Observers recorded great enthusiasm among the workers in all enterprises.

The trade unions, for instance, were receiving numerous applications from enterprises which had not been included in this "experiment 1 group" for permission to elect workers' councils.

As a result, the original number of enterprises selected was doubled, and workers' councils were elected not in 215, but in 520 enterprises.

At the very beginning, it

was founded that this experiment was no longer just an experiment. The introduction of workers' councils had justified all hopes and expectations.

When, on June 27, 1950, the Federal People's Assembly passed a Fundamental Law on the Management of State Enterprises and on Higher Economic Associations by Their Staffs, it merely sanctioned this new element of socialist democracy.

From then on, work was concentrated on the improvement and expansion of the system of workers' management.

Growing as a social institution, workers' management has played a significant role in Yugoslavia's development in the last fifteen years. In this period, the national income increased by 9 percent annually, while industrial production expanded by about 13 percent.

Yugoslavia was rapidly changing the social structure of its population. From a predominantly peasant farming country (in which the agri-

cultural population accounted for about 76 percent of the total), it has grown into moderately developed industrial state, and the agricultural population dropped to 47 percent of the total.

From the economy, where it began to develop and where it took the most prominent place, the system of self-management gradually spread to other spheres of activity.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

Adjusted to the specific conditions prevailing in individual branches of activity, to their objective possibilities and the degree of development, the system of self-management, or self-government as it is called in non-economic activities, was introduced in the sphere of education, public health, culture, public administration and public services.

It has become the basis of the entire social system in Yugoslavia.

The new Yugoslav Constitution, adopted early in 1964, proclaims "self-government,

not only as the right of every Yugoslav citizen to participate directly in making decisions on all questions affecting his work and existence, but also as an element upon which the foundations of the whole community rest.

This conception of the place and function of the system of self-management, eventually led to the conclusion that this system must also become basic upon which all forms of government and public administration should be developed.

The new electoral system directly confirms this. All elected organs of government—in the municipality, district, republic and Federation—are so composed as to represent the expression of the self-governing rights of the citizens, to enable them to realize all their rights freely and directly.

Thus, from an experiment, which was then only for a brief period of time, the system of self-management has become the foundation upon which the Yugoslav community is now developing its social order.

Socialism and Economic Planning

Continued from Page 3

Planning is also a potent weapon of socialism in its economic race with capitalism. It makes for higher growth rates, higher efficiency and, consequently, higher living standards. But the planning mechanism has to be constantly perfected.

Planning methods cannot remain static. They must be steadily developed and modified to meet the needs of an expanding and more complex economy. It stands to reason that the methods of economic planning and management vary in accordance with concrete conditions in each socialist country.

The economic reforms now being introduced in the U.S.S.R. and a number of other socialist countries do not signify abandonment of the planning principle.

Far from it; their purpose is to make central planning more effective by introducing more mature forms of what Marx so aptly described as social foresight, that is, more precise, scientifically grounded methods.

Despite all planning and programming techniques, capitalism remains subject to the blind forces of economic spontaneity. In contrast, improved management techniques in the socialist countries enhance the efficacy of their planning systems.

Socialism's enemies resort to an old and transparent ruse: they caricature Marxism in order to refute it.

That is their technique to day too. There is no place in Marxism, they claim, for such things as profitability or the

price or credit mechanisms.

Of course, they ignore all the relevant statements of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the provisions of the C.P.S.U. Programme, and policy statements by other Marxist-Leninist parties, all of which emphasize the need for wider application of economic calculation, profitability, incentives etc.

NEW SYSTEM

The new economic management system introduced in the U.S.S.R. and the economic reforms carried out in other socialist countries stem from Marxism-Leninism. They represent the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and are added proof of its viability and strength.

The new economic management system discards obsolete methods in favour of more effective ones that accord with the higher levels achieved in all the socialist countries.

These new methods stem from the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, balanced economic development, economic calculation, and material incentives.

Fuller realization of these principles will pave the way

to a faster growth of the socialist economy. That is acknowledged in quarters that no one will suspect of sympathizing with communism.

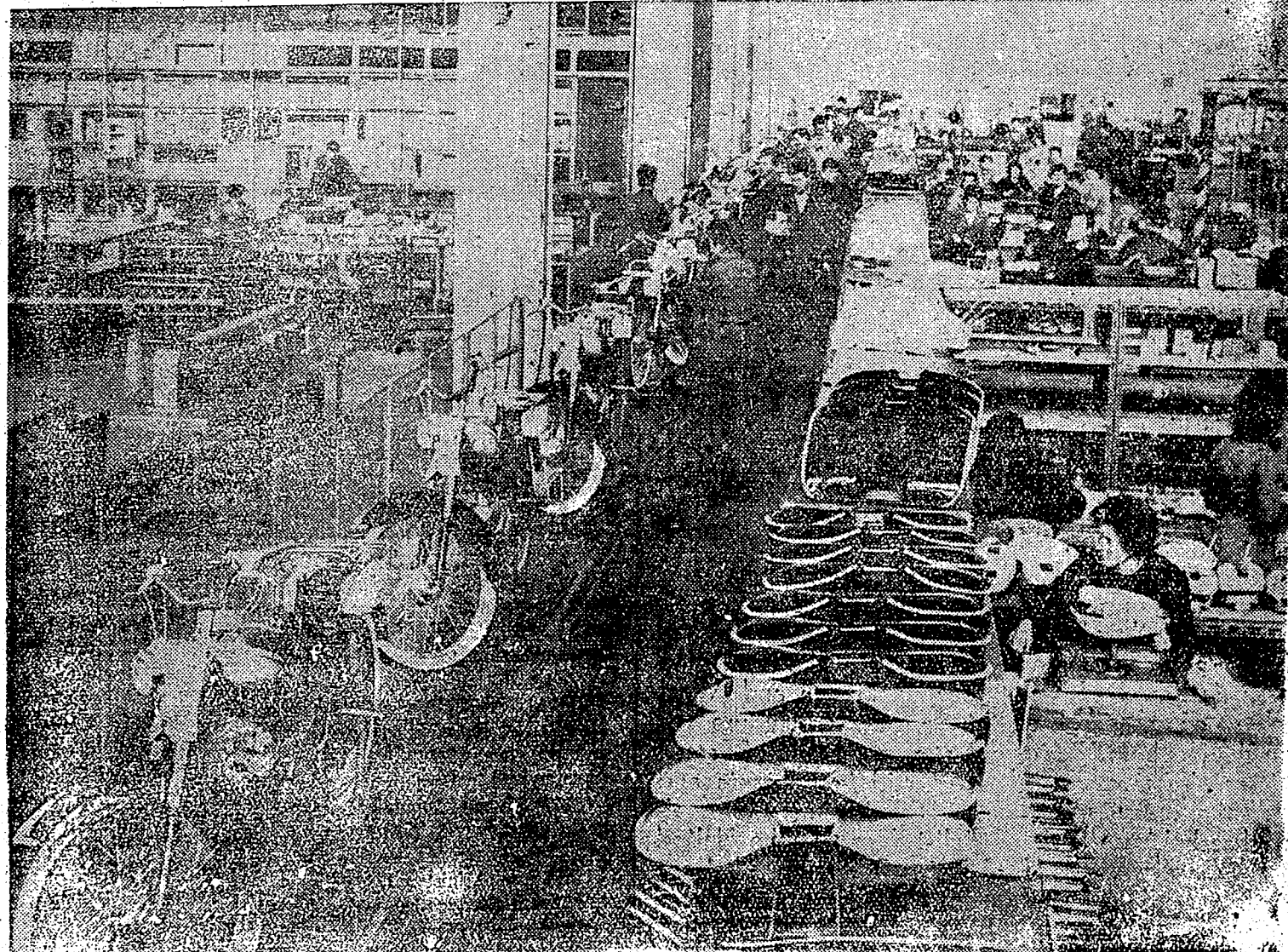
Commenting on the recent Soviet Communist Party decisions in an article titled "Soviet Competition," the Baltimore Sun advises Americans to look ahead:

"If the new practices are successfully installed in the Soviet Union, there is good reason to think that they will give that country a more productive and flexible economy... In short, the Soviet Union will be a stronger nation, and hence a stronger competitor for the West and for the United States in particular."

A realistic view. This month's forty-eighth anniversary of the October Revolution found the Soviet Union a flourishing and vigorous country.

The near future will doubtless bring it people even bigger achievements and open up even brighter prospects.

There need be no doubt that it will celebrate its fiftieth birthday with inspiring achievements and unshakable faith in the triumph of the idea of communism throughout the world.



Modern industrial products for Yugoslav customers.

Myths of Modern Capitalism

Continued from page 1

Certainly, during some periods, there has been a certain amount of share purchase by the better-off sections of the wage and salary earners. But in no case has it proceeded very far. It is interesting to look back, for example, to 1929 when, at the end of a long period of economic boom, numbers of U.S. workers thought that the time had come for them to share in the profits by becoming owners. Professor Galbraith of Harvard, a strong but not naive sup-

porter of American capitalism, has described this process (The Great Crash 1954 pp.101-2) "many people of different kinds and conditions were in the stock market... Yet there is probably more danger of overestimating rather than underestimating the popular interest in the market. The cliché that everyone was in the market is far from the literal truth. Then, as now (1954), to the great majority of workers, farmers, white-collar workers, indeed to the great majority of

all Americans, the stock market was a remote and vaguely ominous thing... Only one and a half million people, out of a population of approximately 120 million and of between 29 and 30 million families, had an active association of any sort with the stock market. Some enterprises in Britain which issue people's shares do so as a guarantee of stabilising their labour force, since the shares are available only to workers who complete the year with the firm (in periods of acute labour shortage this reduces labour turnover and costs of training and therefore increases profits). Others make non-membership of trade unions a condition of shareholding; thus the small rewards from shares are more than offset by the loss of wages that could have been gained from united action. Many encourage especially their non-manual and staff workers to become shareholders; "divide and rule" is not confined to the colonial sphere. A small period of unemployment or sickness, especially in the United States, will rapidly force a worker to sell his shares. Those who hoped merrily to join in the scramble for profits in 1929 found themselves two years later without shares, and without jobs. In the stock exchange crash of 1929, as in more recent ones in the 60's the small men, who are not on the inside, are the first to be shaken out.

EVIDENCE

Moreover, all the evidence from capitalist countries is that the distribution of wealth, especially that in the form of shares, is highly concentrated in the hands of a quite minute stratum of the very rich, and that the vast majority of the population never have had, and never can have, any source of income which will free them from the need to sell their labour skill and strength to an employing class. True, it is sometimes asserted that, with the growth of personal insurance and private pension funds, millions of people are becoming participants in the ownership of industry. This is equally an illusion. When we possess an insurance policy this does not give us any right to control the insurance company. On the contrary, the growth of insurance has enabled the insurance companies to become the principal agency for collecting the temporary savings of millions whose individual amounts are so small that they could not function as capital in modern industry. The insurance company, which already itself possesses large capital, can put these small sums together in blocks big enough to operate as capital. The insurance company possesses all the fruits that flow from this process. Only a share in the pro-

fits of monopoly industry, while it gives to the policy holder a relatively small rate of return on his money,

SHAREHOLDERS

Imperial Chemical Industries often advertises, in papers such as *The Economist*, that it has many shareholders as it has workers, and that its shareholders range "from a foreman plasterer to a district nurse." I have no doubt at all that these are absolutely true facts. What is crucial is what is left out. (It is relatively unimportant that a district nurse is a professional worker, and that it was a foreman and not a plasterer or plasterer's labourer who held shares). What is important, and what we are not told is what is contained in an analysis of *The Ownership of Industry* by a former editor of the *Financial Times* who is most sympathetic to capitalism. (Hargreaves Parkinson in the book by that title). He pointed out that in an adult population in Britain, of some 25 million peoples about one million and a quarter actually were shareholders. This proportionately tiny oligarchy was itself arranged in a complete hierarchy, from small to large shareholders. In a sample of large companies, which Parkinson labels British Industry Ltd., one half of the shareholders each held less than £100 worth of shares, and another 20 per cent less than £200 worth (It should be noted that possession of this gigantic wealth would not absolve its owners from the need to work, and depend on their work, for their livelihood). These two groups between them, almost three quarters of all shareholders, held about 14 per cent of the ordinary share capital. Even supposing somebody organised these small shareholders into a meeting; they could still be outvoted; for in a property owning democracy the principle is not one man one vote, but one £ one vote. No wonder Lord Woolton, a former chairman of the British Conservative Party and director of many large companies, once said (Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 1947) "the policy of no well-directed company was determined at its annual meeting..." He was glad to say that at the last meeting of shareholders at which he presided he thanked "the one personally present" for coming (he had in his own pocket the proxy votes of large shareholders and could easily outvote the floor). At the other end of the hierarchy the shareholders with £10,000 or more of shares, though they formed only 0.2 per cent, or one five-hundredth, of the number of shareholders, none the less held 30.6 per cent, or almost one third, of all the shares. Among the shareholders, together about 258

them (about one in a thousand) held between them more than 20 per cent of the shares. One shareholder held five per cent. Among this group of largest shareholders, the corporate shareholder, (banks, insurance companies, other companies) and the nominees, who wished to conceal their identity, together held nearly sixty per cent of the large shareholdings.

Such is the position of ownership in the large companies. The oligarchy of large personal shareholders, family fortunes in trusts, banks, investment trusts, insurance companies and giant industrial firms are also linked together by many ties, so that they form blocs of immense financial and industrial power. In their own papers, not read by the majority of the people, there is less talk of democracy and diffusion of control. The *Times* of 18/10/64 for example quotes the *Patronat Francais* (the French Employers' Organisation) as follows: "By 1963, 65 firms throughout the world had reached a turnover of \$1,000 million or more... General Motors, with a turnover of \$16,500 million, is roughly the size of the entire Dutch economy... In spite of the strictness of the anti-trust laws in the United States, American industry has concentrated further and faster than elsewhere. The top 200 firms now account for 40 per cent of all turnover compared with 30 per cent in 1948: The British journal *Industrial Management* (quoted in *The Times* 30/6/65) found that "less than two per cent of the companies control between 70 per cent and 80 per cent of the business. In the United States 100 companies alone control 60 per cent of the net capital assets of the whole country's manufacturing corporations." We are at the moment in the middle of one of the biggest merger and concentration movements in the history of capitalism, in which companies with millions, even scores of millions of pounds of capital are disappearing, swallowed by their larger rivals.

FASTER AGRICULTURE

Some may perhaps think that farming is an exception to this rule. There is no lack of voices to 'prove' that Marx was wrong about the general tendency to concentration under capitalism. But the technological revolution has in many respects proceeded faster in agriculture than elsewhere in the last twenty years. An American can work (Dewhurst and Associates: *Europe's Needs and Resources*) has pointed to the squeezing out of French and West German agriculture of large numbers of small and middle peasants and their replacement by capitalist farmers. The United States Statistical Abstract for 1961 shows that in only

the short period (1954-59) there was a 50.3 per cent reduction in the number of farms below ten acres, a 33.1 per cent reduction in the numbers of those between 10 and 20 acres, a 23 per cent reduction in those from 50 to 99 acres, and of 1.0 per cent in the numbers of those from 100 to 179 acres. The only sizes which increased in numbers were those of 500 acres or more. Thus the process of concentration in agriculture is extremely rapid.

MODERN CAPITALISM

What are the lessons of this picture of modern capitalism? First, under conditions of modern technology the minimum size of enterprise which can hope to survive is very large, and is increasing rapidly. Second, in the capitalist world a small number of large enterprises dominates all markets. Third, these enterprises are owned by a very small oligarchy of extremely rich people. Thus the first fact of life which any wage or salary earner, or any small farmer, needs to learn is this. You can work hard, study hard, save hard. At the end of a long life the chances under capitalism that you will be other than a wage or salary worker are almost nil. If you are a small farmer now, the chances are you will be a wage or salaried worker tomorrow. The belief held by some people in developing countries that they too can become the Krupps, the Rockefellers, or the Lord Salisburys of their own countries are illusions.

A capital of £100 cannot compete with one of £100,000, nor a capital of £1m compete with one of £100m. The only results of such competition will be bankruptcy or subordination.

CONTRAST

Finally, I would distinguish carefully between the monopoly capitalists of the type I have described, who constitute a completely undemocratic concentration of economic and political power, and the small capitalists of countries where the commanding heights of industry are firmly in the hands of the state and the state is firmly in the hands of the people. One does not need to enter into a sectarian discussion about the morality of capitalist exploitation. What matters under such conditions is whether such capitalists are possessed of skills which they are willing to subordinate to popular control and to the reconstruction of their countries whether they are prepared to accept conditions for their workers and for their own remuneration which are to meet popular demands. Under such conditions they can and do perform even in some socialist countries a useful and patriotic job. It is important to distinguish them from the foreign monopolist and those who see partnership with them as the agency of their own advance as capitalists.

(Next week we shall deal with the second myth, that of the managerial revolution, which says that ownership does not matter, because the owners have ceased to control.)

EDITORIAL No. 2

Science and Socialism

THANKS to the advances of science and technology, man's age-old dream of plenty can now be realised.

But it can be realised only if these advances are used for the benefit of mankind as a whole and not for the benefit of a small section. It can be realised, in other words, only if the exploitation of man by man is abolished.

In capitalist society the advances of science and technology are utilised to increase the profits of those who own the means of production; they are used not in the service of man but in the interests of private profit.

Furthermore, we have in recent years seen the growing militarisation of science, its perversion to provide imperialism with more and more deadly weapons.

While enormous sums are spent on the development of new means of destruction, peaceful research is starved of money and resources.

In the light of these grim facts it is not surprising that some have come to fear scientific progress because they see how it is perverted and abused.

But science in a socialist society serves the interests of the people as a whole.

Only socialism can ensure that the achievements of science and technology are applied in a planned manner, dictated not by the demands of private profit but by social need, and in such a way as to bring not more profit for the few but a richer, fuller life for all.

Indeed, without the application of the latest achievements of science and technology, socialism will be unable to achieve its aim of abundance.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah at this week's sod-cutting ceremony to mark the start of work on Ghana's new Science City, "no real social progress is possible today without a material basis, and this material basis can only be created through the application of science and technology.

"The pace of our socialist development", he went on "will be determined, among other factors, by the prompt application of new scientific discoveries to our everyday life."

One of the consequences of colonial rule was the neglect of scientific and technological progress in our country.

Such research as there was concerned the products in which the foreign companies which exploited our wealth were most interested, while little or no effort was made to encourage the training of Ghanaian scientists and technologists.

We see the fruits of this neglect in the acute shortage of teachers of science and mathematics.

Already much has been done to overcome this legacy with the expansion of scientific and technical education at all levels.

Another landmark was the creation of the Ghana Academy of Sciences, which is currently celebrating its sixth anniversary.

But much still remains to be done, and all have a contribution to make, for, as Kwame Nkrumah noted, "science is not to be considered an isolated subject in which experts indulge and fulminate. We have to realise that science is an integral part of our lives in this age."

Our National Science Museum, our press, our radio, and T.V.—all have a role to play in ensuring that the outlook of the scientist and the appreciation of what science can achieve shall be not the monopoly of a few but part of the general culture of our people as a whole.

We urge Ghanaian scientists still working abroad to return so that the work can go ahead yet more rapidly, and so that they too can make their contribution to the building of a new Ghana.

"Socialism without science is empty", Kwame Nkrumah has said. Science will help create the abundance that is the basis for a better life for all.

DIARY

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SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Kwezi Armah, Minister of Trade, today speaking to reporters on his arrival in London at the head of a four-member delegation to Launch President Nkrumah's new book "Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism" said the world is watching the situation in Southern Rhodesia "with bated breath and anxiety."
* The assistant Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr. Mahamed Sahnoun, today said that the Organisation of African Unity has secret plans to give military aid to the Rhodesian people in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by the Ian Smith regime.

NOVEMBER 9:

ALGERIA: The Algerian Government has announced the expulsion of a number of French citizens arrested last September in a swoop on left-wingers believed to be perpetrating subversion.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Irish anti-apartheid movement has called on the British Government to impose a boycott on trade with South Africa and ban emigration to the country.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: Nearly eight thousand refugees from Southern Sudan have arrived in Banghouth in the Central African Republic since last August.

KENYA: A Ministerial delegation from Kenya has opened

talks in London on Financial aid from Britain to speed purchase of more than a million acres of European-owned mixed farmland in Kenya for African resettlement.

* Kenya Vice-President, Oginga Odinga told a mass rally that he would be mad to try and overthrow the very government of which he is a member.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: British Premier, Mr. Harold Wilson met Rhodesia's Chief Justice, Sir Hugh Beadle today in London for vital talks on the Rhodesian Independence crisis.

NOVEMBER 10:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The British Cabinet is expected to meet again today to discuss the latest message from Ian Smith, leader of the fascist Southern Rhodesian regime in which the arch-racist made it clear that his regime's views were irreconcilable with the British Government's.

* Mr. Harold Wilson has told the British House of Commons that he hoped that after his talks with Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, it would be possible for Ian Smith to agree to continue the deadlocked independence negotiations.

GHANA: A South-West African nationalist has paid tribute to President Nkrumah for his great contribution to the total liberation of Africa. The nationalist Dr. Mburumba Keena, Chairman of the South-West African National Unity Democratic Organisation, described President Nkrumah as "the freedom rock of Gibraltar" against the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid.