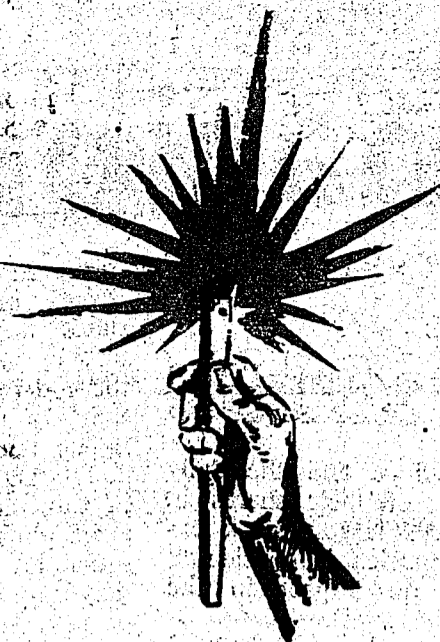


THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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LAST WEEK:

Africa and the World

THERE are times, when, in a world where imperialism is still a force, all the latent conflicts and contradictions of the political situation appear to boil up to crisis temperatures simultaneously in different danger spots. As the imperialist world shrinks, as new victories against it are being registered the imperialist powers become yet more desperate and vicious in their attempts to hold back the advance of the peoples to freedom and socialism. To try to stem inevitable progress imperialism resorts to tactics which are capable of pushing us over the brink of war. This is one of those critical periods when to avert disaster we must mobilise all our strength and unity to preserve peace and smash imperialism's efforts to frighten us into submission.

In South East Asia, imperialism threatens to involve us all in war while it attempts to retain its domination of South Vietnam; in Africa we are in danger of a serious retreat and capitulation on the Congo question.

The developments in the African continent show both the strength of the anti-imperialist movement and the complexities of the problems it faces. Thirty-five independent states have come into existence in our great continent since 1957, a short span of eight years.

In that period the fight against imperialism has taken on a fourfold character. As various peoples in Africa are engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle at different levels the total position increases in complexity. Our task is not only to win political forms of independence from colonialism, now we have to weld together 35 independent states with the liberation movements of the rest of Africa to achieve four basic aims: First to ensure that the rest of Africa becomes independent, to expel from the continent the last remnants of

colonialism and apartheid; secondly to ensure that the state power of the independent African states is used to prevent the recapture of our peoples under neo-colonialist guises, thirdly to use our new power and independence to lift our peoples from the poverty and economic backwardness left us by imperialism, and fourthly to play a positive role in world politics for peace and independence.

The danger flashpoint in Africa today is the Congo. Here in the heart of the continent there is war. Tshombe,

with the support of the United States, Britain and Belgium and mercenary troops is now parading as the head of a legal Congo government. Flouting declared O.A.U. policy he has launched war against the people of the Congo, he has used the military force of Western imperialism and he exists on their economic and military support alone. This man is not the head of the Congolese people but the puppet of imperialist states which through him hope to maintain their grip on the wealth and the labour of the Congolese people. Tshombe's brazen parade of position and power is a challenge to the very future of the independent states of Africa. The recent Foreign Ministers' Conference holds very serious lessons for us. It proved what we have asserted before in recent issues of *The Spark* that there is a group of African states, some of them already organised in the

Nouakchott alliance, which are prepared to play a role designed for them by imperialism.

IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

They are willing to be the disruptive force in the O.A.U. serving the aims of imperialist powers, who could not, on their own, disrupt African Unity. This conspiracy against African Unity was seen in operation at Nairobi when 15 states showed support for Tshombe, giving him *de facto* recognition as the legal Congolese Prime Minister. Even the device of inviting a handpicked group of African states to 'supervise' elections in the Congo will fail to convince the world that Tshombe is the chosen leader of the Congo. They will not be able to provide an aura of political respectability for him. They should not lend themselves to such a patently phoney device.

* * *

Already the countries on the borders of the Congo are feeling the chilly winds of Tshombe's presence. Uganda has been attacked by Congolese troops and her territory bombed by planes provided by the United States. In Congo Brazzaville there are threats of sabotage

and subversion emanating from Tshombe's regime and three Brazzaville leaders have been murdered. In the Sudan there have been renewed efforts to ensure a right-wing government. The tragedy of the Congo will not be confined within its own borders. The presence of the Tshombe regime there will constitute a constant source of danger to these neighbouring countries especially, and to the rest of Africa, too.

TSHOMBE'S SUBVERSION

There is still time for the Organisation of African Unity to take its stand, to reject Tshombe, refuse to allow him to join their councils and conferences, refuse to provide a legal facade for his terrorist regime and to set about giving real aid to the national liberation forces of the Congo.

The fight of the Congolese people is that of the whole of Africa. If we allow Tshombe to extend his grip on the Congo we prepare dire consequences for ourselves. African unity can be built on the principled basis of opposition to imperialism not on the basis of appeasement.

The O.A.U. was formed to continue the vital struggle against imperialism, to enable our people to be free. It must very rapidly overhaul its methods and come to terms with reality. The people of Africa look to the O.A.U. for leadership in their struggles. They have no need for a miniature United Nations, they do not want the O.A.U. to become simply a forum for the polite exchanges of opinion and point of view. They want to see an organisation which leads the actions of the masses of the people to make their aspirations a reality. They want the O.A.U. to give moral, political and material support to the freedom fighters, to back up every action taken to throw off the shackles of colonialism.

* * *

Why is it that when the people are pressing forward, prepared to sacrifice even their life's blood for the cause of their freedom they witness the O.A.U. sedately going through the ritual of polite debate, passing resolutions that many members do not regard as binding, mouthing pious platitudes about imperialism but in practice supporting it, afraid to make the basic challenge, to call imperialism's bluff.

The demand for continental Union Government is a real demand. The O.A.U. was formed to try and bring it about as rapidly as possible;

it was not asked to bring into being a consultative committee of government representatives playing at diplomacy. This polite game must stop. Real steps must be taken to make the anti-imperialist aim of the O.A.U. a reality. This being so we cannot tolerate the dilution of the programme and policy of the O.A.U. for opportunist interests. The O.A.U. is not a diplomatic, governmental organisation, it belongs to the people of Africa who provide the irresistible force which alone will sweep imperialism away onto the dustheap of history.

We issue the most serious warning that if the O.A.U. continues to play at diplomacy instead of translating into action the desire of the people to be rid of imperialism, exploitation and war then the people will reject those governments who stand in their way; and those governments will deserve it.

It came as a shock to many people to learn that the new British Labour Government had given permission for the use of Ascension Island for the paratroops operation mounted against the Congolese Liberation Army. How did this square with Labour's anti-imperialist claims?

SMITH'S OBNOXIOUS INTENTIONS

If any illusions remained after that initial shock they will surely be shattered by Mr. Bottomley's performance in Southern Rhodesia. Why it should be necessary for Mr. Bottomley to make a visit at this stage is something of a mystery. The solution is quite clear and obvious. Concede the "one man one vote" principle and stand by the African people in face of the white racist regime of Ian Smith.

Labour, both the present Government and the previous administration was able to operate pretty sharply against Dr. Jagan in British Guiana; now curiously they appear to be rather paralysed when action is called for against Smith. Could it be that Jagan was progressive and Smith is reactionary? It is well known that Smith has made agreements with Salazar and Verwoerd in case the British Government forces the issue but at present he seems to be perfectly relaxed. Bottomley lent himself to Smith's publicity campaign by meeting the chiefs, paid stooges of the racists, by refusing to visit the detention camps where many of the best fighters for freedom are incarcerated; he refused to meet Sithole at all and on meeting Nkomo publicly re-

buked him. For him to talk about 'national unity' is bunk. Unity can only be built in Southern Rhodesia on the basis of 'one man, one vote' on the basis of majority rule. Mr. Bottomley did not need to go to Southern Rhodesia to find that out. His trip will not assist the British Government to postpone the vital decision, the African National Movement will force the pace. What Labour needs is not trips by its statesmen, it needs some anti-imperialist principles and some guts to carry out policies based on them.

* * *

While Bottomley returns to London, Wilson leaves on another trip, this time to Western Germany. He has set a precedent, even for British Prime Ministers, by making a visit to the Berlin Wall and in effect going through the motions of an anti-East German demonstration. He would have been better occupied in opposing his hosts' efforts to get control of nuclear weapons or expressing his opposition to their policy of virtual amnesty for Nazi war criminals under the 20 year limit. Britain has a balance of payments problem which Wilson hopes can be eased by the West Germans. We are sure the British people would not wish him to sacrifice important political principles just for the sake of a few scraps of assistance from the West Germans. Is it for this that he was not even prepared to express support for East Germany's eastern frontiers?

Britain with an independent foreign policy could play a decisive part in ensuring peace in the world but instead she tags along in the wake of the United States and West German Governments playing her traditional imperialist role in spite of a change of Government.

AMERICA IN VIETNAM

South Vietnam is the flashpoint of war in South East Asia. We congratulate the Labour M.P.s who have challenged their own government on this issue and have called for an end to subservience to U.S. policy and for the showing of some initiative by Britain for a peaceful settlement. The announcement that more U.S. troops are to be sent to South Vietnam in the face of world wide protest and the increasing political difficulties for America in that country, is the signal that the war is now on between the U.S. and the Vietnamese people as a whole. Until now the U.S. troops have been presented to

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EDITORIAL

Cocoa

THERE is today a grave situation in the world cocoa market. The price for the commodity of which Ghana is the major world producer and upon which, thanks to the legacy of colonialism, she must still largely depend to earn the foreign currency she needs to pay for her imports has dropped to an all-time low.

Thousands of farmers who in response to pleas from the foreign cocoa monopolies have with the aid of newly introduced modern techniques this year produced a bigger crop than ever before could have faced ruin.

Thanks, however, to the price stabilisation policies pursued by the government, and to its overall economic policies moving

in the direction of a socialist planned economy, they have been protected from the consequences of the fluctuations of the capitalist world market and speculation by the cocoa monopolists.

But the slump in cocoa prices has meant that although in recent years Ghana's exports have substantially increased, the proceeds from their sale have shown no similar increase.

This has happened at a time when our imports of the machinery, plant, equipment and other items which we need to build a richer and more prosperous Ghana enjoying full economic independence have increased.

Furthermore, while the price of cocoa has been decreasing the prices of these industrial products from the developed countries have been steadily increasing.

"The fact is that our efforts to develop and transform Ghana from an

essentially agricultural country to a socialist industrialised state have been beset by an adverse turn in our terms of trade over the past five years", declared Kwame Nkrumah in his sessional address at the State Opening of Parliament on January 12th, this year.

"While, in actual volume, our exports—particularly of cocoa—have expanded considerably in recent years, there has been, during the same period, a disastrous fall in the world market price.

"When the cocoa crop was being ravaged by swollen shoot and cocoa was in short supply, the manufacturers appealed to us to do what we could to increase supplies. We spent a lot of money to increase production. The result of our efforts has been that production has almost doubled, but the manufacturers and the speculators in the cocoa trade have taken advantage of this to depress the

price of cocoa.

"As a result of these adverse trends in the cocoa trade, our overall export earnings have failed to show a proportionate increase. On the other hand, the need to press forward with our development programmes has resulted in an increase in imports, especially of imports of machinery, plant and equipment from those very countries. The fall in our exports earnings while our imports were increasing, has resulted in deficits in our balance of payments."

Nor is this just a problem for the producers of cocoa, or for Ghana alone.

It is a problem faced by every developing country which is still largely dependent upon the export of primary products such as minerals or agricultural produce in order to pay for the imports it needs to build up its own economy and raise the standard of living of its people.

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Africa and International Trade (I)

THE U.N. Geneva conference on Trade ended not only as a bitter disappointment to the developing nations but also brought them face to face with the surreptitious circumstances surrounding international trade and the lip-service paid to it by those who pretend to promote it impartially. Today is the opportune moment to re-appraise Africa's position.

In his inauguration address the late President Kennedy gave a sombre warning to America's allies in the following words, "United there is little we cannot do in a host of new co-operative adventures. Divided there is little we can do for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder." There can never be a more befitting warning to African states than this.

Africa produces over nine per cent of the world's diamonds, over fifty per cent of its gold and over sixty per cent of its cocoa and palm oil. There is virtually no crop its soil cannot grow, and below that soil lies almost every mineral demanded by man. It has untapped mountains of iron ore dispersed all over the continent. Africa's potential hydroelectric power is about three-fifths of the world's electric power. Yet, Africa today is undeveloped, poor and plagued with every sort of ailment and misery and above of all subjected to indignities and brutal exploitation.

To illustrate this ruthless exploitation that has been Africa's curse since the beginning of colonialism one has only to look back at the last five hundred years. Africa started off by playing a major role in the Western capital markets and its development by the iniquitous slave trade which can only be compared lightly with the Black Death in England or the famine in Ireland after the potato crop failure.

This was followed by equally ruthless exploiters such as the Boers and the notorious King Leopold of the Belgians whose rule in the Congo is

only paralleled by Hitler's handling of the Jews. Tom Marvel in his book *The New Congo* says: "At the beginning of the new century the tremendous output of rubber which ruthless exploitation of the land and labour had thrown on an eager market was turning the Congo Free State from a liability to an asset. Bankers flocked to him that is, to King Leopold, from beyond the borders of his little kingdom while architects unfolded their plans of parks, gardens and stately public constructions which the sweat of the countless Congo black boys would pay for."

THE CONGO

No one can accuse Tom Marvel of being too sentimental and sensational for what he says is what precisely took place in the Congo the sequel of which still looms over the hapless Congolese today. Although investors in a country expect returns to their capital some of the profits should be ploughed back for the development of the land and the people. This of course was not the case in the Congo, where they were really needed, as Tom Marvel further illus-

trates, "His millions he lavished them on grandiose projects foreign to the simple tastes of his bourgeois subjects; and pavilions, landscape parks and royal palaces sprouted in Osten, Brussels and Lalken, while underpaid doctors and pitifully inadequate schools struggle with the task of civilising the Congo."

Although the Congo has, perhaps, had more than her share of exploitation, the story has been the same all over the continent, albeit, in varying degrees. In South Africa where profits from Gold and Uranium last year were £150.5 millions and the annual revenue from Diamonds averages £300 millions, the black man, although providing the largest labour force for the extraction of these minerals, gets dismal wages and cannot improve his lot. Then, when people talk of investors what kind of investments do they mean? If it is this kind of investments whose profits are not ploughed back into the country Africa would be better off without such investment. For instance, the Congo has, may be, the largest investment in the Continent of Africa and just before Independence the Congo's annual exports were about £1000 millions, and yet immediately after Independence the Congo was and is still at the brink of bankruptcy. Why?

The most ironical thing is that despite all the vast mineral resources, on top of her enormous variety of agricul-

By
V. K. Kafureka

tural produce and the daily quotation of their shares in the world's largest stock exchanges, Africa is considered to have no impact in the World trade. The reason is simple. It is because there is no such thing as Africa in international trade.

Owing to competition of African countries for the same market there is very little control on the market by the producer countries. The buyers are able to play off the producers by threatening to buy someone else's crops. However, the story would be different if all the African producer countries co-operated and co-ordinated their marketing policies and economic planning in such a way that there would be as little as possible of the duplication of industries. I. M. Little in his booklet: *Aid to Africa*, writes about such economic co-operation. "Within Africa there is already an urgent need for economic integration which would permit both the benefits of protection and the enlargement of the Market." He suggests that this could either take the form of complete political and economic integration, or of common markets, or at least of bilateral trading agreements integrated with investment policies, such as one country taking one industry and buying from another some other products and vice versa.

It appears to be wishful thinking to assume that Africa is anywhere near such cooperation in trade and industry.

After the Addis Ababa conference of African heads of states most Africans hoped that at last the beginning of the end of Africa's balkanisation was in sight. But alas how wrong they were. To-day the 2nd OAU meeting took place in Cairo under the same inauspicious atmosphere of squabbles and parochial nationalism. But whatever our present leaders might think, one thing is certain, Africa will never make her weight felt in the international area unless she is able to evolve means of co-ordinating her economic planning which requires the appropriate type of political and social organisation capable of inspiring human endeavour and mobilising all resources to the desired end, especially in the early years of the take off.

IMPORTANCE OF UNITY

Thus important decisions to bring about structural changes based on proper estimates and taking into account international competition and the law of comparative costs under a unified or at least co-ordinated economic planning on a regional, if not continental basis, must be made by African leaders now. But so long as Africa will stay divided with all the conflicting self-interest of our leaders, and chaotic in its economic planning as at present there can be very little hope of establishing sizeable and productive industries which can compete internationally.

Apart from their own entrenched self-interests among the African leaders themselves, it seems that the root of all evil has been the sheltering behind some powerful economic blocs, which give African countries a so-called sheltered false sense of security. It is false because at Geneva developed countries proved that they did not want any better terms of trade for the producers of raw materials. At the same time these very same time these very same countries are the first to jump on the band wagon blowing their trumpet about aid giving. What they mean by aid, heaven alone knows. The adversity of being so protected was revealed by Major Guevera, Minister of Industry in Cuba, in his speech to the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva.

He fully analysed U.S. policy towards Latin America and especially Cuba, stretching as far back as 1933. Major Guevera revealed that Cuba, despite having favourable balance of trade with the rest of the world, she was always in perpetual negative trade balance with U.S.A. to the tune of hundred of millions of dollars. The same applies to the Associated African countries with the common market. The tariff concessions allowed to them have not and cannot eliminate the monoculture economic pattern that is the scourge of all Africa.

TIED AID

In fact, scanning through the export and import figures of the African Associates to and from the E.E.C., one finds that the price index of the African exports has been steadily diminishing while that of their imports from the E.E.C. has been increasing resulting in adverse trade balance for the African countries. And according to the report by the Secretary General of U.N. conference on Trade and Development at Geneva this has been the pattern between industrialised and developing countries.

The African countries and any other developing countries for that matter, have not only been used by industrialised countries to stabilise their economies at the expense of the

raw material suppliers through trade but also through the much publicised "Aid". The so called aid is inconvertible, i.e., it is such that the recipient can only use it to buy supplies from the donors, in other words it is tied. For example according to Mr. Little 90 per cent of U.S.A. aid to East and Central Africa, "must be for direct U.S. procurement". In effect this means that U.S. can only give "aid" to these countries provided they can import something of equivalent value from U.S.A. United States, however, is not the only villain in the game. The French use the big stick of threatening to withdraw all air services unless the receiving country buys enough from France. Credit for the sale of equipment has been so much abused by those giving the credit taking "full advantage of the new African countries' weakness for buying luxury hotels and useless factories" and television studios and other wasteful status symbols. As I. M. Little says, "This equipment often turns out to be scandalously expensive. In some cases the purchasing country has been foolish enough not to insist on firm contract prices."

I have deliberately quoted Dr. Little here to show that there is no such a thing as fair deal in this world, except the old Darwin's Theory of the "Survival of the fittest". And the sooner our leaders in Africa realise this the better for the whole of Africa. Contrary to what the British Government has been saying about the aid it can afford to give in relation to its balance of payments, the Overseas Development Institute in its pamphlet entitled: "Government Finance" says that after a detailed study of the workings of Government Financial aid, finds nothing to substantiate the government's assertions.

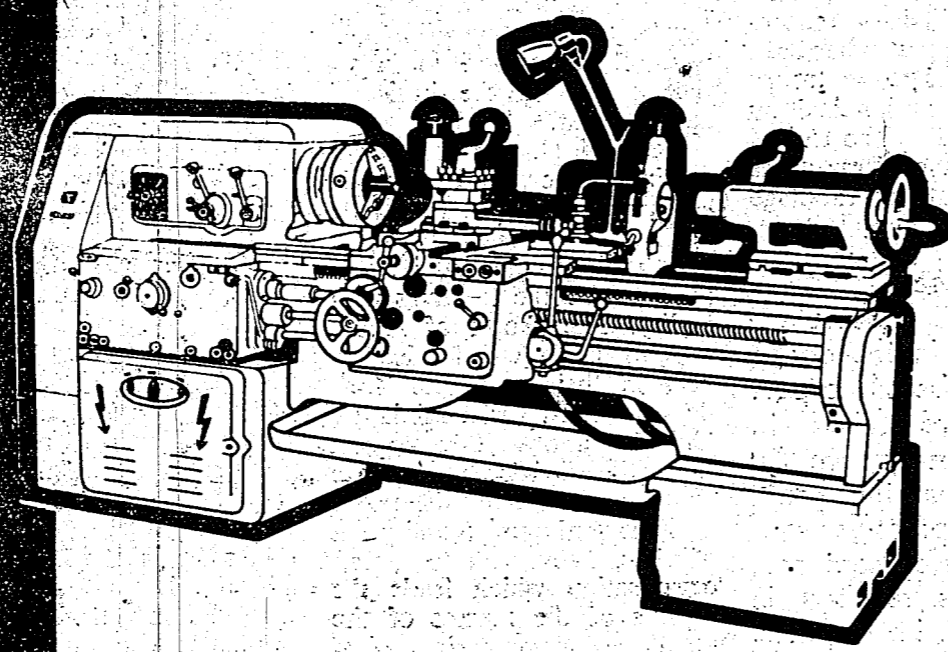
In fact the survey found that "the apparent outflow of

£140 millions in bilateral aid in 1962-63 could well have disguised a net gain of £30 millions". So, whatever the donor countries have to say about their giving aid is not philanthropic (but rather a strict transaction). And it would be sheer paralogism to think that donors could give aid which is likely to rival and undermine their own industries at home.

AGRICULTURAL OVER PRODUCTION

One of the factors of life which may of our politicians tend to overlook is the inevitability of overproduction of Agricultural Economic Crops. Even at the moment with predominantly rudimentary peasant farming in Africa there are already tendencies towards overproduction in Coffee and Tea and Cotton. And since it is the declared intention of every African Government to Mechanise its people's farming, what are the chances of avoiding overproduction? This brings me, perhaps, to the most crucial problem facing Africa today. With a few exceptions, Africa virtually produces similar crops in all its four corners. And as far as the export market is concerned, it should be borne in mind that it is the same market whose expansion is limited by competition from other tropical countries and production of synthetic substitutes in the industrial export markets themselves. And of course one other very important factor is that the consumption of agricultural commodities does not strictly adhere to the simple laws of economics as some people seem to believe. It is subject to many other factors some of which have inevitable. This then calls for heart searching methods to control the production of similar crops all over the continent.

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THE PIONEER

Expect me... my dear mother—
Expect me... by only
When you shall see me
Coming;
I am still in the wilderness
Alone,
But do not worry because
Of me.
The fruits of the tall trees,
The waters
Of the silent springs and streams
Feed me.
From the moon and sun I have
My light,
For my bed and pillow I approach
The leaves,
The animals clothe me with
Their skins,
The birds sing for me—this is all
I need...
And our native forests are rich
In these,
And in forests our native land
Is rich.
I would have told you this:
"Your memory
Has made me endure the sunrays'
Bullying,
The biting of the ants and the
Cold night;"
This is not so—the elephants' skin
Is mine,
The hare has lent me her feet,
The nose
Of the bat is mine; mine is the
Lion's heart.
To me has been lent the neck of
The giraffe,
The stomach of the camel and the
Zebra's hair.
I speak the language of the antelope
And leopard.
Yet expect me... my dear mother—
Expect me... but only
When you shall see me
Coming.

(Continued on page 5)

Mechanisms of Social Control

by
Abor Frank

SOCIAL control refers to the way in which the entire social order coheres and maintains itself, that is, how it operates as a changing equilibrium. It means all those processes by which individuals of any society are made to conform to order. Mechanisms of social control, as such, refer to the ways, the totality of processes and the means through which the norms and values of society are kept and obeyed. It may be useful pointing out that it seems impossible and difficult discussing the mechanisms of social control without meddling with issues involved in the techniques.

We therefore proceed bearing this in mind. Generally, the subject of social control is that which is an aspect of the culture and so has to be learnt by the individual members against the background of their social structure. Hence, there are variations between social control in technologically advanced or literate societies and in technologically backward or preliterate societies.

INDOCTRINATION

Broadly speaking, there are twofold processes of social control which for convenience we caption—indoctrination and coercion. The former refers to all those processes which tend to teach, instruct or imbue members with ideas, opinion and systems of control, while the latter implies those processes which use force, not merely physical force, but also persuasion through the influence of public opinion and criticism, to effect control.

Indoctrination is effected mainly through education and propaganda. In literate societies, education is essentially formal within the four walls of a school under the guidance and control of the State which fashions out that curriculum that reflects its ideologies. All States whether of the East or West do this and we know, for example that Soviet Union has for some thirty years indoctrinated her youth in keeping the principles of the Marxism-Leninism resulting in a general acceptance of the officially espoused values and a relative stability of the social structure. In England and America, organisations such as large scale business associations, local chambers of commerce and veteran groups and patriotic societies have from time to time sought to influence the selection of text books and of teaching personnel or even of the subjects themselves.

EDUCATION

However obnoxious such practices may be, they illustrate the significance generally attached to education as a moulder of convictions and loyalties and fundamental values. On the other hand, education in pre-literate societies is generally speaking informal because it abides by no formal rules, but exists at various levels of social interaction. It operates at the level of socialisation within and outside the family groups. There are short periods of training introducing people into positions of new roles, to enable them to perform their duties according to the normal role expectation. We see this in the various 'rites de passage' and initiation ceremonies that exist especially for adolescents in most primitive groups.

It is also common to give special training to esoteric occupational groups such as

priests and priestesses, kings and chiefs, drummers and other religious functionaries. Proverbs, and folk tales are parts of the process of indoctrination in primitive societies since they normally convey home to the person certain morals of behaviour worthy of emulation. In the education of the person, a great importance attaches to the capacity to learn by imitation. The norms of society apart from direct indoctrination gradually sink into the individual who learns than rather unconsciously.

TOTEMIC SYMBOL

One other process of indoctrination is POLITICAL. Basically, the aim of this form of indoctrination is to inculcate patriotism which is a love of devotion and service to State and country. This can be achieved through either the use of symbols, ceremonies and situations to evoke the respect and honour of the people to the state. In literate societies examples of this are seen in the flying of national flags and singing of national anthems at ceremonies and occasions. Such ceremonies are usually seen in the observation of events of national and historical significance and also in court and parliamentary procedures. In pre-literate societies, symbols for them present a meaning or value, an external sign or gesture which by association conveys an idea or stimulates a feeling, usually of oneness and unity.

In many primitive societies, the identification of the symbol and the thing symbolized are often so complete that the symbol becomes a TOTEM, and is regarded as an objective embodiment, no mere representation of the spirit or solidarity of the group. The totem whether, eagle, or bull or a tree or a serpent or whatever it may be means the group, thus giving identification to its invisible unity. This is just what Durkheim discusses in his Elementary forms of religious life where he quickly recognised the significance of totemic symbols as a means of maintaining solidarity. He noted that clans, tribes and sections of tribes have each its own totem which is sacred to them and to which they show a ritual attitude, because it is the concrete representative or emblem of their social group.

RITUALS

Pre-literate groups also have rituals and ceremonies especially as can be seen at birth and death of any member of their group and in the observation of yearly events such as planting and harvest festivals. Thus, ritual and ceremony at such national festivals and yearly event becomes the bond that holds the multitude together. If the bond is removed these multitudes fall into confusion. In both literate and pre-literate societies, ceremony proclaims and elevates the fixity of the social order.

The negative aspect of political indoctrination consists in the production of stereotypes which are regarded as objects of aversion and hatred by the people in general developing a common feeling directed against such stereotypes. Often the stereotypes are presented as something ghastly undermining the solidarity of the group. This is seen today in the various pictures drawn of colonialism, imperialism, communism and racism as objects of hatred, by some groups of people.

At the pre-literate level this negative process is highlighted by the existence of Taboos. Taboos are ritual prohibitions which are rules of behaviour which are associated with a belief that an infraction will result in some minor or major

misfortune befalling the violator, for example, the Polynesian who touches a corpse has according to Polynesian belief and ritual values undergone an undesirable change of ritual state. His misfortune is illness except he takes precaution and goes through a ritual in order that he may escape the danger and be restored to his former ritual status. In fact there are too many other prohibitions of the kind cited above in many primitive societies and one has only to read technological monographs to find a good number of them.

The next aspect of the indoctrination which requires mention is propaganda which exists exclusively in literate societies. In the broadest sense propaganda is a form of persuasion to action. One author says that it is 'the manipulation of symbols to control controversial attitudes'. Although there is the much disliked exploitative propaganda, there are very many forms of propaganda that are enlightening and socially beneficial. Sociologically, we accept that it is a means of inducing social change, of altering the direction of change, of accelerating and impeding its velocity; specifically, modern propaganda grows directly out of economic and political conflicts in a mass industrialized society in which there are many conflicting groups competing for people's loyalty. It is this complexity that is the problem of propaganda. In primitive societies this problem is non-existent and so no problem of propaganda arises.

COERCION

So far, we have been dealing with the various aspects of indoctrination. We shall now, go to consider the other main category—Coercion. Force adopted by a constituted authority is often the instrument for the enforcement of legal codes, norms and mores in most societies. In any society complex or pre-literate death is a public delict if its occurrence normally leads to an organised regular procedure which results in fixing responsibility in whatever form; is referred to as a sanction on the part of a society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behaviour which is thereby approved or disapproved.

The immediate function of sanctions is to give expression to a collective feeling of moral indignation and so restore what Radcliffe Brown called social euphoria. Sanctions are effective because of the individual's desire to obtain the approbation and avoid the disapprobation of his fellows to win such rewards or to avoid such punishments as the community offers or threatens. Sanctions in either literate or pre-literate societies may be diffused, unorganised or organised. Diffused sanctions are a general individual reaction towards the particular or general behaviour of a member of the community which constitutes judgments of disapproval.

SANCTIONS

In many societies, literate or pre-literate, there are many words which express disapproval of individual behaviour. These vary from discourteous, unmannerly, unseemly and unworthy, to improper, discreditable, dishonourable, disreputable, outrageous and infamous. Also an individual's behaviour can be met with ridicule on the part of his fellow. In primitive societies it may even mean ostracism for such persons.

When sanctions are organised and positive, they are expressed in the award of honours, titles, and other rewards for merit including monetary rewards such as

special pensions given to the individual by the whole community—characteristic of modern societies. In pre-literate societies positive organised sanctions exist. For example, a man who has slain an enemy may be given the honour to distinguish himself by wearing some special decoration or in other ways. Organised negative sanctions exist also in both literate and pre-literate groups with some slight modifications.

RETALIATION

They include subjection to open expression of reprobation or derision as for example through forcible public exposure by confinement in stocks; partial, permanent or temporary exclusion from participation in social life and its privileges; loss of civil or religious rights, specific loss of rank or degradation; exile; imprisonment especially in literate societies; and punishment by death, also infliction of loss of property by imposition of a fine or by forcible seizure or destruction; infliction of bodily pain, mutilation and branding. Those sanctions are legal when they are imposed by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic.

Apart from the above mentioned sanctions which we recognise as primary, there are also secondary ones operating purely at primitive level. Secondary sanctions consist of procedures carried out by a community when recognised rights have been infringed; they function as the civil laws do in literate societies and seek to restore proportional satisfaction to an injured party. One class of such procedure consists of acts of retaliation by which is meant socially approved controlled and limited acts of revenge. Thus formerly among the Eskimos blood revenge was executed on a murderer at any time. In Australia, pre-literate public opinion permitted an offended person to throw certain number of spears at the offender or in some cases to spear him in the thigh.

LAW AND CUSTOMS

Another measure is duelling. Satisfaction for injury may be obtained also through one which is a recognised and controlled combat between two individuals or through similar combats between two groups. Among the Tivi of North Australia, the Nuer and many other groups, duelling is a form of retaliation. Indemnification is sometimes an alternative to retaliation. An indemnity is something of value given in order to neutralize the infringement of rights.

Among the Nuer, a murderer can indemnify by paying 40-50 heads of cattle to the injured persons through the Leopard Skin Chief and this is usually accepted. When societies become politically organised, retaliation and indemnification give place to legal sanctions backed by the power of judicial authorities to inflict punishment.

Mechanisms of social control also include religion, morality, custom and law. The relation between customs in primitive societies and law in literate societies seems confusing because of how they are defined. I shall take a purely sociological orientation adopting a functional and operational definition by which I shall equate customs with law. I take them as rules of conduct backed by a kind of sanction upon infringement. This is what law as codified custom means; for both customs and laws have

the same functional duties.

They both define relationships among the members of society; they tame naked force and direct it to the maintenance of order; they see to the disposition of trouble cases as they arise and set the expectations of man to man and group to group. In fact custom has regularity so has law; custom is sanctioned and so is law. In spite of these, law unlike custom confers on certain selected individuals with the privilege-right of applying sanctions of physical if need be. In primitive law, customary authority is a shifting temporary thing. Authority to enforce a norm resides with individual, and his kinsmen. The tendency is to allocate authority to the party who is directly injured, though in a good many instances, authority is directly exercised by the community on its own behalf.

Granted that the law is a functional system integrated in

the general system of social controls it is obvious that relationship between law and ethics and morality is close.

Moral principle is the justification given for legal principles and for particular legislation and the grand principle which the law seeks to embody and in terms of which the judges interpret it. Although morality has different content as we pass from one society to another yet, such duties as fidelity, reparation, requital, equitable distribution and beneficence are to be found everywhere underlying groups' legal systems.

Overriding morality, law and customs and an aspect of religion are kinds of social control. "Religion", says Hobhouse, "is an effort on the part of man to get on terms with the world." It is a felt relationship with what is believed in as a super human being. Magic, the common name for primitive religions, is closely connected

with religion. According to Malinowski magic practices are distinguished from religious ones by the fact that they have always a definite end in view, a definite effect, while religious ceremonial is always an end in itself—emphasising certain faith, contact with the supernatural and inculcation of morality. Magic, he insists is essentially a human power exerted by means of spell and resident in certain charismatic beings.

He showed the importance of garden magic in ensuring success in the farming activity of Trobrianders. However and whatever may be the difference between literate religions and primitive magic, we know and agree that religion and magic sanctify the approach to supernatural deities through religious ceremonials and rituals which serve to encourage the constructive attitudes of beliefs and to counteract the fears and temptation to individual licence which would serve to break up the harmony of tribe. In this way religion helps to integrate the forces operating in the society with its social values and systems.

It may not have been possible to do justice to the question because of the rather cumbersome and detailed answer required but the above provides in a nutshell some of the aspects of or mechanisms of social control.

The Only Solution:

African Majority Rule

by Iddris Cox

AFTER their ten-day visit, Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner are due this week to return from Rhodesia. They have not the slightest evidence that Mr. Ian Smith, the Premier, has given up acting as if the white settler minority had already achieved independence.

Indeed, during the whole visit it was Mr. Smith who made the running. Upon his arrival Mr. Bottomley went out of his way to be nice to him, with the assurance that both of them were in the same camp "to save Africa from Communism".

Even this did not make Mr. Smith any kinder to Mr. Bottomley. All it did was to assure him that he had nothing to fear. But the opposition of the Africans is another story. Though Joshua Nkomo and hundreds of other African leaders are in detention, no less than 6,000 Africans greeted Mr. Bottomley's arrival to demonstrate their determination to fight for African majority rule.

"The Africans were well-behaved, self-disciplined, and apparently self-led, for most of the leaders of both banned organisations are in restriction or detention. The authorities were surprised by the size of the crowd, which pointed to the exist-

ence of a much more organised underground nationalist organisation than had been realised." (Guardian February 22, 1965).

Instead of insisting upon meeting Nkomo at the Gona-kudzingwa camp, where 450 African leaders are in detention, Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner meekly agreed to Mr. Smith's decision that the meeting be held at Hippo Valley, 100 miles from the detention camp and 400 miles from Salisbury.

This was in striking contrast to the meeting near Salisbury, the day before with 600 government-paid chiefs and headmen... launched a series of almost identical (to those of Mr. Smith), on the British Government". (Daily Telegraph, February 24, 1965).

As Nkomo pointed out next day to Mr. Bottomley: "After being drilled for almost a week by Mr. Harper (Minister for Internal Affairs) they have acted exactly like a machine. They are mere gramophone records singing a song whose meaning they do not know." (Guardian, February 26th, 1965).

Mr. Nkomo made it clear that the Africans would have nothing to do with the present Constitution which denies the vote to the African majority and gives the white settler minority the right to govern.

"Unless this Constitution is scrapped and replaced by a Constitution granting immediate majority rule for the good of all, we see no end to the political crisis."

(Guardian, 26th Feb. 1965). This is the real issue which faces Mr. Bottomley and the Labour Government. Mr. Wilson's ultimatum last October against any unilateral declaration of independence by Mr. Smith (endorsed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home) did nothing to change actual white settler minority rule in practice.

Mr. Smith has simply gone ahead and acted as if Rhodesia was already independent. This is revealed also in the trade agreement signed with Portugal (which also covers Portuguese colonies in Africa), and the hint of a military pact between them.

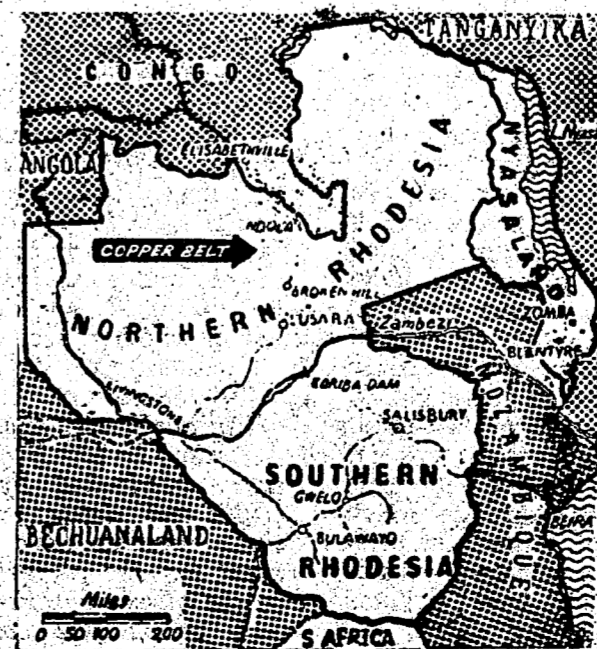
It seems clear that Mr. Smith's strategy is to exercise independence in practice by the white settler minority without even waiting for any kind of constitutional sanction.

Already during Mr. Bottomley's visit it was announced that the government-paid chiefs and headmen have been provided with guns "to deal with trouble-makers". It is these gun-men who Mr. Smith claims, are the spokesmen of African opinion!

What is even worse is that it seems the Wilson Government is equally frightened of African majority rule in Rhodesia. It appears to be taking its cue from the Financial Times which pointed out that:

"The U.K. can do nothing to stop Mr. Smith siezing independence. For the British Government, there is thus no alternative for the present but to play for time... People in this country would not stand for the use of force against the white settlers."

(February 22nd 1965) It appears that armed aggression against the people of South Vietnam, and the use of Ascension Island for U.S. planes to carry mercenaries to kill Africans in the Congo is



Continued on page 5

T.V. IN GHANA

The following is an address delivered by MRS SHIRLEY DU BOIS, Director of Television, to Television workers on 8th January, 1965.

1965 is Ghana's Television Year! On this 8th of January, we, for the first time, are come together in our beautiful new Television building. I want you to be very still for a second and think of the significance of this moment. This is the 15th Anniversary of Positive Action as initiated by Kwame Nkrumah. Because we are blessed with life in this period, because we were born here; or drawn to the shores of the Gulf of Guinea, each one of us has a rendezvous with destiny which we cannot and would not escape. Into our hands have been entrusted the means and the responsibility for igniting a flaming torch for all Africa.

PENETRATING EYE

Television is the newest, the most powerful, the most direct means of communication devised by man. Its potentialities are boundless. The eye of Television is more penetrating, more accurate and quicker than the human eye. It can magnify the smallest object and bring it close for examination. It can scan the skies and peer deep into the sea. This eye can enter the living human body and search out disorders of its functions. Because Television is essentially visual its appeal is immediate and universal. Regardless of differences in languages and cultures, all peoples can see. Thus Television possesses significant and specific characteristics which not only separate it from other mass media but on which it can build its own distinct art form. It is young enough and should be adventurous enough to search out its own aesthetics.

In no developed country has the visual quality of Television been fully utilized. Modern education, industrial and urban communities—the increasing tempo of modern life all condition us to much talking. Yet philosophers, thinkers, creators and spiritual teachers of all ages and all peoples have sought escape from words and chatter and have refreshed themselves and renewed their strength in quiet, in looking in contemplation.

People who live close to nature, who plant and till the soil, people who go out to the sea in fishing boats, who hunt, these people use their eyes. And it is to these citizens of Ghana; in the villages, in the rural communities, in the fishing hamlets, on the farms, to whom Television would bring the new Ghana with social planning, educational opportunities, with vast industrial development. We shall show ships from all parts of the world docking at our magnificent Tema Harbour, show water being piped into the Northern Regions, show the construction of factories, of schools, of hospitals show our youth soaring through the air over Accra, and marching out of our universities. Because of Television all the people of Ghana may understand the goals and aspirations of their Government. They will see for themselves what is going on.

Few words are necessary for such coverage. Therefore the differing languages will not be a barrier to bringing this information. Now this is a very important thing for us in Ghana with so many different languages. Television Viewing Centres will set up in villages, in rural communities, and in

urban community centres. A Monitor, who speaks the language of the area, will be in charge. And when necessary, this Monitor can assume the role of the traditional story teller and as the picture unfolds, displaying perhaps some near forgotten chronicle of ancient Ghana's history, the Monitor will recite the story which is being played out by means of dance, of music, of pantomime. In such instances, we shall be combining one of the oldest traditions of West Africa, the village story teller with this newest of scientific inventions. And now think about the possibilities which this opens up, think about it.

EDUCATION

In Italy Television is being successfully used to combat the appalling illiteracy which exists in that country. We do not have the same type of degree of illiteracy in Ghana. Our people in the most distant areas may not speak or read English, but they are neither stupid nor inexperienced. They have their own languages and their own modes of living. A population emerging from colonial rule, must, however, have specific training for handling new situations and new implements. Knowledge of the symbols of learning, knowledge of the world in which one lives, of demands and potential resources, are essential for exercising citizenship and assuming responsibilities as free men and women. Through properly programmed and directed Television, a transformation in living conditions, in health, in agriculture, in all patterns of work, may be brought about. Every section of the Seven Year Development Plan can be activated, energised and speeded up by means of Television.

Our programming for School Television is closely co-ordinated with plans of the Ministry of Education. It is clearly recognised that much of the schooling in Ghana still bears the stamp of traditional Missionary and European Education Systems. Television will assist the schools in preparing Ghanaian children for service in a dynamic forward-looking socialist state. Television will bring scientific laboratories into isolated classrooms. It will open the child's eyes to the wonders of nature all about him, encourage him to make experiments and develop inquiring. It is also important that basic polytechnical education, as it can be brought by Television, should penetrate into Middle and Secondary School.

SERVICE

Television can save lives! Let me give one example: One eight of the babies born in Ghana are afflicted with incurable trachoma before they are a year old. Why? Is this an inherited disease in West Africa? Not at all. Science found the answer some time ago, but science has as yet been able to do little with this knowledge. It is an ancient and time honoured custom at the time of birth, before cutting the cord uniting mother and child, to plunge the knife deep into Mother Earth. It is possible that in the old days when people lived uncrowded on grassy glades, besides rivers or in shaded forests, this custom was not harmful. But the long years of plunder through which Africa has passed, the pressures, the pains and evils of colonialism have polluted our land, have dirtied our soil. Today, when too many of our villagers crowd into

shacks to which water must be brought from some distant tap, the trampled earth is impure, and a knife plunged into it picks up the germs of trachoma and the new-born baby is doomed.

With Television this fact can be shown in every village and crowded area. The knife, the germs (enlarged by microscope), the effects on the infant can all be plainly seen. When mothers and prospective mothers SEE these things, when women know the dangers, how long do you think it will be before this custom goes out of practice—along with the crowded huts and surrounding rubbish?

Ghana is setting up the first indigenous Television System in Africa—indigenous in that the content of our programmes will come out of Ghana and Africa—indigenous in that our System will be manned in all its extended parts by Ghanaians or by workers from Sister African States. We may be proud of this fact, but not boastful, for we in Ghana have definite advantages over our Sister States. In Ghana was established the First Television Training School in Africa. Our Government is spending close to four million pounds to give us the best and most modern equipment, the best and most professional training. We must therefore, BEGIN on a high professional level.

Boldness and creative inventiveness is called for in Programming and in Directing. We here have the glorious opportunity of exploration and path breaking. We in Ghana can create a Television System which will be revolutionary and illuminating for the entire world if we dig deep for our materials and present these materials in a fresh, dynamic manner, always remembering that the purpose of Ghana's Television is to educate, to enlighten, to inspire and to UNITE—first all of Ghana and then all of Africa. We must recognise that we are dedicated to building a new and better world, of peace and health and prosperity to all men and we must recognise that CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME. We have got to build here first.

NEW CHANGES

Ghanaians are not bored and tired and cynical about life as are masses of people in Europe and America. This nation has triumphantly thrown off colonialism and is pushing, working, and planning her way into Socialism, skipping over feudalism and capitalism without bloodshed and without violence. No nation in the world has yet achieved this. I repeat, no nation has yet done this. But this is what we are trying to do in Ghana. Television is part and parcel of this tremendous, dynamic and visionary change. Television must not only support this change but must carry it out to all the people. Television must activate the words of our great leader Kwame Nkrumah. I would like to quote some of the words from his Christmas message:

"We in Ghana are working hard to build a society in which the condition for the happiness of each will be the condition for the happiness of all. We have always had the courage to face our problems honestly, frankly and squarely."

Now I want to call to your attention another section of the Christmas Eve Message: "We hear a lot about the fall in our foreign exchange reserves. The fact is deliberately overlooked by our critics and detractors that these reserves have been spent for the construction of the many industrial projects which you can see springing up all over the country. Look around you

and be a witness unto yourselves. The pace of our development is so fast that we are already ahead of schedule in the implementation of our Seven-Year Development Plan."

Osagyefo spoke of necessary sacrifices we must make during this revolutionary changing period. How does this injunction apply to television workers? We must set an example for others to SEE. There is the matter of accommodation—of housing. It is a fact that we do not have in Ghana enough houses. Within the past three years the tremendous projects all over Ghana have necessitated calling in a multitude of experts and industrial workers to push forward our industrial development.

The result is that in spite of the fact that hundreds of new housing units have been built some of you are not adequately housed. We are fully aware of this and have included the construction of housing units in our Budget for 1965. Meanwhile we ask you cheerfully to accept whatever inconvenience you are experiencing as your contribution to the development and progress of your country.

SACRIFICE

There is also the shortage of cars, of vehicles, of tyres and car parts. These shortages affect us seriously. We need transportation to carry on our work. Everybody knows this and every effort is being made to secure more means of transportation. And yet, nobody can pull cars and jeeps out of the air! Transportation for Television is on order and will be secured. Meanwhile, let me ask you, loyal and patriotic workers to use your own cars whenever you can. Share rides with other. Pull all our resources until we come through. You are paid a travelling allowance. Business trips must be carefully planned and noted before the trip is made. On return turn into the Accountant a carefully prepared and exact report. Even though you feel that the allowance does not pay for the wear and tear on your car and increased prices of petrol, consider this as part of that tightening of the belt which you and I make for the success of our great project.

We cannot do this job without the full co-operation of everyone of you. Our Television will be only as strong as its weakest link. This means that we must feel a responsibility for helping each other. We must feel a responsibility for encouraging and informing each other. We must feel a responsibility for the whole. You are a fine group of workers. I have reported this and I have said, "Do not worry about Television people. The Television Staff and trainees are combining in a wonderful manner. They realize their responsibilities and they are working." Do not let anybody discourage you. Think of what Kwame Nkrumah said in his New Year's Eve speech: "If you take care of Ghana, Ghana will take care of you."

When we repeat or hear slogans "Work and Happiness", take these words into your heart and into your mind. They are in the heart and mind of our Leader. Do not undermine your fellow workers, in an effort to boost yourself. Demonstrate by your ability and integrity that you are worthy of the position you hold. This means that every one in a top position has a responsibility to every junior worker. It means that everybody under a Head has a responsibility to that Head. If we co-ordinate our efforts and work together, we will get things done faster, easier, and much better. If you bring complaints to the person next in charge and you are not

satisfied, say that you want to write a letter to the Director and the Director is always there to receive the letter. But in many instances the problem is one that your superior officer is already working on. He or she knows the problem, and it is just a matter of frank talking. We would, not claim to be infallible. None of us are.

We are trying to change certain complications even in our organisational set-up. Again let me emphasise "Television is new". Think of Television as being revolutionary which means change, change all along the line. Television cannot operate under routines set up in the Colonial era. Nkrumah said in one of his

speeches in Parliament that we in Ghana are called upon to do in a matter of a few years what has taken other countries several hundred years to do. He said we cannot jog along in an oxcart. We are not living in the aeroplane and electronic age, and Television is the very symbol of this rapid, dynamic move.

As I have said this Year is Ghana's Television Year. When the history of 1965 in Ghana is written we will be way at the top. We start on a high level, we start united and determined. We use our minds to invent and to create. I want every programmer, every organiser, every producer, to keep this in the front of their

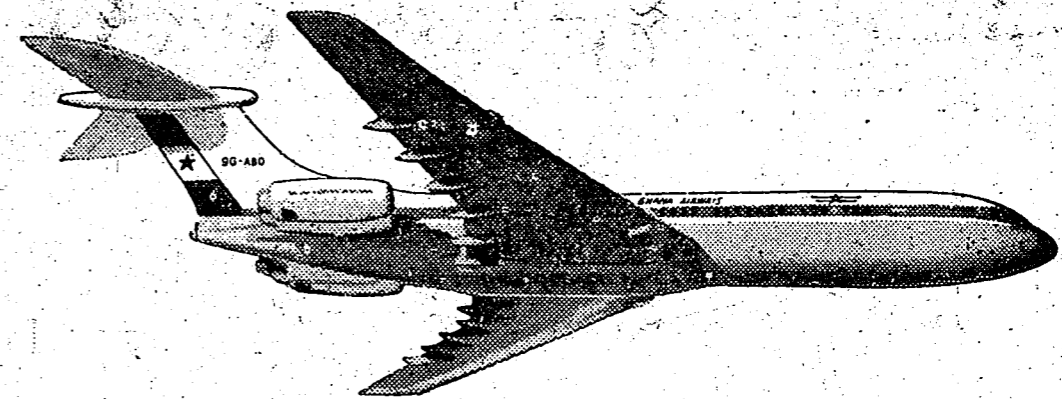
minds. I am asking you to think and bring in ideas, bring in new ideas, bring in ideas which you feel will be appropriate for Ghana for Africa, realising that we are doing something different, realising that we are lighting a flaming torch for Africa.

There will be problems, but realise that we will solve these problems together. We shall work as brothers, sisters as one big family. Let us follow our leader who holds the highest and best for us, in his mind, who holds before the world, the African Personality in beauty and dignity. Remember this word dignity. Thank you for coming and listening to all these words of mine.

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|--------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| ACCRA | DEP. | 09.00 | 03.00 | 09.00 |
| ROME | ARR. | | 15.15 | |
| | DEP. | | 16.05 | |
| ZURICH | ARR. | | 17.25 | |
| | DEP. | | 18.15 | |
| LONDON | ARR. | 15.25 | 18.40 | 15.25 |

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THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

The Background to France's Attack on the Dollar

THE New Year celebrations were hardly over when France announced she was converting part of her dollar reserves into gold.

The amount involved, so far, is \$300 million, the equivalent of about 270 tons of fine gold and 20 per cent of France's dollar stock.

The official Ministry of Finance communique says this is a routine currency operation fully in keeping with the French Bank's policy of having three-quarters of its foreign exchange reserves in gold and one-quarter in dollars and other currencies.

PART OF STORY

But that is only part of the story. A "routine operation" would not have caused such a stir in the United States and throughout the West.

France's decision should be seen in context with NATO antagonisms, its financial and economic problems, but above all in context with the position of the U.S. dollar.

And that position has been steadily deteriorating, due chiefly to a mounting balance of payments deficit.

The United States earns between \$5,000 million and \$6,000 million annually from commodity exports, but spends much more on overseas military expenditure and diverse grants, loans, etc., to other countries.

This has left it with a huge deficit, approximately \$20,000 million for the period 1958-64. To cover it Washington has

had to draw on its gold reserves and increase its short-term dollar debt to other countries.

U.S. SHARE DOWN

U.S. gold reserves had declined from \$22,900 million in 1957 to \$15,500 million this year, a drop of \$7,400 million.

The U.S. share in the capitalist world's centralised gold reserves is down from 70 per cent in 1949 to only 37 per cent.

The short-term dollar debt — i.e., foreign dollar deposits in American banks — is up from \$6,300 million in 1949 to \$24,000 million. These deposits are subject to withdrawal and conversion into gold, at short notice.

In combination, all this has undermined the dollar's gold backing. In fact, even if gold backing is repealed, the gold stock will not suffice to meet all foreign debts.

CAUSING UNEASINESS

Naturally enough, this is causing much uneasiness in capitalist countries that have large dollar deposits in the United States. France's decision may set off a chain reaction.

If other countries begin to convert their dollars into gold, the result might prove calamitous for the United States.

The *Daily Telegraph* (4.1.65) wrote that "the new (French) conversion will inevitably be seen by the rest of the world as a lack of confidence in the dollar".

And confidence is being further undermined by Britain's balance of payments crisis. Last year's deficit amounted to £800 million and there was talk of devaluation.

So far that has been averted by loans from foreign banks and the International Monetary Fund.

The picture, then, is of a weakening of the dollar and sterling and the strengthening of the West-German mark and French franc.

MARK AND FRANC

Even in the late fifties they were considered "weak" currencies compared with the "strong" dollar. Now both Bonn and Paris are anxious to break out of dollar dependence and build up substantial gold stocks of their own.

France's gold reserve climbed from \$580 million in 1957 to \$3,200 million at the close of last year. Besides, the Bank of France has a foreign exchange reserve (mostly in

U.S. dollars) of \$1,800 million. Much of America's outflow of gold goes to France, Federal Germany and several other countries.

The franc and mark also have another advantage over the dollar. Both France and West Germany permit private dealing in gold and do not restrict private accumulation of gold. In the U.S.A. this is forbidden.

France has the world's biggest private gold stock, over \$4,000 million, or about a quarter of the capitalist world's total.

No wonder France and certain other countries have been demanding revision of existing international payments arrangements.

At the Washington and Tokyo conferences of the International Monetary Fund

in 1963 and 1964, French Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing criticised the existing system, pointing out that it is to the advantage of the United States and Britain.

They can cover their payments deficit by increasing their short-term dollar or sterling debt. But this is to the disadvantage of creditor countries, for it increases inflationary trends.

The French Minister also complained that U.S. reserves were exclusively in gold, whereas other countries had to keep a large part of their reserves in dollars.

The French conversion move is only an episode in imperialist rivalry: each country wants to strengthen its currency and secure a redivision of gold reserves.

Africa and the World

(Continued from page 1)

the world as 'advisers' supporting the South Vietnam forces in their war against the North. That pretence is now gone. The U.S.A. is making a last ditch stand to preserve its control in South East Asia. The nuclear warlords of the Pentagon are clamouring for the extension of the war. We are on the brink, pushed there by U.S. aggression, but we are also on the brink of getting rid of imperialism from this part of the world if all the forces of peace and independence are mobilised. African governments cannot stand by. They must raise their voices in support of the demand for

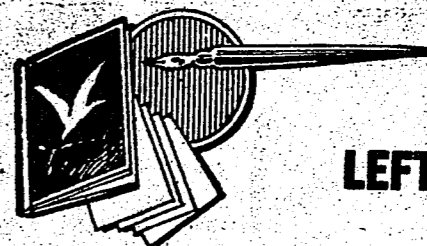
the withdrawal of American forces and the right of the South-Vietnamese to choose their government and establish the relations they desire with the North.

While Mr. Wilson woos the West Germans at the wall some African states are presenting him with a little object lesson in independence. The character of 'aid' from capitalist countries is becoming more and more obvious. It is an extension of their politics and they expect direct political returns as well as the pay-

ment of interest financially. Julius Nyerere has now made it clear that he is prepared to tolerate neo-colonialism no more than he was prepared to tolerate colonialism. He has led his people to freedom from colonial rule and he has clearly understood the way in which neo-colonialism threatens Africa under the guise of 'aid', 'loans' and 'development' projects.

The West Germans have received their warning from him not to try and control his country by means of 'aid'. They have been learning a few rather sharp lessons recently about the newly independent states. The visit of Herr Walter Ulbricht of the German Democratic Republic was a welcome event, not only because it will strengthen relations between East Germany and the U.A.R. but because it demonstrated the refusal of non-aligned states to be drawn in to the sterile, ruinous and futile politics of the Western inspired cold war. West Germany's underhand dealings with Israel will not increase her stature in the Middle East either. It is tragic to see a state, so many of whose citizens found refuge there from Nazi persecutions, demanding compensation in the form of arms to be used against neighbours. What kind of future can such a policy hold out for either Arabs or Israelis? The West German neo-colonialists will fish in these troubled waters for their own profit and benefit only and to the detriment of the people of the Middle East.

The period between now and the September O.A.U. Conference is fraught with dangers. It will be one of continuous struggle to make sure that the meeting takes place and that the plans of the imperialists and their puppets come to nothing. Africa can be mobilised to save the conference and to make its decisions come to life. We must campaign against the regional blocs which try to undermine real African unity and against the policies of appeasement which collaborators with imperialism try to impose on it. We must gather at the O.A.U. Summit meeting united to end the threat in the Congo, and assured that peace in the world has been established. That depends on what we do now in this period of acute crisis. Our unity is being challenged, or strength is being probed, victory demands principled unity, courage and determination.



LEFT POEMS

THE PIONEER

(Continued from page 2)

Expect me... my dear mother—
Expect me... but only
When you shall see me
Coming;
Do not allow my sisters to sit
By the roadside
Expecting me; don't allow them into
Any bush—
Looking out for me... don't allow them
To hide
In any corner, thinking and sorrowing
Over my absence;
Don't let my sisters have a cause
To weep,
Otherwise they shall cry the more,
Thinking—
Of how I would have consoled them
In my arms,
Had I been there with them at home.
Do not
Put any food or fruit aside
For me;
Give to my sisters and brothers gifts
Meant for me;
But during libation you could call
My name,
And when answering questions on
Our family,
Expect me... my dear mother—
Expect me... but only
When you shall see me
Coming.

Expect me... my dear mother—
Expect me... but only
When you shall see me
Coming;
Tell my sisters to build
The hearth—
I shall soon carry home
The firewood.
Tell them to reconstruct it
A thousand times,
Not minding the destructive,
Erosive rains—
Our father has built for us
A house;
And I must furnish it into
A home;
To the pot, I must return home
With water
For the hoestick I must mould
A blade,
For the floors I must collect
A broom.
To the courtyard I must carve
Out some stools,
For the mortar I must find
A head,
To the rooms I must weave
Some mats,
For the spears I must melt some
Spearheads,
And teach my sisters how
To man them.
I am the male among you;
I am our father's first son.
Expect me... my dear mother—
Expect me... but only
When you shall see me
Coming.

AFRICAN MAJORITY RULE

(Continued from page 3)

is quite in order. But white skins are sacred!

Unless effective steps are taken to change this situation, the 200,000 white settler minority will continue to rule over four million Africans. The Wilson Government will be faced with rising opposition throughout the Commonwealth—whose Premiers at the London Conference last July, put the following demands in their final statement:

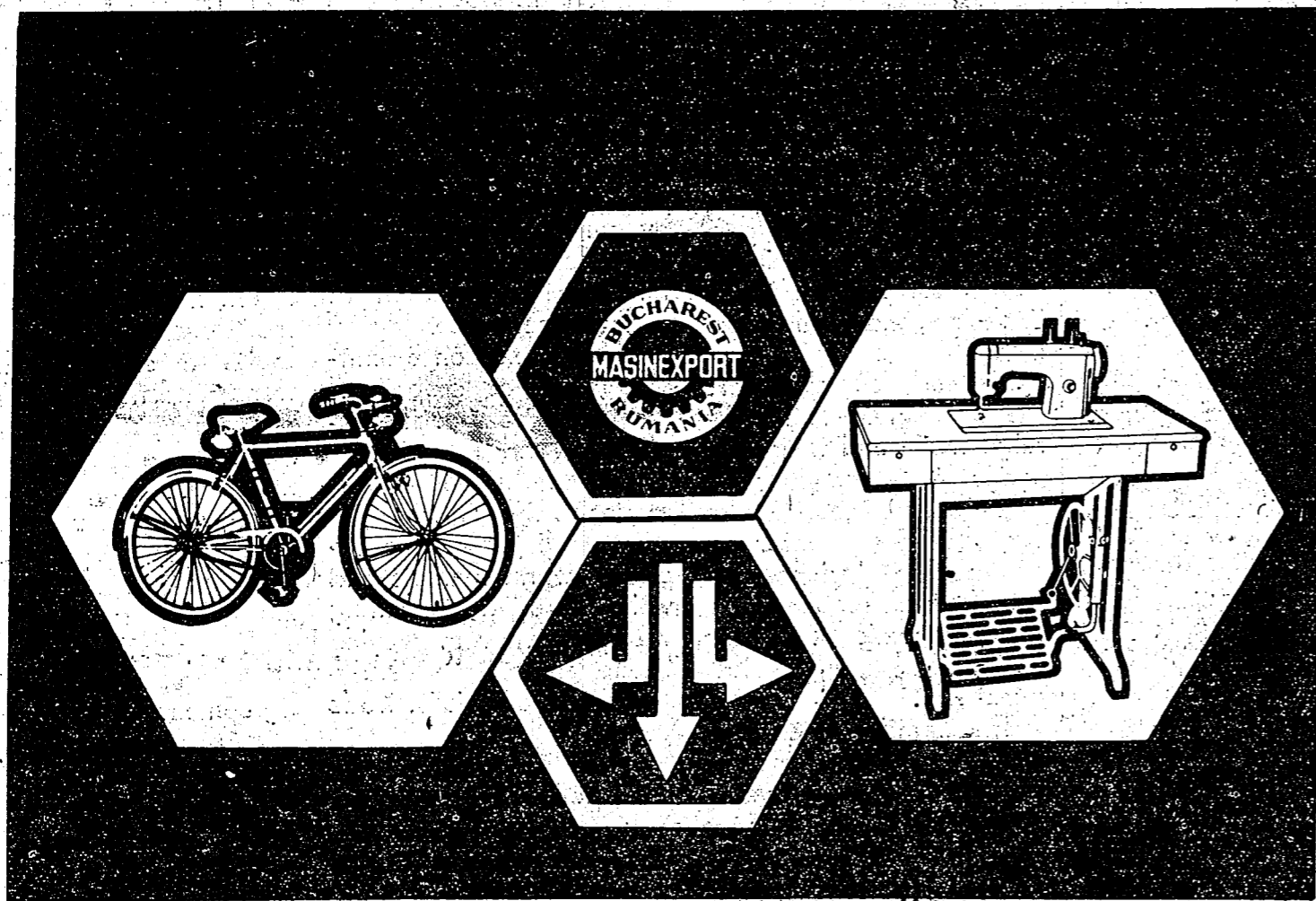
- (1) Release of all Africans from prison and detention.
- (2) Suspension of the existing Constitution.
- (3) A new constitutional conference in London, representative of all political parties in Rhodesia, to frame a new

Constitution based on the principle of African majority rule.

Last Friday, even when Bottomley and Gardiner were still in "discussions", Jomo Kenyatta re-affirmed that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), would stand by the demands put forward last July. Wilson and Bottomley are defying the wishes not only of Africans in Rhodesia, but all over the continent. This policy can only lead to disaster.

It is time for the Labour and progressive movement in Britain to put more pressure on the Wilson Government before the next conference of Commonwealth Premiers in June.

March 1st, 1965



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Letters to the Editor

MALCOLM X

DEAR Comrades,

I should like to comment on your front page article of 26th February, by W. G. Smith, entitled "Who killed Malcolm X". Usually the standard of articles in SPARK is very high, and statements in them are backed with evidence. This article, however, while attributing revolutionary significance to the activities of Malcolm X, does not quote a single statement of his, nor cite a single action of his, which could support such an assessment. It is, however, very important to make a correct assessment of the various components of the two sides in the Negro Revolution, since, as your commentator points out, "The 22 million Afro-Americans... are America's catalyst. They are the instruments of her change."

Let us therefore examine the role of the Negro people in the U.S.A., and the attitude of Malcolm X and his supporters to this role. As Mr. Smith says, American Negroes "constitute a vast reserve of cheap labour". Their average wage is only 55% of the white average of \$7,140, this proportion being the same as in 1951. Negroes not only have twice the unemployment rate of whites, but also constitute over 25% of the long-term unemployed (who, incidentally, do not receive unemployment benefit). Unlike the white population, very few Negroes have even managerial posts, let alone own a fair-sized business. The great majority work in industry, in service jobs, or on the land. In industry, Negroes are concentrated in the primary stages of production, forming 40% of workers in the building and timber industries, 30% of those in the car industry, etc. If we add to this the fact that only 2% of apprentices are Negro, and that demand for skilled workers is rising, it becomes obvious that automation will hit the Negro first and hardest, and that he will not be able to get another job for a long time, if at all. Segregated, poor quality, education, and the vile conditions under which most Negroes live only accentuate this, breeding despair and defeatism.

These facts are the ones that back your commentator's remarks—what can be deduced from them? Mr. Smith comes to various conclusions. Correctly, he maintains that that U.S. imperialism cannot allow the Negro population the same standards as the better-off whites—"the Negro Americans, as a group, cannot be freed". U.S. imperialism, therefore, tries to buy out a small section of that group, as imperialism has tried to do the world over. Mr. Smith forgets, however, that the white population is not homogeneous: 92% of the Negro work-force earns under \$5000—but so does 70% of the white work-force, while 45% earns under \$2,500.

The size of the white work-force over 14 years old is 64 million. 45% of this gives 30 million whites who are financially as badly off as the Negro population. This group is potentially a tremendous ally of the Negro people. Yet Mr. Smith forgets this group, forgets their day-to-day struggles, omits to mention the increas-

ing activities of the trade unions, lumps all these people together with the typical American, contented and well-paid. Never once does he point out that 21 million Negroes can do very little to change the present situation without the support of the white working class. He derides the struggles for the right to vote—has he forgotten the history of so many African countries? Does he think that the Southern Negroes can be organised around a slogan of racial war? If, as he implies they should, America's Negro minority were to arm themselves—"Get guns. Fabricate Molotov cocktails. Get ready to fight and die"—they would lose their last chance of any white support. Racialism divides the working class movement—but does not this policy do so as well?

The present role of the American Negro, then, is to be the leading force in a broadly based movement for decent and guaranteed jobs housing and education, for proper welfare benefits, for a party that represents the aspirations of the American people and not its ruling class. Such a movement will encounter great opposition from U.S. imperialism, and will eventually develop into a revolutionary movement. But such a development cannot occur immediately, nor can it occur in a movement restricted to a small, racial, minority of the population. It will have a class basis, not a racial basis.

What was Malcolm X's attitude to this? Mr. Smith's account of his ideas is brief, and his history is not mentioned at all. Malcolm X was for many years a leading member of the Black Muslims, representing within it that section that was in favour of overt political action. This was opposed to the conservative-religious section, led by Elijah

Muhammed and his family, on a policy of Negro separatism. According to the latter, the Negro should withdraw from the predominantly white American society, and set up one of his own. The net result of such a policy would be that the Negro people, at present exploited by principally white capital, would become exploited by Negro capitalists, who in their turn would be exploited and dominated by white capital, which is economically far more powerful. Thus there would be no benefit for the great majority of Negro people.

Malcolm X was expelled from the Muslims, shortly after a remark of his on Kennedy's assassination gave Elijah Muhammed a chance to remove his powerful rival. He announced the formation of a new organisation, designed to "eliminate the political oppression, the economic exploitation and the social degradation suffered daily by 22 million Afro-Americans". Was this movement any more than a politically active version of the Black Muslims?

There is very little evidence either way, as Malcolm X left America during the Summer for a tour of Africa and other countries, and was assassinated shortly after his return. Thus we have no actions of his organisation on which to base our assessment. We must therefore consider Malcolm X's own statements since his expulsion. In the May 1964 issue of the *Black Nationalist*—sympathising *Monthly Review*, an interview with him is reported, in which he maintained that the Negro could not gain his freedom with working class whites. This position is the exact opposite of the correct one. Your commentator points out that, as the existing sources of super-profit for U.S. imperialism are taken

from it, then it "must increase, not decrease, its exploitation of its working class back home. So how can capitalism halt the exploitation of its most vulnerable victim, the Afro-American?" How also can the Afro-American resist this increasing exploitation if he isolates himself from his class allies, the white workers?

After his trip to Africa, Malcolm X spoke at Oxford University. During a brilliant speech, he said that he was willing to work with anybody, of any race, who also wanted freedom for America's Negroes. This attitude he also maintains in his autobiography. In the latest instalment in the London *OBSERVER*, he is quoted as saying "I have turned my direction away from anything that's racist". These statements show a change from the ruinous Muslim's position towards a class outlook, towards an understanding of the identity of goals of the Negro and white working class. They do not show, however, nor does anything he quotes, that your commentator is right in claiming "He discovered and proclaimed the great dangerous truth... you cannot win under capitalism. You must join the world revolution against imperialism." Thus while there are indications that Malcolm X could have been a figure of major importance in the Negro Revolution, we are not justified in saying that he was already such a figure. In short, while it is true that his death is a considerable set-back for the Negro Revolution, we should remember that Malcolm X was a recent convert to that revolution, and not elevate him to its leader.

I am sorry to take up so much of your time, but I feel that it is very important not to make careless assessments of any factor in the Struggle of America's Negroes as this may hinder the help which Africa can, and must, give her brothers in America. I wish you and your paper a long life in the cause of the African Revolution.

Yours fraternally
Chris Allen
Brasenose College, Oxford,
England

The Truth About Ghana

SIR,

Even the blind hears of the phenomenal progress made by the nation since Kwame Nkrumah returned home. They appreciate it, too. We at home see the achievements since the independence of Ghana in 1957.

But yet the imperialist and the capitalists, the anti-socialists continue their depre-dations and pretensions against Ghana. Even some countries in Africa join these malicious campaigns against Ghana; e.g. Nigeria and some of the French speaking countries who still believe in capitalism.

Some have today seen the result of capitalism and colonialism; example is Nigeria. If Nigeria had removed the beam in her eyes before attacking Ghana it would have been prudent and praise-worthy. But if they repent as Saul did and join the struggle which Kwame Nkrumah is initiating, what Ben Bella and Kenyatta too know, it will benefit the continent.

It is true that Kwame Nkrumah's country is small but it has played a vital role in Africa's liberation and emancipation. Kwame Nkrumah will continue until the whole continent is liberated from the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Kwame Nkrumah himself has said "death alone cannot

extinguish the flame which I have lit." For even after he is gone, the future generations will know him as people today remember men like the late Abraham Lincoln who is described as father of Liberty.

Kwame Nkrumah believes in peace, he is against racial discrimination; equality for all men—these are what he wants. Are these not the same objectives of the Abraham Lincoln who today we regret his departure? If we all have these same notions, why should there be a plot to assassinate him? Why all these malicious vilifications about Ghana by the western press?

Kwame Nkrumah believes in freedom, but not the type which gives the licence for subversive activities and killing of human beings. The whole world can testify this truth. Kwame Nkrumah believes in freedom for developing our own country and giving equal chances to all men. We do not believe in that brand for shooting men who quest for peace.

COMMON AIM

Ghana has chosen one common aim that is to build a first class Socialist State and nothing can dissuade us from this avowed aim. We are following one leader we know, the man who won us our independence, the man who has bestowed progress and

stability in Ghana and Africa in general. Kwame Nkrumah has said already that "nobody can change the verdict of our choosing Socialist society, either by violence, silent resistance, sabotage or the wickedness of hidden persuasion and that the might of the people will resist any form of sedition, from whatever source it may come."

THE ENEMIES

Enemies of African Unity are beginning to be ashamed in spite of the Nouakchott Conference. President Maz-zemba-Dabat has cleaned his hands from their shameful and malicious campaign against Kwame Nkrumah. For he has visited Ghana and known the truth about Ghana. For those who knew Ghana before her independence would know that for more than a century the imperialists stayed here they could not do half of what Kwame Nkrumah and the C.P.P. have done within this short period of our independence.

We in Ghana know that if Kwame Nkrumah had not come we would still be serving our overlords and we would not have advanced as today. To us he is indispensable.

Kofi Appa,
Student of the School of
Journalism, Accra.

EDITORIAL

Continued from Page 1

The United Nations World Economic Survey 1963 noted that "the stagnation in the exports of primary products has been even more acute in the developing countries. Their exports of foodstuffs and raw materials did not increase by even one per cent per year, while world exports of these two merchandise groups increased by 4.1 and 3.2 per cent respectively...."

"The exports of primary products from the developing countries have lagged behind total exports of such commodities partly owing to technological factors (growing competition from synthetic products and economies in the use of raw materials—Ed.) and partly also because of certain economic policies pursued in the developed countries."

"Often these developed countries have favoured the expansion of their own primary activities behind protective walls through the imposition of tariffs and quantitative restrictions. Some of these countries have also levied internal fiscal charges which have tended to restrain the consumption of a number of commodities imported largely from the developing countries; among the items so affected by fiscal duties have been sugar and the beverage crops" (emphasis ours—Ed.).

* * *

The Report goes on to spell out the implications of this situation: "The failure of the developing countries to participate adequately in the expansion of world trade in recent years poses a threat to their economic development."

"Indeed, so close are the links between their foreign trade and their economic development that if these countries were to continue to encounter unfavourable experiences, as they have in recent years, their economic expansion would doubtless be jeopardized."

The situation is a bitter economic lesson in the colonialism, a legacy of the days when for many in the City of London, Ghana was little more than a giant cocoa plantation, with its transport system and entire economy largely geared to the production and shipment of cocoa beans.

And there are some who would like to see it continue, though with a new look. There are even a few in the developing countries short-sighted enough to fall for this neo-colonialist line.

The international division of labour which grew up under imperialism should continue, the neo-colonialists argue. The African countries which have few industries should go on producing more and

more raw materials and agricultural products, while the developed countries which already have the industries will sell them the manufactured goods. This, it is claimed, is the way forward for the developing countries.

We see the emergence of a form of collective neo-colonialism, with the industrialised capitalist countries of Western Europe uniting in the Common Market and then seeking to persuade developing countries in Africa to become "Associate Members"—in other words, to accept the role of permanent raw material appendages.

But the experience of recent years shows the utter folly of such a policy. When cocoa prices were high in the mid-1950's, there were those who argued that this demonstrated that instead of developing a diversified industrialised economy able to stand on its own feet Ghana should concentrate on boosting the production of cocoa.

But, as we have noted, production was increased—but thanks to the fluctuations of the capitalist world market, the pressures of the monopolies and the manoeuvres of the speculators, prices and our earnings fell.

Had our country concentrated on cocoa alone and neglected to carry through measures designed to diversify our economy, end our excessive dependence on one crop and strengthen our economic independence the consequences could well have been serious indeed.

The only real, lasting solution to the problems now confronting the developing countries in the sphere of world trade is that being implemented by our government: planned socialist industrialisation and development to end the colonialist legacy of dependence on a limited number of crops and the fluctuations of the capitalist world market.

There must be no surrender to the big monopolies that dominate the capitalist world markets and which are accumulating vast profits from buying cheap and selling dear—the classic colonialist trade pattern.

While the British cocoa monopolies are trying to buy cocoa at a price that has never been lower, the prices they charge the British housewife for chocolate and other cocoa products have never been higher.

There can be no more vivid demonstration of the community of interest between the peoples of the developing countries and the common people of the capitalist countries in their joint struggle against their common enemy—monopoly capitalism.

The prime need is for unity of the developing countries in the face of the monopoly offensive. So far the six-member Cocoa Producers' Alliance uniting Ghana, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Brazil, Togo

and Cameroon who account for over 80 per cent of the world's output have stood firm behind their demand for a fair price of not less than £190 a ton.

But many observers ask with concern whether all its members share our government's determination to resist monopoly pressure. In particular, they note the implications of Nigeria's proposed association with the Common Market which, in the words of the weekly *West Africa* (27.2.65) "now seems in sight." The same journal had a week earlier significantly noted that "provisional figures for the first nine months of 1964...."

indicate that for cocoa at least the E.E.C. is a rapidly expanding market." A "rapidly expanding market" perhaps—but at what price, both in terms of cash and in terms of the economic independence and economic future of Nigeria and its people?

In addition to pressing ahead with their plans to diversify their economies and achieve a growing degree of economic independence, the developing countries can lessen their dependence upon the fluctuations of the capitalist world market by increased trade with that section of the world whose economy is not in the throes of a trade crisis and is not subject to disastrous price fluctuations—the Socialist world.

* * *

It is noteworthy that the United Nations World Economic Survey 1963 already quoted recognises that "one promising avenue... appears to be the expansion of trade with the centrally planned economies"—the term used by U.N. publications to describe the Socialist countries.

The foreign trade between these countries and the developing countries shows a steady upward trend, and new opportunities are opening up as a result of the socialist countries' increasing emphasis on the expansion of consumer goods production and the steadily improving living standards of their populations.

Through long-term agreement with these countries the developing countries can secure assured markets and prices and reduce their dependence on the fluctuations of the capitalist market.

From these countries, too, they can obtain the industrial goods they need at fair prices and on terms more favourable than those offered by the capitalist countries.

The way forward for Ghana, and for all the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, lies not in surrender to monopoly pressure and continued dependence on world capitalist markets, but in continued struggle for economic independence through planned socialist industrialisation and in increased cooperation with the Socialist world.