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## EDTORAA

## STRIKING CONTRAST

A. GROUP of young Soviet science and mathematics teachers who have for the last two years been teaching in our secondary schools left for home this week.
The shortage of science teachers was one of the most serious shortcomings of the inadequate and one-sided educational system bequeathed to us by colonialism.
Without science teachers it is impossible even to begin the training of the engineers, the physicists, the chemists, the agriculturalists that are necessary if we are to achieve genuine economic independence.
The Soviet teachers came to help fill this gap. Befo
Before they left for home they were received by Kwame Nkrumah, who on behalf of the nation thanked them for their efforts.
The Soviet young people won our respect by their knowledge and competence, by their by their knowledge and co
They won our affection by the quiet modesty with which they came and did their job, esty with which they came and did their job,
and by their sympathetic understanding of our hopes and aspirations, and of our determination to build a Socialist Ghana.
4 thetrmpossible notrto contrast the quiet way wh which they came and did their ob ob with The much-publicised activities of such organisations as, the American "Peace Corps", whose leaders make no effort to conceal the fact that they see its members as propagandists of the "American way of life", "missionaries of freedom" and champions of capitalist free enterprise.
Indeed, there are indications that for many in Washington this propaganda role is primary. Otherwise, how are we to account for the fact that, according to U.S. Congressmen, the majority of "Peace Corps" teachers are not qualified to teach in the United States itself?
There was also the case of the twenty-six "Peäce Corps" volunteers designated for agricultural work in a tropical country-but according to evidence given in the U.S. House of Representatives at the beginning of March last year, only six could in any way be describlast year, ony six could in any way be describ-
ed as specialists in agriculture- and not one ed as specialists in agriculture and not
was a specialist in tropical agriculture.
The organisers of the "Peace Corps" are concerned less about professional skill than about the ideological purity of the volunteers.
They see the "Peace Corps" not primarily as a means of assisting the developing countries, but as a means of winning support for the "American way of life" among young people, and of influencing those who will be the future leaders of their countries.
Those who, guide the activities of the "Peace Corps' have no sympathy with our efforts to Corps have no sympathy with our efforts to build a Socialist Ghana in which the exploita-
tion of man by man will be ended, they would tion of man by man will be ended, they would
like to see the developing countries take the like to see the developing countries take the
capitalist road, the road of continued subordination to neo-colonialism.
This has been recognised by a number of developing countries which have either restricted the activities of the "Peace Corps" or rejected its dubious services altogether.
Other neo-colonialist Powers have followed the U.S. example, by setting up their own "Peace Corps", trying to harness the idealism of youth and use it for their own ends. There is talk of $a^{\circ}$ "Combined Peace Corps uniting groups of volunteers from these countries for a "pint offensive"
Such projects clearly demonstrate that the intentions of their inspirers have little in common with the aim of giving genuine disinterested assistance to the developing countries. They are merely ill-concealed attempts to extend the Cold War.

## What is going on in Salisbury?

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

WHAT goes on in Salisbury, where Mr. Cledwyn Hughes; the British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations has for nearly two weeks been carrying on falks with racist Prime Minister lan Smith? The subject of the talks has been a closely-guarded secret a closely-guarsed secret in both Salisbury and kondon, búf there are clear indicapreparing the way for a deal at the expense of Rhodesia's African majority.

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


Mr. Nkomo, the detained African leader. "Distance: involved is too great", said Mr. Hughes.
al in Sallisbury Mr Hughes said it was un Hughes said it was un-
likely that he would see likely that he would see Mr. Nkomo, the detain-
ed African leader, beed African leader, be cause "The distance in volved is too great', a. scarcely convincing plea in this age of air travel. After only two days of talks, Mr lan Smith told a public meeting that progress had been made on Rhodesian in dependence.

## LISBON JOB

"I have made it clear to the British, Govern ment that we will have our independence. The only uncertain thing is in what manner we will have it"' he declared
Mr. Smith is already going ahead with plans to set up his own Enbassy in Lisbon - the latest

## by a Spark Corre pondent

 in a series of moves the racist Prime Minister has made to cement rela fions with Portuga, under the Chodesia's partner toge- white. settule of the ther with South Africa in an alliance to maintain white domination south of the Zambezi.Other moves planned include a red carpet tour of Rhodesia by the Governor-General of Yortugal's neighbouring colony of Mozambique, while Mr. Smith's deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Mr. Dupont, was in Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique last month and in the words of the London "Economist" (3. 7. 65) came back smil ing".

## CLEAR HINT.

Commented the London journal: "The pieces are falling into place for cthoroughogoing alliance of the white south, with Rhodesia assigned the major task ofs holding the Zar task frontier against the black north. The time will come when Mr. Smith will fee secure enough to go cver from the defensive to. the offensive in his pursuit of indepen dence.'
to cement rela- vhat a, clear hint of

Mr. Smith had already. given a clear hint of under the rule of the white settler minority can majority in $\begin{gathered}\text { a pers }\end{gathered}$ interview significantly interview significantly Mr to coincide with Mr. Hughes arriva, Mr. Smith said that while he did not believe in opart theid now, this is not to say 1 will feel the same in twenty years' time". He admitted that under the present constitution it would take around thirty years for an African majority to elect an African Prime Mect an

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

It was this Constitu ton which Constitu ion which the presen Labour leader when in "ipposition described as 'intended to implement constitutional proposals which fail to provide for the African people of Southern Rhodesia either adequate safeguards egainst discrimination or
 that he likes to be everything to all men.. Is he now triing to do the same thing on Rhodesia?"


Mr. Smith says he doesn't believe in apartheid nowbut 'this is not to say I will feel the same in twenty years' time:"
edequate representation in the legislature."

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

FORM OF WORDS
Are they now Conspiring with Smith to find form of words which they hope will mollify the African Commonwealth leaders but on every essential give Smith what he wants with inde pendence Under this Constitution? Mr. Wilson has on other issues shown that he likes to be everything to all men for the men to al ment for the men given service support for
every new U.S. move to step up the war in Viet nam -but for growing number who demand an end to the way he has posed as the champion of peace.
Is he now trying to do the same thing on Rho-desia-satisfy. Mr. Smith and the white supremacists both in Salisbury and London on the one and London on the one rand while seeming to atisfy the African majority and the African leaders of the Commonwealth on the other? But this time the 'facing both ways" trick won't work. This time Mp. Wilson has to decide which side he is on.. Mr. Wilson, like his Tory predecessors. pleads that Rhodesia is peads that Rhodesia is ny" /whatever that colo ny (whatever that may bel and that a Parlia mentary convention prevents the British Government exercising


Attention Mr. Foevie

THERE are those who argue that because Ghan a is advancing along the road to Social ism, the trade unions role as defenders of the workers.
In an address to the last Mine Workers' Union Tarkwa excerpts from Tarkwa excerpts by the
Ghan waian Timished Mr D, K, Foevie, Manag-
ing Director of the State ing Director of the State upon trade unionism to avoid the use of what he employers. union mustate enterprise, the mind the paramount interest o
lared.

There is, of course, something in what Mr. Foevie says but let us be clear and should not allow the managements of state enter prises to make a success of xpense of their workers, 0 improvement of conditions still less through the whitt ing away of advances tha

THE New York Her In attempt to justify this for the workers-and that even in the advanced counald Tribune" (20.7.65) terror bombing of Ainnocont made a great discovery. rate high on the list. understatements of the year, it with an air of pained surprise declared: Bombed villages learn to hate U.S.:
The headline was on a paper's correspondents who village shortly after it had been, to use the paper's sown
words, "blasted by U.S. and Vietnamese planes.
ithe wailing of The wailing of women and the stench of burned of troops as they marched report said.

## * *

Four villagers carrying a pallet with a wounded man can Vietnamese Marines, seeming to accuse the Americans the:ceathand destruction a dirt road was a woman cradling a baby and flanked by two other small children mer cries of anguish made troops turn aside
$\checkmark$ Surveying the sfattered stucco and bamboo homes and the machine-gunned. adviser saia Chats why we are going
to lose, this stupid damn
war Senseless its just senselesy, Ga, Gia, the report continues, "was considered, a, pro-government villa ge", from being hit three days and cannon fire from Ame rican and puppet $V$. villagers, a U.S. Air Force officer pleaded that "when
we are in a bind like we were at Ba Gia we unload
on the whole area to try to on the whole area to try to
save the situation. We save the situation.
usually, kill nore women
and kids than we do Viet and kids than we do Viet
Cong (National Liberation Movement fighters-Ed.).

## Some pilots, says the re-

 vations, about hitting villages, but many say they have been told that women avacuated from the targe all cases" (italics oùrs-Ed.) Side by side with this story was another from the Nang describing how t drunken U.S. Marines had ombers in order to carry ut an air raid on Hanoi, Republic of Vietnam The Marines reportedly said then that they wantedto bomb, Hanoi, because they felt the war, should be pushed harder", said the account.
There
There have in the past men becoming mentally balancedand thireatening to drop atomic, bombs; now
two drunken U.S. Marines were apparantly able to gain access to aircraft with which they could have brought new pitch.
The United States asks sense of responsibility, and Pentagon whize kid' MacNamara, would have, us
believe that all US actions believe that all U.S. actio Tell it to the Marine especially, those at Da
for the workers-and that even in the advanced coun-
includes the workers in the tries strenuous efforts are State enterprises-and no - Nor, to judge from the Foevie seem to understand that Ghana is as yet only on the road to Socialism, it has
not yet reached Socialism; there are still many ele ments of capitalism in
Ghana, still many old Gashioned private employers fashioned private employers
who would like to go on in
Finally, at a time when
being made to increase the number of graduates at all levels in industry-a move prompted by the growing try-Mr. Foevie's attacks on try-Mr. Foevies attacks on
"theorists" are to say the least short-sighted. say the Ghana needs, every highly-trained engineer and
scientist it can get. To dismiss them as "theorists" while hailing the "practical
man" is to do Ghana's in: man" is to do Ghana's in.
dustrial future a disservice.

## Symptomatic review

have been made.
State enterprises exist to serve the people, and the
people includes the workers who work in these enterprises. Work be bexpted to accept a slower pace of improvement in their they work for state enterprises.
Indeed, it should be the aim, of management and rring about a situation in which the state enterprises can, provide model condi-
tions for their workers, setting an example for other employers to follow.

This is the direction in which Mr. Foevie's thoughts should be moving; instead, he utters threats: "if any member of the Union does
not consider it desirable to not consider it desirable to
cooperate with the manacooperate towards the common good and do his duty as he should, it will be our sacred duty to take such action as is necessary to protect the industry", This is not the way the manager of State enterprise along the road to Socialism talks to the workers. Management must realise
that Socialism is being built

KWAME Nkrumah's Consciencism" 'has won a worthy place in
the ideological struggle the ideological struggle presently under way in keen interest also beyond its boundaries" writes a leading Soviet
student of Afric a n effairs, Dr. Iskenderov, affairs, Dr. Iskenderov,
in a review published by Peace, Freedom and Socialism, the interEr. Iskenderomah, write Dr. Iskenderov, "is a thinker who has mace plex problem
revolution.

Extirpating the last vestiges of colonialism, throwing
light on the forms and methods of neo-colonialism, advocacy of Afriacn Unity,
the continents role in world the continents role in world
politics its economic and politics its economic and and other issues have been the sul
tions.
Dr. Iskenderov recalls that Ghana was the first to win political independence following World War Two. This determined its
place in the national liberaplace in the national liberation movement of the African people. It became a
beacon illumining the way to independence for othe countries.

It was in the capital of
Ghana, Accra, that the first meeting Accra, that the first meeting of representatives can states took place in
1958, and in Accra that the first African people's conThe Soviet reviewer
underlines that Kwame Nkrumah's sympathies are with the materialist philoophy which not only ex "It is" tomatic that Nkrumah chose as the epigraph to his Consciencism the passage in in a letter by Engels to J. underscores the indispensability of the materialist conFor many years Iskenderov goes on, Kwame Nkrumah has been elaborating a theory of Socialism ditions. Socialism alone, he maintains, offers the possibility of achieving in the good life for the people, because Socialism presupposes public ownership of
the means of productionthe land and its resourcesand the utilisation of these the people. This review is sympto-
matic of the widespread matic of the widespread Nkrumah's efforts to apply the teachings of scientific social
tions

## WHIZZ-KID?

DURING his latest McNamara said after visit to South Viet nam U.S. Defence Se reported to hisv.e found the situation wound then it was on his previous visit.

There is speculation port to President John son, the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam
will increase to 100,000 wir monerease to 100,000
or more summer or more by late summer a limited call-ip will be
necessary in the United necessa
States.
It viev of the frequent attempts to depict Mr.
McNamara as some sor of a genius whose mind Works with computer-like infalibility, we thought it appropriate to recall
some of the things Mr.

## earlier visits to South

 Progress, in the lasteight to ten weeks has eight to ten weeks has
been great.. The [South Vietnam] Goverrment has asked only
for logistical support' for logistical
The major part of the
U.S. military task can be completed by the there masy be a continuing requirement for a a $g$ personnel' (October, 1963)

We have evert reason to believe that [ES.S.
military] plans will be
succe ssful in $1964^{*}$ (December, 1963).
We are confident these plans point the way to
victory'" (March, 1964).

## URY 9

Stude Ghanaian Science Students will be among 500 other students from 30 coun tries who will attend an conference opening in Lon don later opening in month. The conference is organised by tional Service for Youth. * Three Afro-Asian countries (Sierra-Leone, Tanzaniia, and Ceylon) have placed orders with the state match com-
pany for Made-in-Ghana matches, the managing direc or Mr. J. E. Ackah has said in Kade.
OUTHER
Mr RHODESLA zania's Foreign Minister, has urged U.N. Members to call on Britain to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule jority-AMBIA-TANZZANIA Reginald Freeson, a Pritish
Labour Member of Pärlia ment, has urged his govern ment to seek consultation
and make plans to set up a and make plans to set up Consortium under the aus pices of an appropriate U.N agency. He said the conso the United States and othe Commonwealth and Western JULY 10:
GHANA: The three-member now visiting Ghana, today begin a tour of state farm in the Volta Region. SOUTH AFRICA: The Bri ish.Goevrnment is to be asked to place a complete ba on the distribution and pro
duction of British films in duction of Bitheid South Africa the British Screenwrite Guild has announced in London. MALAWI: Mr. V. H. B. Gon dwe, Malawi High Commis siorier who has been in Ghana for a year has left
Accra by air for Washington, Accra by air for Washington country's ambassador in the United States.
GHANA: Professor N. G. Ba khoom, Principal of the Uni versity College of Science Education has left Accra b air for Prague, Czechoslova kia, to

## JULY 12

 GHANA, Mr. Alex QuaisonSackey, Ghana's Foreign Mi nister and President of the United Nations General As sembly has arrived in Accra by air from London for con sultations.

* Soviet Science and mathe in the country two years ag to teach in secondary school and are due to leave, called on Osagyefo Dr. Kwam Nkrumah at the Flagstaf House to bid him good-bye MALI: President Modibo Ke gates from Africa; People' China, North Köres and th German Democratic Republi in Bamako has accused th colonialists of conspiring to isolate African countries from their brothers
GHANA: Ghana produced 64,790,347 fine ounces of gold in May this year, the Com mercial Industry Bulletin has figure for the year. 372,032,583 fine ounces. UGANDA: Three, Ugand Members of Parliament a the week-end left the Kabak Yekka Party and joined th Yung Egara, OUTHERRN, RHODESTA The multiated bodies, ers-muirdered by white settle Rhodesian jailers, wer

IN South Africa, ten million Africans in the land that is theirs are helots to three million whether in rural African, or urban location, is a potential or actual worker for the European.
This is what the law says. This is what the law says
and provides for, without guaranteeing him the means of keeping alive.
Need must force him out moted by depriving him of land, henming him within over-crowded, soil-eroded reserves, and mposing-upon which hut and poll taxes from ment exempts himploy ment exempts him. enough, South Africa ha added a series of pass law which hound the African from place to place, and make him a vagrant, a breaker of laws as a way of providing a constant
source of slave labour for farms, mining and industry. The gold Industry was where Johannesburg had
been established in 1886 and the Chartered Com pany formed by Cecil sttled large territories

## The grievances of

 Boers which led up to the war of 1899-1902 against the British had their basiccause in the disarreements between the two settler
groups over the methods of securing African labour. the Union which, like that America was the instrument which far-sighted imperial realists like Sir George Grey
and Lord Carnarvon reand Lord Carnarvon renomic future of South Likewise, the main cause of the wars for union in round the problem of establishing a policy in relation
to black labour which would be uniform throughout the be und.
land.

## IN AMERICA

In America, capitalism was building a diversified economy upon the primary had come to the point as regarded as ductive and, therefore, more onomic than slave labour. In South Africa, the output of mining and the surpluses of agriculture were America, the white settlers were in a minority, and had t their disposal a fiveimes preponderant majority f Africans that could be kept as hewers of wood and drawers of water without The scramble
mum profit demanded the mum profit demanded the or the Africans, not only as the general policy of capi-
talist-competition but also talist competition but also
to offset the inflated rewards paid to white labour, which in South Africa

## in South Arrica

Over a century ago, Karl Marx urged the "workers of
the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains"-but in South Africa the chains are workers and some of the white workers have helped them.
It was European workers who in the Labour Party,

## for Big Business

party of the Boer farmers, of European imperialism's headed by General Hert zog, to fight the general General Smuts was defea-
this move followed the strike on the Rand mines in 1922, when Smuts, under pressure from the mining capitalists, attempted
abolish the agreement 1918 which established the colour bar in the distribu-
tion of jobs as between Europeans and Africans. Hertzog's win led to the passing of the Mines and 1926, which made it $2 n$ offence for the mine-owners to employ Africans in any
but unskilled jobs. Skilled and semi-skilled work was reserved to Europeans because, declared Hertzog,
the white man in South Africa has to fight an
unequal fight against the natives of South Africa and if we do not take the necessary precautions to see the inequality and competition existing, between the two are placed on such a footing that there is room for the
native, as well as the native, as well as the will the strike and bloodshed of 1922 be repeated but other things will be
repeated in South Aric peated in South Africa
of a more serious nature" It would be quite wrong to think that the succession of extreme racialist rulers from Hertzog to Verwoerd excesses of apartheid.

## CONSISTENT

Racial segregation has been the consistent and considered policy of the European imperialism that governs South Africa, whose economy rests directly upon gold and diamonds provide gold and diamonds provide
almost 70 per cent of the country's exports.
Even though agriculture may employ larger numbers than mining, the latter's central position in the eco-
nomic life of the country dictates the national wages Under the colour bar legi lation, mining is obliged to employ at least one white worker for every ten African workers.
It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that white workers in the mining industry earn an average of Africans, while in other industrial branches the ratio may fall to five times as much. In 1959, the per head income for whites was
$£ 245$, for Coloureds and Asians £53 and for African 239. It is no wonder that families live in perpetual tamilies live in perpetua
debt.

BOOM
South Africa is now pass ing through a boom period in which the mining indus
try is expanding with try is expanding, with a corresponding increase in its for Africans have to be kept at a depressed level in order that profits may keep rising. The reserves are delibe rately kept over-crowded, unkept and squalid, and unable to support themtogether with the pressure to find tax money, force the young and able bodied to
waste their life in the service

## af Euro profits.

Lomis betare tataridid came into the political dictionary, the Native Affairs
Department was created to
eegulate the flow of labour from reserves to mines. The secondary industries, trade and commerce that grew up upon the basis of mining

## labour.

'More and more laws
pressed upon the non-Euro peans, but mostly upon the Africans, whose labour, as ong as the economy was mining, it was hopultural and provide sufficient number.

## LABOUR

The mines today rely for some 60 per cent cent of
their labour upon neigh their labour upon neighbouring countries, which is obtained by special arrangeof those countries. The Portuguese countries. Thent has Portuguese government has
long profited from the traIfic in the hire of Africans from Angola and Mozam bique.
industrialisatrica's growing ing economy, coupled widening economy, coupled with the growing African Freea shortage of labour. Apart heid eannot trust too much
imported labour from nearby countries "tainted" with freedom.
These are factors from which spring the growing laws. And the point has come when those sections
of non-white of non-white population-Asians-until recently trea-
ted as more privileged groups in order to divide them from the "natives" must also be brought into mine and industry.
Division between the non European groups has been maintained by education.
There was "Coloured education" and "native educa tion", and there was also ing to racial group.

## WHITTLED AWAY

Before the time of the National Party, in 1943, when the United Party was in power, a Coloured Advi work with a sub-depart-
ment under social welfare. ment under social welfare Out of this developed the existing Coloured Affairs Cepartment and the Union Mr. I B. Tabata; of the Mr. I B. Tabata; of the African People's. Democra (an affiliate of the All African Gonvention), in the course of his presidential address in Cape Town in April 1962, relates these of rich deposits of gold in of rich deposit
"and, that double the size of the existing labour force would be necessary to extract it, Thus the Native Affairs department for the coloured and Indian sectors. It was to be a department of lise in the field or making labour available."
Gradually the privileges that divided the other noncans have been whittled away and, finding themdisabilities and hith similar they too are playing their

by a Spark Correspondènt

## par dif an is tra Af an wi un can is and for

anti-apartheid fet, there are still certain and Coloured workers there still some semblance of trade unionism. For the An impossibility. But South A
bithout its history of no unionism among the Afri cans. The most renowned nd Com. or Industrial formed in 1919 by Clements Kadalie, who came from Nyasaland. The IC.U, had
a membership of some quar-a membership of some quar ter of a million by 1928 . ful that in the Cape election of 1924 Hertzog appealed against Smuts.
The lesson is that the combined might of the African workers repre sents power, and the
lesson has been well remembered by South Africa's rulers.
The formation of an African trade union is more than a means of economic
pressure. It is a dynamic
political act which aims at changing the status of the African. So the apartheid
regime has all along set out to smash the. unions.
South Africa's laws speci fically exclude the African workers from their defini-
tion of the term "workers" tion of the term "workers". They are refused the right
to strike, no matter how legitimate their grievances Strike action by Africans renders them liable to a fine of up to C500 or three years imprisonment or both Coloured and Indian workers have a statutory
right to organise themselves ight to organise themselves
into their exclusive unionsprovided they have "whites only" on their executives.

## VULNERABLE

Thriving as South Africas' economy is, it is danapartheid rulers fear any slump in the mining industry. They fear that any change in the staties of the African worker will undermine its profits. On the other hand, there
are not enough whites to do the jobs, while the law
living standards of the Africans restricts the market to a fraction of its potential white competition in external markets growe keener.
A correspondent of the conservative London Sur-
day Telegraph, Kenneth day, Telegraph, Kenneth Fouth Africa (April 5, 1964) outh Africa (April 5, 1964)
while supporting the Verwoerd regime raises some relevant questions:
$\qquad$ not simply that of keeping the whites in charge. Beyond the present boom Which seems likely to run
through this year and into the next, South Africa has to look seriously into the difficult and sophisticated problem of building up secondary industry to a pitch where it can replace source of wealth prime when they eventually run easy. It will be impossible within the present frame-
work of South Africa's work of South Africa's nomy" (italics aded). He quotes Harry Oppen
and many other interests in
South Africh who whis host as saying: "If we con hrodle the economic side or che
situation, certainly rome of the apperities of the
social and political con social and political co
flict will be removed The Sunday Telegraph correspondent prefere to put "unl other way round :


102 Derllin, Rosenstir. 15
German Democratic Republic
chemieanlagen-export smbu
shade. From beyond fences come the voices
of women preparing dinner. Some faces have an expression of apathy, and the very hythm of life appears slow and monotonous.
The unasual, in, seems could never happen here. Each new day is repetition of yesterday, If someone comes from a neighbouring
village, it is a whole event village, it is a whole event. regimes often depends on the mood and wishes of the village In Africa the peasant is an integral part of the revolutionary forces. This is well understood from Senegal to the Congo.

## MANY FORCES

Events in the Congo have shown how angry the pea sant can get. Of course, it was not the peasantry alone kingdom of the Belgian colony and then smasted the emerging government machinery.
A great variety of contradictions have become intertwined in the Congo. Many forces are strugg
on the political arena. But if the village had joined the struggle, the im perialists and local re actionaries would have long ago estiablished their tyranny:
When tvisited the reigh bouring kingdom of Burund in 1964, I saw samples of the Weapons used by the Congolese guerillas. L was javelins, a spear and a qui ver with arrows, all similar to those I had seen earlier n a Leopoldville museum How much the peasant must hate the present way of life if he is ready to face government troops with such
weapons! The peasant fights the white mercenaries but there are far more serious forces he has challenged. To him colonialism means mor than Belgian officials or
The Congo's villages also eeking limitations of tribal tering limitations of triba
life and from oppression by the clan aristocracy and the upper crust of the commune.

## HOW IS IT?

How is it that the African leepy and conservative, has sleepy and conservative has volt? Is it poverty? But some of the most de vasted and impoverished regions of Africa are well known
Is it brutal exploitation? But the African village was never so ruthlessly it was between the two world wars, yet there was ittle in those years to di turb the colonial peace. Apparently, the desire to anger against colonial de gradation, to be found everywhere, come to a head in specific conditions. One condition to my mind is the aggravation of the so cial struggle within, the peasantry of the lower sec tons of the village popila: tion against the exploiting upper crust.
The time has obviously come in the history of the African village when the
"thrusts" of dissatisfaction have suddenly taken on decquired unusual strength.
Social relations in the African village have been a It is often said they are feudal relations. Advocates of this view point out that in many parts of the continent the peasant is faced by a section of society that has power over the village and the land.

## ARISTOCRACY

The peasants must serve the tribal aristocracy in many ways; they cultivate
the land and are obliged to make numerous gifts which, in effect, are assessments. Opponents of this view underline the strength of the
Africai peasant commune. In pre-colonial Africa they say, there was no feudal system of landholding to speak of: the land belonged to the commyne or tribe.
According to them, the duties of the peasant arise rom communal traditions. They deny the feudal chaacter of the tribal upper which in Equatorial Africa, ditary and in composition is very unstable.
Even the top chiefs, the advocates of this view point out, are bound by the cusoms of the commune and tribe, and in many cases commune members
ommune members.
hat a many-sided shows the African village presents. Scholars are often confused at the complexity and conradictory character of the ominant social relations. What is more, there are many different ways of life everywhere in the past few decades the African com. mune has shown signs of a breakdown of the relations between people sanctified by tradition. The commune is crumbling.
To understand what is happening, we must discard about the African commune, namely that there is equality, no exploitation of man by man, and the commune is monolithic.
None of these assertions could be made about the precolonial villages they

THE WOMEN
One of the specific features of the village commune in Equatorial Africa is the division or abour between the generations, and Throughout the African West none but women make pottery, and only the men have a right to work up metal. In most of the African tribes there is a strict division of all agricultural duties between men and I was.
I was told in Brazzaville hat the women of local work except for clearing the ground of trees and pinderbush.
Over
Over the centuries there has developed a very de ween the different bet groups. Custom divides the adult population of the vil. lage into three main groups; the youth, the married, and elders. Their tights and duties differ greatly.
On the outskirts of the Republic I saw work crews

A Soviet student of African affairs, VLADIMIR IORDANSKY, discusses some of the developments which he believes are taking place and which are changing the pattern of life in the African village
of youth cultivating the col-ectively-owned field, lookclearing the se areas and ore, the young peasant Beno part in the affairs of the village council and had no land of his own.
At the top of the traditional society are the elders
and chiefs. Everywhere custom released them from a direct part in agricultural work and gave them admiistrative duties.
The elders saw to the redistribution of communal land, maintained order and neighbouring villages privaliourng villages. Their and their authority indis putable. The division of labour within the commune wa once a means of uniting the members in an integrated abour process. The adven dical change.

## EXPLOITATION

The division of labour between men and wome became means of exploiting sion of labour bit the dive sion of labour between the subordinate status of the youth in relation to the elders in farm production In the hands of the tribal upper crust the whole sys tem became a means of subjugating and exploiting the lo.
lage.
At
At the same time capitaist relations have begun to haps slowly when measured by the limits of one human iife, but rapidly when viewed historically
The landless, peasant used to be the young peasant without a family. Now it is the peasant that has las because of debts or the settler who is too poor to buy land.

The only source of weath in times past was the labour of ordinary commune memto the were subdganate to the elders, Now in the rich man tends to rely more on the labour of sharecroppers or hired labour.

## CHANGING

The very character of the village upper crust is chang ing. The prestige stemming the power of money,
The mixture of clan and class contradictions produ ces a kind of acid that is according the former foun dations of peasant, life Morals,
It is difficult to grasp the depth of the spontaneous revolution, but it has affec ted everything, The striying of the peasants to get their families out of the clan and the growing emancipation of women are putting as end Politically the peasa sentiment is often expressed in the demand to do away with the institution of the chiefs or at least with their privileges.
Guine democratic Party of to fighting the traditional

But the sentiments 1 heard from the teachers in Elizaother countries of the con tinent as well.
In many African countries the causes of peasant, dissatisfaction have yet to be some of the other more and ome of the other more adsteps to reduce the dependence of the peasant on the communal hierarchy, and a great variety of attempts are being made to modernize production in the villages.

## DIFFERENT

The situation is different in countries in the grip of neo-colonialism. The Ivory Coast and Upper Volta have retained the power of the chiefs whose control over the distribution of commu-. in the late years.
In the Republic of Niger he government safeguards the aristocracy from any infringements on its privileges. The leaders of the Moslem sects of Senegal have retained all their in ploit the peasantry
ploit the peasantry.
The old machinery of en slavement that existed when life followed the com- munal pattern has not been
destroyed. It was once used by colonialism. Now it is
used by foreign interests and neo-colonialists regi mes. The solicitude of "social antiquities" has o political explanation. When I visited the capita of the Ivory Coast, Abidjan a prominent official of the Ministry for Internal Affairs told me:

You may be right about growing anti-com
mune sentiment the peasantry in the les developed areas and in creasing class conflicts in the more developed, bu that does not disturb us The peasants can do no more than boycott hated village will refuse to pay taxes. As long as there is no opposition in the cities capable of uniting the dis satisfied in the villages there is really no threa to the government" But the present rulers of cannot be sure that the pre cannot be sure that the pre
sent way of life is stable There are constant interna disturbances and conflicts and the village with its ag gravated social contradic tions is more and more be ing drawn into them. $P$ gramme of economic and gramme of economic and the African peasant. Ulti mately, of course he wil get the reforms.
tioning him about school
a nd so-called "cantonal" government has reduced the role of the chiefs to the minimum and put them ander its contro also somewh Nigeria have also somewhat restricted the and their entourage But and is not all the peasant hope for. a group of teachers in Eliza bethville who had come to the capital of Katanga to

## ECONOMIC

THE Swiss newspaper "Tribune de Lausane" madé a staggering discovery the other day. It found out that there is a revolution going on in the Soviet Union: The newspaper, it is true, adds that it is less violent in nature than it was fifty years ago, but no less farreaching.
Where has the Tribune de Lausanne discovered this revolution ? Apparently in the introduction into the Soviet economy of, "the hated concept of profit and the concepts of competition ses":

NOT ALONE
The Swiss paper is not alone in its "discovery". Many, western newspapers and magazines have been writing in sensational terms about the discussion which is taking place in the enhancing the prole of profit, material incentives and commodity-monetary relations in general in the Soviet economy.
Even the modest Kharkov economist Yevsel Lib-
erman, one of those who are advocating an enhanced role for profit, is presented by these publications as some kind of super-hero and discoverer, and his name is linked, with certain mythical transtormation due near future in the actual near future in the actual society.
The Paris L'Express, for instance, recently claimed that it was only three years ago that Soviet people were in an article by Liberman, published in a Moscow newspaper, such sentences as The higher the profits the stronger the mative to produce" and. "What is good for the enterprises is
good for society".

## SOVIET

The French journal's , however, is simply not something worse.
The fact of the matter is that in the Soviet Union profit, as an economic ca. tegory, has neyer been rejected. Furthermore, starting from 1921 Soviet enterprises have been mathe form of money.
It was precisely at that time that Vladmir Hyich Lenin, the founder of the So viet state, was tirelessly em phasising the need for "increasing the productivity of labour and achieving the
self-sufficiency and protitabelity of every state-owned enterprise".

## LENIN

Lenin himself proposed In 1922 that the amount of ployees of trading enterprises should depend on the trade turnover and the pro fits made by Soviet trading rganisations.
Commodity - monet a ry categories which act as material incentives for production have also been introduced as an organic part of the planned economy, proceeding on the basis oo sites and the experience accumulated both in the Soviet Union and in other socialist states. Here it is a question of profits and priThe point is, however that in the conditions of a that in the conditions of a categories, while not under going any outward changes. do undergo a fündamental internal change as regards their social content. in the case of the category of profit

In the sphere of socalled free enterprise profit is the only motive or production-its alpha and omega. In the condi tions of the socialist eco nomy however, profit is only a very useful index determining the level
as mic eficiency.
As regards the motive for economy has only one mo-tive-the satisfaction of society's needs.
The question arises: If the basic principles of the planbasic principles of the plansince been determined and are clear, what then is the subject of the present lively discussion which is being conducted by Soviet economists and by economists in many other so
tries as well?
What is actually being discussed is the question of a better, more flexible application of these principles in accordance with the tremenous succsses achieved

## NEW CONDITIONS

To begin with, the entire industrial output of the U.S.S.R. during the whole approximately one and a half working days. The number of enterprises has increased dozens and dozens of times over.
In the new conditions it has become much more diffcult to plan and take into consideration the special
features of each individual enterprise. of each individual This expla and obvious desire to deter-

## by Ivan Artyomov

## WHAT IS GOING

Continued from page 1

to the full its legal autho desia
This convention is aid
oo derive from the fact that for forty years sucthat for forty years suc ments have not used ments have not used their powers to safe guard the African malority, and that, in effect, these powers have become obsolete.
In other words, berause Britain has not interfered with the internal machinery of South ern Rhodesia's govern ment, it cannot. This contention has no legal justification.

FALSE NOTION
The notion that Sou thern Rhodesia has enjoyed control of its own internal affairs for forty years is false.
The history of the convention to which Bri tish spokesmen refer in fact only goes, back to 1957. It was contained ir a joint announcement
of the United Kingdom Government and the Fe deration of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and does not even actually refer to Southern Rhodesia as a separate political entity.

## DUBIETY

The dubiety of the entire "convention" argument was highlighted by a Tory Attorney-General, Sir John Hobson who in reply to questions during a debate in the British Parliament in July, 1963 admitted that it was not quite accurate to say "that the conven tion had existed fór forty years.
He argued instead that it had coalesced or congealed into the formality of a convention much more recent$y^{\prime \prime}$-as recently in fact as 1961 .
Furthermore, in regard to British Parliamentary authority over Southern Rhodesia; he suggested that "the convention and its relevance to the powers
mine in a single state plan
mine in a single state plan only the main indices for
the operation of enterprises and to give the enterprises
DISCUSS
UNION
greater independence, regulated by such economic levers as profit and the introduction of material incentives for the employees to achieve the maximum The ec
also posing the following
prewic question. suould to paysor them.
In short, there are many tain percentage for the praduction capacities givie n
them by the state?
The amount of idle equip-rent-equipment that is needed by rew projects-is. now growing with alarming speed. If there are now ten uninstalled machine tools at some enterprise, the irector of that enterprise is because he does not have sion, portrayed in the West as a "revolution", as a re
nunciation of socialist eco nomic methods and gradua transition to capitalism, is devoted precisely to solving these problems.
Western newspapers are thus showing themselves to be not only ignorant but also unscrupulous.

## ON IN SALISBURY?

of this Parliament and British Parliament is powhether they should be werless to intervene to exercised may be sub- end a racialist regime in lect to discussion here- a British colony which fte discussion here

What is more, the Marckton Commisision appointed by the British Government in 1959 unanimously agreed that the Federation and desia "falls short of the status of a full interna status of a full interna-
tional person", that "it is not person, that it is not an state" and that "it is the United Kinglo is the United Kingdom who remain ultimately responsible in international law.
The members of the Commission found that "the United Kingdom Parliament has inherent power to legislate for any part of Her Majesty's dominions except in so far as in this has been qualified by the Statute of Wesminster" - and in regard to Southern khodesia there was and is no such qualification
The British Government's plea that the
does not differ in essence from the vicious and brutal regime which exists in Verwoerd's South Africa is therefore baseless.
Britain can act. It must ct. There must be, no backstairs deals with Mr. Smith.

## Our Flag

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

But in many places and institutions forn and dir ty flags are being used. This is a dis grace to the Na tion, and certainly shows little respect shows lifle respect. should do their ut most to check thi
A. O. Marquaye

Accra

## ZURCH

AMSTERDAM
LONDON


