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Master-minding Neo-colonial Exploitation

EDITORIAL

Under The Banner Of Nkrumaism

THE launching of Consciencism on April 1964 and the statement of the definition of Nkrumaism on March 16, 1964, represented a qualitative development in the ideology of the Convention People's Party.

Nkrumaism was linked with the general stream of scientific socialism, while making its own specific contribution to it, namely the application to African history, politics, culture, social formations of scientific socialist principles.

These two steps gave our ideological work an enormous impetus. These serious students of philosophy who see their studies as an important means of helping to change the world, set out to apply the principles of Nkrumaism to their own field of work and study.

It was a source of inspiration that the President of Ghana himself, General Secretary of the Convention People's Party, immersed in the manifold business of state and government, should devote himself also to the enrichment of philosophy and revolutionary theory.

After the upsurge of intellectual activity in the ideological life of our party, it was inevitable that, just as in our economic and social advance there must be periods of consolidation, so there should be a review of the developments which have so far taken place in our ideological work, in the application of Nkrumaism to all aspects of our national life.

* * *

The complexity of the world's problems increases, Ghana more and more takes a leading part in the councils of the world. The fight for African Unity reaches higher and higher levels, our struggle to build socialism encounters new developments, making new demands on us individually and collectively.

In such a situation, the need for a clear, scientific guide to lead us through the complexities of our era, is needed more than ever before.

At the same time we know that Nkrumaism is not a dogma, reiterating unchanging rules, even though the reality of the world around us is changing. On the contrary it is a living science, growing all the time, being enriched by, and in turn enriching, practice.

It is because Nkrumaism is a living science, facing the challenges of a changing world and a changing Ghana, that from time to time it becomes necessary to take stock. We have to make sure that from the masses of experiences being daily encountered in our fight for peace, unity and socialism, correct general scientific principles are being deduced and applied.

In the democratic structure of the Party, with its flow of ideas and experiences, the initial impetus for our ideology and the seal of authority of what

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Chase Manhattan's 'Brains Trust'

THE Chase Manhattan Bank of New York, the world's second biggest bank closely associated with the Rockfellers and the major U.S. oil companies, is out to step up imperialist exploitation of the developing countries.

That is real significance of a modest news item announcing the bank's formation of an international advisory committee.

"The Chase chairman, Mr. George Champion, and its President, Mr. David Rockefeller, said the bank would look to the new advisory committee for counsel on its rapidly growing international activities as well as for authoritative information on economic and political trends around the globe", said the report.

BIG BUSINESS

"In addition to furnishing an opportunity for this important exchange of information, the committee will enable the bank to maintain continuing contact with the multinational industries and permit overseas industrialists to broaden their contacts with key figures of government and business in the United States."

The creation of this international Big Business Brains Trust to master-mind exploitation on virtually every continent (Chase Manhattan boasts that it has branches and representatives in "Africa, Asia, Far East and Oceania, Middle East, South America, Central America and Caribbean, and North America") follows on Chase Manhattan's link-up last March with the City of London's Standard Bank and the Bank of West Africa.

Thus was created the largest bank in Africa, a

new financial consortium to bolster imperialism and neo-colonialism in our continent, with 1,100 offices in seventeen African countries, and assets totalling more than £600 million.

It is able to draw on reserves of capital not only from three of Britain's "Big Five" banks and in the United States, but also in Western Europe, particularly West Germany, Italy, Belgium and Holland.

Its aim is the intensified exploitation of Africa's natural resources in the interests of the capitalist industries of the West.

In the words of the official statement issued at the time the consortium was created, "a banking organisation with strong international support can collaborate with important long-term development organisations in endeavouring to arrange finance for the development of the natural resources of Africa and of existing industries and new ventures."

LONG-TERM LOANS

These "long-term development organisations" are the giant capitalist consortiums with U.S., British and West German participation which are already exploiting our continent's mineral wealth—iron ore in Liberia and Swaziland, for example.

With huge amounts of money at its disposal for loans and for investment in such spheres as transport, industry, agriculture and trade, it hopes to receive not only a substantial return in the form of interests and dividends, but also an influential voice in policy-making circles in the developing countries.

Hence the significance of Chase Manhattan's new advisory committee with its "authoritative information on economic and political trends around the globe".

In an important sense this renewed emphasis on private financing (or financing in co-operation with U.S., British and West German governmental bodies) marks a retreat on the part of the bankers.

The developing countries are showing a growing awareness of the real nature of U.S. neo-colonialism and its role in "international aid". It is becoming increasingly difficult to preserve the image of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as genuine international bodies.

GROWING DESIRE

The developing countries are showing a growing desire to use United Nations agencies, where votes go not by ability to supply capital—in other words, by wealth—but by nations.

Conscious of this trend, international finance capital is re-furbishing its armoury and mobilising its resources to meet the new situation.

In the words of Sir Cyril Hawker, chairman of the Standard Bank, "loans and grants from governments and international agencies are a valuable source of investment funds, but they cannot replace private enterprise in achieving sustained growth."

The Standard Bank, apart from its membership of the newly-established consortium, is already a power in Africa, from which it

last year made a profit of over £2,300,000—an increase of 22 per cent over the previous year.

It has more than 950 offices in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South Africa, South-West Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

STANDARD BANK

It also has offices in France, Italy, West Germany, Japan and the United States. When it began business in 1862 it was known as the Standard Bank of British South Africa, and subsequently as the Standard Bank of South Africa until 1962, when it became known simply as the Standard Bank.

"The value of the Standard's change of name in 1962 can be seen in this merger", commented the London Economist when the creation of the new consortium was announced. "Under the old title such a link would have aroused much distrust among the African states."

But it is unlikely that African states will be misled by a mere change of name.

Standard's issued share capital is £11 million and its assets total £509 million. Its fourteen directors between them hold 164 company directorates, the record being H. C. Drayton's 36 and Sir Keith Acutt's 32.

INTERESTS

There can be no clearer example of the interlocking interests of imperialism: Mr. Drayton's directorates cover Latin-American railways, South African gold, Ethiopian cotton, Euro-

pean investments and insurance, newspapers and transport in Britain.

Likewise Sir Keith Acutt's directorships read like a roll-call of British imperialism ranging from African & European Investment Co. to Wankie Colliery, taking in Canadian mining, Congo electricity, and Zambian copper.

Standard, incidentally, has a Rhodesian board. Its chairman is Mr. Evan Campbell, until recently Rhodesian High Commissioner in London and a zealous advocate of settler rule.

Another member is Viscount Malvern, likewise a vehement supporter of continued white minority domination.

Standard has a big state too in apartheid South Africa where, according to Sir Cyril Hawker, it last year enjoyed "another year of expansion", getting "its full share of profitable business".

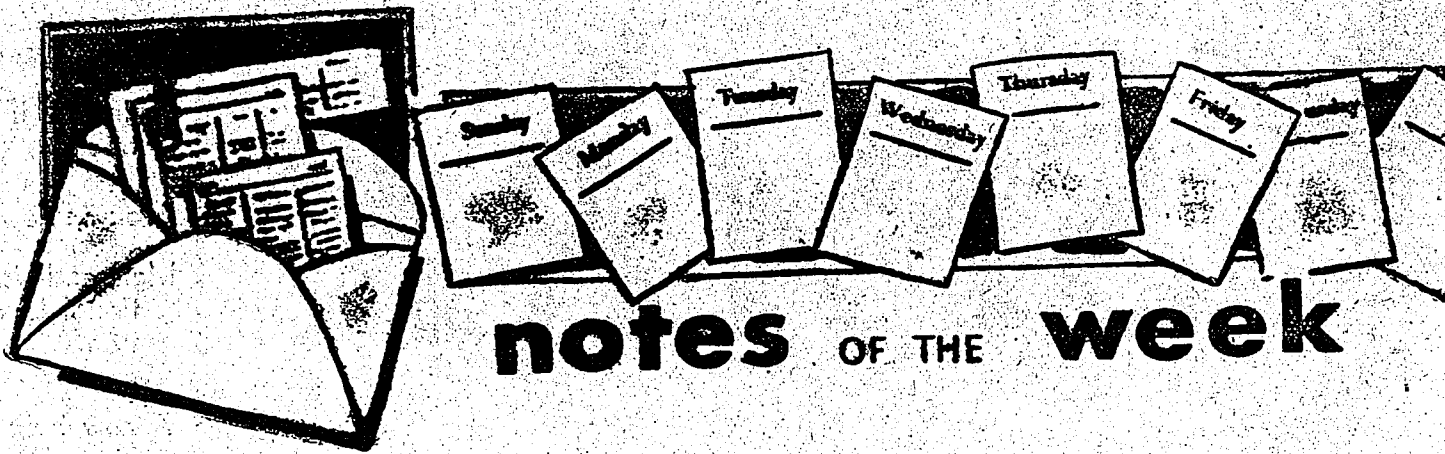
CLOSE RELATIONS

Even before the March merger, the Standard Bank had close working relations with third partner in the new consortium, the Bank of West Africa.

One man, W. A. Acutt, is on the boards of both Standard and the B.W.A. He is also, incidentally, on the boards of the Bank of London & Montreal, the Bank of London & South America and the National Bank.

The B.W.A.'s eight directors are headed by S. Govett-Gates, who is in shipping, insurance and engineering as well as banking. They also include Field-Marshal Lord Harding and Lord Milverton, who is also on the boards of two big West Indian sugar producing companies.

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notes OF THE week

IAN Smith's racists are now trying to bring their campaign for independence to a quick and successful conclusion.

They recently combined with the fascist Salazar regime to inflict public humiliation on Britain, by resorting to the manoeuvre of sending a diplomat to Lisbon to represent Rhodesia. As that country is still, technically, at any rate a colonial country, and therefore can be represented only by Britain in her diplomatic relations with other countries, this was an attempt at a *de facto* declaration of independence, in the world of diplomacy.

* * *

Each side claims victory, but certainly Ian Smith's representative is at present in Lisbon, and it does not appear that he is taking his orders from the British Ambassador.

Following on this blow, Smith announces that he will not see Bottomley, British Commonwealth Secretary again in Rhodesia and follows hot on the trail of his two Ministers to London.

Smith has every reason to feel pretty confident in his mission. He has strengthened his alliances with Portugal and South Africa, the Rhodesia liberation leaders are still imprisoned or "confined" he has begun a new round of repressive measures inside the country, with the move to prevent students from taking part in any protests against his apartheid type policies and to impose racial segregation in schools which are at present integrated.

He is aware that Wilson's parliamentary majority is wafer thin and he knows that the Tory Party is behind him. They declare, publicly that they are opposed to a unilateral declaration of independence by Smith but unless they also support the independence of the people of Rhodesia now on the principle of one man, one vote, then they are in effect, supporting the present minority Government policy.

* * *

In Britain itself, Ian Smith's friends have been at work. The familiar old arguments that the "people are not ready" for independence have been appearing in letters in the Press. One letter in the London *Times*, repeating this well worn theme came from Lord Salisbury, whose family for generations have sucked Rhodesia's wealth into their own coffers.

Salisbury assures us that the Africans are really very

backward and quite unable to take on political responsibilities. Perhaps it doesn't occur to him that there are some of us who think that societies which still have such anachronisms as "noble Lords" are also backward.

However, we cannot spare much sympathy for Salisbury who no doubt, feels that his profits will be threatened by a really independent Rhodesia. There will certainly be a powerful lobby for Ian Smith operating to pressurise the British Government.

In case Wilson might be feeling that it is all-powerful though, he should pause for a moment before he considers coming to a compromise with Smith.

Let him remember that the African States are already pledged to bring about a really independent Rhodesia on the basis of "one man, one vote". Let him remember that if he wants to maintain the British Commonwealth, he must retain the African states as members, let him remember, that million of Rhodesians will continue to fight until they win. Let him remember that the white racists, everywhere are fighting a desperate rearguard action.

Labour has plenty of experience in dealing with forces it regards as recalcitrant and unco-operative. A Labour Government jailed Kwame Nkrumah. At present they are working hard to impose their will on Aden, they have managed to oust Jagan in British Guiana, albeit temporarily, are we expected to believe that they could not handle Ian Smith and his minority if they really wanted to.

* * *

The motto of the well-known Radical Journalist William Cobbett of a hundred and fifty years might serve to give them a bit of nerve to do what is right and just.

"Tender handed press a nettle

And it stings you for your pains,
Press it like a man of mettle

And it soft as silk remains.

'Tis the same with vulgar natures,

Treat them kindly they rebel,

But, be rough as nutmeg graters,

And the rogues obey you well."

Gun Law

ON August 30th Jonathan Daniels, a 27 year old white seminary student and Civil Rights campaigner, was shot down outside a store in Haynesville, Alabama. His companion was wounded.

The brutality of the white racists in the Southern States is manifested so frequently that it passes almost

without comment:

This tragedy has elements in it which make all President Johnson's high sounding promises about Civil Rights, not even worth the paper on which they are written.

The man who murdered Daniels is an officer of the state, deputy sheriff, Coleman, who has admitted

quite openly to the shooting. In spite of world wide indignation at the farce of U.S. law in relation to these crimes, where all-white juries are packed to ensure that the criminals will go free, this situation has been repeated yet again.

This racist thug has been acquitted by a jury of racists like himself, while one of his victims is dead and another lies in hospital.

The charge was not even that of murder, but of manslaughter because Coleman claims that he shot in self defence as the men were carrying weapons. These weapons have never been found.

* * *

When the murderer walked out of the court he was treated like a hero, with jury members waiting to shake his bloodstained hands.

It is almost incredible that this could happen soon after the solemn declarations which have been made following on freedom marches, demonstrations, sit-ins and the Los Angeles battle.

The American Civil Liberties Union has launched an action to try and force the Supreme Court to suspend all court proceedings in the country, in view of the obvious unfitness of the

Armed Struggle

THE statement issued by the South African Communist Party on the future perspective of the liberation struggle in their country is one which breathes heroic defiance to Verwoerd's sordid fascist regime, and confidence in the future of the South African People.

* * *

The new feature of the statement is the recognition of what has in fact been the situation inside South Africa for some time. The Rivonia Trials showed that already through The Spear of the Nation, the African National Congress had added the forms of armed struggle to the wide range of peaceful forms which had so far developed.

The resort to armed struggle has been forced on the liberation movement by the violence and brutality of the South African apartheid Government, by its policy of blocking every possible avenue for the successful achievement of democracy by peaceful forms of struggle alone.

* * *

The decision to resort to armed struggle as an aspect of general policy was not conditioned by the success or failure of a particular campaign but because of the general qualitative change in the level and intensity of the fight for freedom.

Looked at in broad perspective it remains true that the freedom of our country will have to be wrested in armed struggle;

whole legal system to dispense any kind of justice. Even the Alabama State Attorney-General has confessed that the release of Coleman was an outrage to justice, but so far the Federal Government has taken no action.

While all this is happening, the United States Representative at the United Nations, makes an analysis of world affairs in which he accuses other people, whose politics he dislikes, of being violent and unprincipled.

It may be true that some politicians discuss politics in terms of "power being at the end of a gun", but how is it possible for Mr. Goldberg to appear to be so shocked, when inside his own country, this kind of moral law operates.

* * *

It is not only the gun which maintains the white racists in power in the United States of America. It is the end total fabric of economic power and the force of law, which gives support to those who practise gun law to justify their poisonous ideas and maintain their fascist rule.

and that preparation for such struggle is essential to victory".

Nevertheless the statement also adds that forms of struggle which have been traditionally employed are not to be abandoned so that through propaganda, education agitation and organisation masses of people can be won to struggle for important immediate demands.

It is the battle inside South Africa which will wrest liberty for the South African people from the Verwoerd regime, and the call for the mobilisation of the people for this last decisive form of struggle is accompanied by the call "prepare for victory".

* * *

Thanks are given for the many solidarity actions which have been organised throughout the world in support of the South African people's fight: "the freedom-loving people of South Africa deeply value and set great store on supporting solidarity actions, especially those which can cut off the Verwoerd regime from its economic and military bases in the imperialist countries".

There will be few people who have taken part in any such solidarity actions who will fail to appreciate that the resort to armed uprising is indeed necessary. They will, inspired by the heroism of South Africa's freedom fighters, continue to do everything in their power to bring yet more pressure on the imperialist countries which continue to sell arms, to trade and to invest in South Africa, drawing blood, stained profits from the suffering of the South African peoples.

DIARY

SEPTEMBER 26:

TOGO: President Nicolas Grunitzky of Togo has said that the pace of the struggle for the total liberation and unity of Africa would be hastened if all Africa States observed the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity.

GHANA: A Ghanaian delegation led by Mr. Kojo Botsio, Chairman of the National Planning Commission and Acting Foreign Minister has arrived in Yaounde, Cameroun with President Nkrumah's special message to President Amadou Ahidjo of Cameroun.

SIERRA-LEONE: Mr. G. Mennen - Williams United States Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, speaking at a press conference in Freetown, Sierra Leone today said that the U.S. would not recognise the Rhodesian minority white settler regime if it declared independence unilaterally.

IVORY COAST: President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast addressing delegates attending a congress of the Democratic Party in Abidjan has said that the time has now ripe for the Ivory Coast and her Friends to establish diplomatic relations with certain Eastern countries, he then reaffirmed his faith in the O.A.U. and called on all to respect the Addis Ababa Charter.

TANZANIA: The head of the Tanganyika African National Union women's section and junior Minister for Community Development, Mr. Bibi Titi Mohammed, was defeated by 10,000 votes in Tanzania National Assembly according to results published in Dar-es-Salaam.

ALGERIA: Colonel Houari Boumedienne, Algeria's Prime Minister, opening an orphanage at Tefeschoun 25 miles from Algiers denied that his government had become anti-communist. He said Algeria is prepared to co-operate with all countries. Colonel Boumedienne paid tribute in the same speech to Frenchmen working in the country but remarked that political aid should not cross Algeria's frontiers.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The white hiring of Moise Tshombe, Colonel Mike Hoare, is reported training 500 recruits at Albuville, in Northern Katanga, to march on a growing concentration of nationalist forces at Fixi on the shore of Lake Tanganyika, according to reports published in a British daily.

GHANA: A Team of 16 American tourists, three men and 13 women have arrived in the country by air from Monrovia, Liberia on a two day visit to Ghana as part of a world tour under the auspices of the World Travelling Tours Organisation in America.

U.A.R.: Iraq will form a Federal Union with the United Arab Republic but does not want a complete Union of the countries, the new Iraqi Premier, Dr. Abdel Rahman Al Bazzaz has said in a statement in Baghdad.

ZANZIBAR: The Zanzibar Afro-Shirazi Youth League has pledged full support for Tanzanian President Dr. Julius Nyerere's threat to withdraw his country from the Commonwealth if Britain grants independence to Rhodesia's white minority regime.

SEPTEMBER 27:

KENYA: President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, speaking at a mass rally at Kiye, warned his people that his government would deal severely

with anyone who tried to topple the legally constituted authority of the country.

ALGERIA: The Soviet Newspaper, Pravda, has warned Algerian leaders that they are playing into the hands of the "Imperialist" by breaking up the left wing "Organisation De La Resistance Populaire".

SOUTH AFRICA: A statement by the South African Communist Party has said in London that the freedom of South Africa will have to be wrested in armed struggle.

MALAWI: Malawi has told the United National General Assembly today that it was as opposed as any other country in Africa to colonialism but believed that force should only be used in the very last resort.

GHANA: Mr. Kojo Botsio, Chairman of the State Planning Commission and Acting Foreign Minister today left Brazzaville, Congo for Kharoum, Sudan after delivering a special message from President Nkrumah to President Massemba-Debat of Congo Brazzaville.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia today arrived in Dar-es-Salaam for a 24-hour talks with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania before flying to Kenya for a State visit.

SEPTEMBER 28:

GHANA: Ghana today officially put forward the candidature of Accra as the headquarters of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Official candidature at present are Rome, Lagos, Addis Ababa, London and Accra.

The Minister of Social Welfare, Mrs Susan Alhassan, today called on the U.C.C. to help her Ministry in its drive to eradicate illiteracy in the country.

President Nkrumah is still willing to meet his brothers of the Entente countries in Mali at their earliest convenience; a statement from the Office of the President today announced.

The United States Assistant Secretary of States for African Affairs, Mr. G. Mennen Williams today called on President Nkrumah at the Osu Castle soon on his arrival for a two-day visit to Ghana.

UGANDA: Dr. Milton Obote, Uganda Prime Minister and ruler of Uganda's Kingdom attended celebration in Mba-

rara, Western Uganda to mark the 20th anniversary of Mugabe (King) Sir Godfrey Gasyonga of Ankole.

SEPTEMBER 29:

KENYA: A Kenya senior Magistrate, Mr. Maini has imposed prison terms ranging from 12 to 18 months on 24 out of 27 people who attempted to take over the Kenya African National Union headquarters' office in Nairobi last July.

GHANA: President Nkrumah, General Secretary of the Party and Chairman of the Central Committee has called on Party cadres to preserve and defend the party unity as "the prime source of its strength and monolithic unity".

Mr. N. A. Welbeck Minister of State for Party Propaganda has stressed the need for co-operation between Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic and Ghana in the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The United States Assistant Secretary of States for African Affairs, Mr. G. Mennen Williams left Accra by air today for Lome, Togo, to continue his tour of some African countries.

Mr. A. E. Chinebuah, Ghanaian sub-regional, representative designate of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, assumes duty in Nairobi, Kenya in January.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is expected today to open Kenya's annual agricultural show in Nairobi on the second day of his state visit to Kenya.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Tunisian Representative at the United Nations, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, has told the U.N. General Assembly in New York that the time for discussion and academic declaration on apartheid was past as far as South Africa was concerned.

SEPTEMBER 30:

NIGER: Some 1,700,000 Niger Republic voters go to the polls today in presidential elections in which President Hamani Diori is strongly favoured to emerge with overwhelming majority.

MOROCCO: A baby girl has been born to King Hassan II of Morocco, it has been reported in Rabat today.

SOUTH AFRICA: African, Asian and many other members of the United Nations General Assembly, walked out when Dr. Hilgard Muller, the South African Foreign Minister took the rostrum.

GRIM FARCE

ONCE more the humbug of President Johnson's talk about bettering the lot of American Negroes is exposed.

A few weeks ago the Los Angeles explosion showed how intolerable life still is for the Negroes.

Now we have the acquittal of Deputy Sheriff Coleman in Alabama, showing that in the Deep South a white man can still not only shoot a Negro with impunity, but also kill other white men who support the Civil Rights movement—a and get away with it.

Even the State Attorney-General declared that Coleman's trial was a farce.

But it is clear that a great part of the white community in America's South thoroughly approves of such "farces."

This is a terrifying demonstration of the mentality produced by the poison of racialism. It dehumanises people, makes them irrational, causes them to justify the most appalling deeds.

Such things are not only a condemnation of U.S. society, but a warning to us.

They justify the efforts of all those in Britain who are campaigning against racialism and the colour-bar Commonwealth Immigrants Act.

"Daily Worker," Oct. 2, 1965

SUBVERSION IN THE TRADE UNIONS

DURING the last year the storms of controversy have increased within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions established in 1949 as a break-away from the all-inclusive World Federation of Trade Unions on the initiative of the American and British Unions. While it has affiliated membership of 60,000,000 it still remains the smaller of the two world federations, since the announced affiliated membership of the W.F.T.U. is 80,000,000.

Throughout the sixteen-year existence of the I.C.F.T.U. it has been the scene of increasing conflicts between its parents the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (A.F.L.-C.I.O.) and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

From the American side, most aggressive have been the A.F.L.-C.I.O. President, George Meany, and Jay Lovestone, Director of the International Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. who is Meany's adviser on foreign affairs. These two have inflicted on the American trade union movement a reactionary foreign policy attitude that is indistinguishable from the extreme right.

COLD WAR

The original 1949 aim of making the I.C.F.T.U. a mere anti-Communist weapon in the Cold War runs into continuous difficulties as the worker of its affiliates struggle for higher living standards and concern themselves with united action and peace. This was further accentuated by the affiliation of some newly-established trade union centres in the former colonial countries.

Throughout these years the I.C.F.T.U. has been the scene of extensive in-fighting that reflected the different interests of the main imperialist powers. Even the London Daily Telegraph wrote truly that:

"Each affiliate is concerned to further the national policies of the country to which they belong. Their work is part of the cold war and their methods are those of their ... government's" (April 5, 1965).

Undoubtedly, Lovestone and Meany saw "Red" when they read what its Executive felt compelled to write:

"The I.C.F.T.U. is not an instrument in the cold war. It is not the tool of any bloc or government. Its affiliates hold diverse political views."

The current struggle in the I.C.F.T.U. when stripped of its lengthy verbiage about representation in the Executive and the personal character of various of its officials, was essentially the determination of Meany and Lovestone to imitate President Johnson and boss the trade unions of the "free world".

Meany has said that the two major functions of the I.C.F.T.U. should be (1) to fight the Communist world more vigorously and (2) to use their funds to build up "safe" trade unions in Africa, Asia and the Middle East; and that it has failed in both.

His demands at the July session were that the I.C.F.T.U. establish a new department to fight communism, that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. be allowed to proceed unilaterally in Africa and that the actions of the Miners and Printers Trade Secretariats in establishing contact with W.F.T.U. officials "cannot be countenanced by the I.C.F.T.U..."

Meany was specially outraged at the increasing visits of delegations of I.C.F.T.U. affiliates to the Soviet Union and declared that, "we have nothing to learn from the Communist 'unions', and that 'relations with them are of no value to us'."

Unfortunately, George Woodcock and the other representatives of the British T.U.C. failed to reject these reactionary proposals of the Americans openly and on most controversial questions abstained. Past experience should have taught the T.U.C. that they can never appease these American trade union leaders with a stone-age mentality.

DIPLOMACY

For years, only the extreme Left in the United States has continuously exposed the special role of Jay Lovestone, the often alleged and never denied 'CIA man in Labour'. The CIA is America's notorious Central Intelligence Agency.

Coincidental with the I.C.F.T.U. meeting there has now appeared a fully documented factual expose in the liberal magazine *The Nation* (July 5) headed "Lovestone Diplomacy". The most significant political charge made against Lovestone Diplomacy is:

"What the U.S. Government does not do directly because it would be flagrant meddling with the internal affairs of other nations, and what the C.I.A., cannot do because it is a suspect; that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. does on their behalf". (my emphasis, J.W.).

The naive liberal *Nation* editorially expresses astonishment that Lovestone should play

"a key role not merely

Geneva Conference "terrible" because it "was the beginning of the attainment of one of Russia's long-sought objectives—the banning of nuclearwarfare"

In 1960 an A.F.L.-C.I.O. Conference in World Affairs was held whose admitted aim was to scuttle any agreement that might have come out of the Paris Conference of Eisenhower and Khrushchov—itsself torpedoed by the C.I.A. U-2 flight.

Year after year Meany gives encouragement to the Right-led unions of dockers on the Atlantic Coast to refuse to load or unload ships involved in trade with the Soviet Union, China, Cuba or other socialist countries.

Lovestone himself took issue with Kennan's proposal for reducing tensions between East and West and dismissed it curtly, saying that it "was wrong", and when U.N.'s U Thant talked of "competitive co-existence" with the Soviet Union, Lovestone also denounced him.

As American voices speak up for peace or for recognising China, Meany and Lovestone lose no time in condemning such proposals.

The Lovestone "world-wide intelligence network" is surrounded by all the intrigue, espionage, and mysterious money that is common to such work and is in accord with Lovestone's similar role in the early Communist movement before he was expelled in 1929.

The open names who direct the operations are well-known to trade unionists throughout the world. In Britain and the Continent, with newly-assigned responsibility for Africa, is Irving Brown; in Latin

tivity is "the cloak and dagger realm", as the *Readers Digest* described it. The *New York Times* said of the Free Trade Union Centre in Exile that it "appears to have at its disposal a working intelligence division."

The secret funds, according to Congressman Patman, are covered up by such names as "The Michigan Fund" and the "J. M. Kaplan Fund". The latter, according to Patman, is a "secret conduit" for the C.I.A.

No one knows the extent of the money funnelled into this secret and divisive work of what might be called the "Lovestone-Meany International."

Right-wing columnist Westbrook Pegler says Lovestone spent "millions". Substantiating this and pointing the finger at its source, the *Nation* article says:

"There is no longer a question as to the source of money used by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in its international work—the bulk of it comes from Government sources"

And it estimates the amount at \$110,000,000.

All this American subversion in the trade unions of the world is directed by Jay Lovestone in his capacity as Director of the International A.F.L.-C.I.O. There are also numerous so-called "independent" committees through which Lovestone operated after the close of World War II.

Then for Latin America there is the American Institute for Free Labour Development (A.I.F.L.D.), which has a very important Special Projects Department. And most recently established is the African-American Labour Centre. Integrated into all this

ties cover Brazil, British Guiana and the Dominican Republic. Attuned to American imperialist interests, it is now directing its main attention to the newly-established trade union movement in Africa.

Who is this Jay Lovestone, such an intrepid agent of American imperialism? Thirty-six years ago he was expelled from the Communist Party of the U.S.A. after two decades of factional activities, during which time he was aptly

Soviet trade union leader David Dubinsky, who started him on his present role by making him secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee. His further activities have already been indicated in this article.

Shameful and sordid as are the policy and actions of Meany and Lovestone, the entire trade union movement in the U.S.A. should not be tagged 'with this label'.

There are disagreements even in the top councils of

support of US imperialist war policy has been limited to a few-dockers' union leader Harry Bridges, auto union secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey, and some others within the electrical workers teamsters and building workers. Most significant was a speech of Mazey of the million-member U.A.W. in July, when he stated:

"American boys are bleeding and dying in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and President Johnson says we are there to fight for freedom and liberty. There is none of either in any of these countries ... We are using a Madison Avenue approach to sell a war we should not be in... I don't agree with Geo. Meany that we have to back up the President and have confidence in what he does... You have got to take foreign policy out of the hands of the striped pants boys... The foreign policy of L.B.J. is... leading us down a street that has no end."

There are some in the U.S.A. among the intellectuals especially, who would like to write off the American working class. But the pro-imperialist and class-collaborationist top leadership should not be equated with the millions of trade union members, who carry on the class struggle daily.

The American working class has a glorious tradition of militancy and struggle. Given the understanding of its class interests within the contest of the American scene, no one need despair George Meany, who boasts that he never led a picket line in his lifetime, is not representative of American working men and women.



Enthusiastic workers at a May Day rally.

described in the Comintern as "indisputably an adroit and talented factional wire-puller".

During these 36 years he first tried his hand at behind-the-scenes intrigue in the United Auto Worker's Union, where he assisted the short-lived Homer Martin as President in his "anti-Communist" activities (this included everyone who opposed Martin, inclusive of Walter Reuter) until Martin was exposed as an agent of the employers in the union.

He was then employed by the arch-Right-Wing anti-

the A.F.L.-C.I.O. on the Meany-Lovestone activities. But the Reuthers, Potofskys and Hellsteins have not the guts to come out into the open and take the differences to the members.

It was left to a Canadian trade union paper to call for Meany's resignation because of his support of troops in the Dominican Republic, where it said resignation "would be the most important contribution he could make to North American labour".

In the U.S.A., the open voice of leadership dissent on the Meany-Lovestone



Kwame Nkrumah poses with the Afro-Asian delegates to a recent conference of A.A.T.U.F. in Accra.

in orienting the American labour movement well to the right on foreign policy issues, but in setting up a world-wide intelligence network which, throughout the cold war, has worked in close liaison with the official C.I.A."

Today through the voices of Meany and Lovestone, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. applauds the bombing of North Vietnam. Concerning L.B.J. they call for support [for] the President in international affairs without reservation" and to impress Congress that "labour is fully behind the invasion of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic."

Such sordid anti-working-class action on behalf of U.S. imperialism is only the latest of many. In 1955, Lovestone's right-hand man, Irving Brown, called the

America, Sarafino Romualdi; in East Asia and Japan, Richard Deverall; in Indonesia Harry Goldberg; and a host of others it would take too long to name.

LABOUR ATTACHES

They are now supplemented by so-called "Labour Attaches" at each of the American Embassies—the great majority of whom, it is claimed, are screened by Lovestone, as Director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. International Department. The *Nation* article says that "the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has its own liaison man in the State Department" and names him as George P. Delaney. He has the imposing title of Special Assistant for International Labour Affairs. But behind the open ac-

vast net work is the A.F.L.-C.I.O. activity in the I.C.F.T.U., where Irving Brown operates under Lovestone's direction.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders brazenly boast of their intrigue and splitting activities over the past twenty years. In 1960, A.F.L.-C.I.O. Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler, referring to Western Europe said "our diplomats were helpless" because they "couldn't speak the language of the workers. It was at this point [we] stepped into the breach. We could speak the language of the workers and we did."

George Meany himself boasted that "primarily due to our effort" union after union on the continent was split and "on the China mainland we are aiding the underground... Its more recent activi-

The Civil Servant and our Revolution

by Kofi Apeah

WE in Ghana are building a socialist society. For a young nation as we are, formerly ruled over century by the colonialists, this not only involves a complete remoulding of all our state institutions such as Parliament, but also of the Civil Service.

This ideology is provided by *Conscientism*.

The new civil servant must understand scientific socialism before he can help to build socialism, since socialism can only be built by Socialists.

The colonial rule that civil servants should not take part in "politics" ("politics" in this sense always meant progressive policies) is gone. The civil servant should take part in politics as to know how to execute his duties well.

Some of our top civil servants, trained by the imperialists, still find it difficult to understand that the building of a socialist society involves basic social changes affecting the lives of every individual.

The old colonial civil service was an instrument of the imperialist administration—an administration built by the colonialists to further their ends of exploitation.

Such a civil service has no place in the revolutionary Ghana.

What is expected of the socialist Ghanaian civil servant? A *Conscientist* civil servant must identify himself with the policies of the Party and the government. He must be ever ready to defend and explain the Government policies.

He can do this only when he is conversant with the ideology for our revolution.

The strength of a country's civil service is judged by its efficiency. The aim therefore of the Ghana Civil Servant is strive to attain the highest standard of efficiency.

What is more, the civil service must realise that the building of Ghana depends on Ghanaians—in other words, we Ghanaians should not expect foreigners to build for us, our nation.

The new civil servant must protect state property from unscrupulous persons who may wish to use it for their selfish ends. What is more, he must do his work without fear or favour.

There must be a complete change of attitude to work, an absolute revolu-

tionary attitude to their work.

Our great Seven-Year Development Plan aims at speeding up the rate of growth of our national economy and also to eradicate completely the colonial structure of our economy. All civil servants have a vital role to play in this.

Ghana's first socialist Parliament has been elected, and all its deliberations are in a socialist pattern.

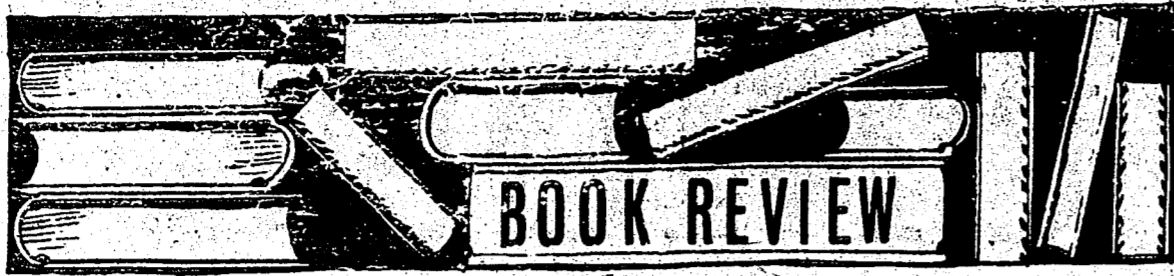
The work of the Civil Service must also be geared on the socialist pattern. It must not exist in a vacuum, it is a part of society and must contribute to the advance of that society.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "in some cases, too, even officials themselves cause considerable delay to important action being taken files backwards and forwards several times, displaying their knowledge of Addisonian English and thereby doing harm to our national cause."

This form of practice is against the interest of the country and should have to be stopped.

The socialist civil servant must know how neo-colonialism works and struggle relentlessly against it and its agents. He must place the interest of his people first.

imperfect in original



The Roots of Poverty

by a Spark Correspondent

At the beginning of 1964 President Johnson launched his 'War on Poverty'.

There is no doubt that one of his motives was to divert attention from the current image of the United States as a warlike, aggressive power which waged war on small nations such as Viet-Nam.

The fact that in 'little golden America' the richest country in the world, there were significant sections of the population who were living on the poverty line was treated by some politicians and journalists as the revelation of something quite new.

We were not surprised that there were millions of people without adequate housing, education, nourishment or jobs in the United States. What did surprise us, a little, was the confession of it.

A number of factors have forced Johnson into making the admission. One of the most important is the tremendous pressure being put on the American Government by the struggle of the Afro-Americans for Civil Rights. One of the important and growing demands in the Civil Rights Movement is for economic rights, for equal education, for the right for apprenticeships and training, for the right to promotion and seniority, all at present denied to America's Afro-American and Puerto Rican population.

A second source of pressure is the fact that young people are finding it increasingly difficult to get jobs, so that it is no longer only the chronically poverty-stricken sections of the population, often living in particular parts of the United States who are suffering unemployment, but young people leaving school

in areas where it has been up to now, possible to find work, relatively easily.

The third pressure, has been already suggested above, the attempt to distract attention from America's vicious and aggressive foreign policy. This is linked with the successes being achieved in the socialist world.

The battle between the two systems of socialism and capitalism will be won by which ever can solve the problem of want and disease and poverty. With the growing successes of the socialist countries in lifting their societies, rapidly from underdevelopment into modern industrialised states, offering security, and ever rising standards of living, the capitalists in America and Western Europe are beginning to be alarmed.

The newly independent states who are themselves tackling the problem of the poverty inherited from the old colonial days are also setting out to do something which the capitalist countries were never able to achieve.

For these reasons, the Johnson Administration launched its 'War On Poverty'.

In the fifties the United States economist, Galbraith, made famous the term 'the affluent society'. One of things his book of that name, was trying to make clear, was the great contradiction between what he chose to call 'private affluence' and 'public squalor'.

In the richest society in the world, public services, like garbage disposal, welfare services like hospitals, schools, clinics, old age pensions, are at a low level, lower than many other much poorer countries.

Of course there are powerful and very vocal

elements in American public life who regard a call for, the most elementary welfare services as disseminating dangerous communist ideas. The fight for some kind of health service along the lines of that in Britain, has been resisted with the utmost ferocity by politicians and members of the medical profession as an intrusion on freedom; they obviously prefer people to be free to pay for their medical treatment, or be free to die if they happen not to be able to afford it!

There has been a spate of books, articles and pamphlets, since the 'War on Poverty' was launched offering diagnosis and treatment.

Most of them take a 'welfare' view of the problem, that is they treat poverty as being the result of problems specific to particular families.

These families are poor, we are told, because they are not intelligent; they are poor because they have no initiative, and so on; we rather take the view that they are not educated because they are poor, that they are unable to cope with the modern world because they have been undernourished, badly housed, and under-educated. What the 'welfare' solution does is to present effects as causes.

It is refreshing to read, in all the welter of these works short, simple book by Hyman Lumer, called 'Poverty and Its Roots'.

The publishers of Little New World Paperbacks are to be congratulated on bringing out this book, which is not only clear and well informed, but courageous.

It describes the problems lucidly, and it gets down to an analysis of the real causes.

Sympathetic as it is to all

those well meaning and worried people who want to do something about poverty, and practical as it is when it comes to some of the immediate, short term policies which can be applied; the author has a deeper aim.

He believes, that the roots of poverty are to be found in the very nature of the social and economic system of capitalism, and that equally by its very nature, the system of socialism, will eliminate poverty.

This is a very bold postulate to present in this day and age in the United States and the case is argued convincingly and simply. In spite of all the complexities of the problem, the simple fact is, that capitalism exploits the masses of the people and thrives on keeping down the living standards of the workers as low as possible.

It may be that the definition of poverty in the United States would not be regarded as such in some African or Asian or Latin American countries, but the author is we believe correct to emphasise that there are in fact sections of the population who live as poorly as many people in much poorer countries.

His main contention is however, that in an economy which has the potential to provide all its citizens with enough to eat, to wear, which has the means of preventing many diseases, which has the resources to provide a decent house for every family, and where there are in fact millions who do not get this, then there is poverty.

Given this as a basis, the author believes that somewhere between 20 and 25 per cent of the population of the United States is poor, with inadequate housing, medicine, food and opportunity.

... to the extent that he is deprived of the basic conditions of life, which that society can afford, he is also poor in an absolute sense.

The person who does

not get enough to eat, who lives in dilapidated, substandard housing, who is afflicted with readily preventable diseases and whose life expectancy is reduced by 10 to 15 years—that person is poor, not just poorer."

An easy way out of the problem is to take the often publicly stated line of Goldwater, Johnson's opponent for the U.S. Presidency, who says 'I'm tired of professional chiselers walking up and down the streets who don't work and have no intention of working' (New York Times, July 19, 1961) and 'The fact is that most people who have no skills have no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low 'ambition' (New York Times, January 16, 1964).

Perhaps it is understandable that the representative of the most ruthless terrorist section of monopoly capital in the United States should take that view of the problem.

Lumer first tells us who the poor are. The most significant sections are those made poor because of racial discrimination, and those made poor because the machine has outstripped their skills, new technical developments have made them redundant.

Some people are poor though employed, and he reminds the reader that it is the strength of organisation and the ability to struggle which helps some sections of workers to get a decent wage, while others are consistently paid below an adequate minimum standard.

The poverty of the Afro-American is endemic both in the North and the South. Lumer shows, how the very nature of capitalist production which is, commodity production and the production relations of capitalism cause this. The capitalist retains surplus value produced by the workers. This

leads inevitably to a struggle on the part of the boss to depress wages as low as possible and for the worker to try and sell his labour power at as high a cost as possible.

Thus, all workers are exploited, but the total system of racial discrimination, places the Afro-American in a position where he is doubly or trebly exploited. It sets him aside as a more highly exploitable group.

The terrible consequence of this in human misery are incalculable; one of its consequences was to be seen in Los Angeles on the week-end of August 14th and 15th of this year.

The Afro-American constitutes the most significant section of the rural poor, especially in the South.

The story told by Mrs. Suzie Brown, widowed mother of six, to the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labour is all too typical.

"In 1963 cropping 22 acres near Canton, Mississippi, she grew 23 bales of cotton with a market value of 3,400 dollars. For this she received some 174 dollars from the landowner. Together with 25 dollars a month advanced by him for maintenance, this gave her and her family a total cash income of about 474 dollars for all of 1963."

Many people who are concerned at this state of affairs among both Afro-Americans and whites, tend to assume that the poor cannot fight, whereas Lumer insists that

"It is plain that the poor are not impotent or passive but will organize to fight against their condition wherever they can see effective ways of doing so. Aside from the demoralized lumpen-proletariat elements they possess a tremendous, as yet, largely untapped capacity for action.

By far the most striking case in point is the heroic

struggle of the Negro people for their freedom!

"It is no exaggeration to say that the civil rights struggle has become the focal point of the anti-poverty fight today"

The other significant section of the American poor is to be found in areas of the country which were dominated by a particular industry which has been closed down, such as the Appalachians, where the miners are now redundant because of the growth of the oil industry and technical progress, and in rural areas, where small farmers have been unable to accumulate enough money to buy agricultural machines, fertiliser and other necessities of modern farming.

"If labor market areas of all sizes are included, there were at the close of 1963 a total of 574 areas of 'substantial and persistent labor surplus' embracing one-tenth of the entire labor force.... Since then the picture has not changed greatly."

Lumer establishes not only the existence of poverty, but proves that its roots lie in the very nature of capitalism itself. The ruthless monopoly capitalist interests see their main source of profits as producing for a vast military machine, paid for by the American taxpayer.

This coupled with the growth of automation which these same interests need to enhance their competitiveness against the other giants, threatens all sections of the American people.

The real problem is not whether or not there should be a war on poverty, but what sort of a war should that be. Obviously immediate, emergency measures can be helpful and Lumer in no way underplays their usefulness, but the value of this book lies in his assertion that the real war against poverty, is the war against monopoly capitalism itself, against its vast expen-

Continued on page 6

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YOUR WINTER SCHEDULE (24th Oct. 1965—31st March 1966)					
		GH 704	GH 702	GH 700	AZ 537
		Mon.	Wed.	Sat.	Mon/Fri
ACCRA	DEP.	1000	1000	1000	2355
ROME	ARR.		1615		
	DEP.		1705		0610
ZURICH	ARR.	1655			
	DEP.	1745			
AMSTERDAM	ARR.	1900			
	DEP.	1950			
LONDON	ARR.	1945	1820	1625	



MARX AND NATIONAL LIBERATION (2)

by Jack Woddis
(writer on African Affairs)

In their last years, Marx and Engels perceived the advance of the Russian working class and revolutionary movement to the fore of human progress. In a letter to Sorge, September 27th, 1877, Marx wrote: "This time the revolution will begin in the East."

In their 1882 preface to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels declared: "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe". They did not live to see the great October Revolution of 1917. Nor could they, brilliant revolutionaries though they were, foresee all its carry forward these ideas.

As early as 1902 (*What is to be done?*) Lenin stressed that history had confronted the Russian working class with the task of destroying not only the main base of reaction in Europe but of Asiatic reaction too.

HUMAN RIGHTS

In an article on "The Awakening of Asia" written for *Pravda* in 1913, Lenin noted how the 1905 revolution in Russia, defeated though it was, had spurred on the democratic revolution in Turkey, Persia, China, India and the Dutch East Indies.

"World capitalism and the 1905 movement in Russia have finally awakened Asia. Hundreds of millions of the downtrodden and benighted have awakened from medieval stagnation to a new life and are rising to fight for elementary human rights and democracy".

And he then made this remarkable prediction: "The awakening of Asia and the beginning of the struggle for power by the advanced proletariat of Europe are a symbol of the new phase in world history that began early this century".

Today we can see only too well the historic significance of the great alliance of the awakened millions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the socialist camp and the international working class movement.

In 1848, in the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels launched the historic slogan:

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries unite!"

At the end of 1920, the Communist International following the first Congress of Peoples of the East which it held at Baku, started a new journal called *The Peoples of the East*. This journal carried the slogan: "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations unite!"

NEW SLOGAN

In commenting on this at a meeting of Party members in Moscow, on December 6th, 1920 Lenin recalled that at the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow he had said that the whole world was divided into oppressed and oppressing nations—the former comprising 70 per cent of the world's population.

"We are really acting now", he said, "not only as representatives of the proletarians of all countries but also as representatives of the oppressed peoples."

He then referred to the new journal, and drew attention to its new slogan: "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations unite!"

He revealed that one comrade had asked: "When did the Executive Committee decide on a change of

slogans?" Lenin commented:

"Indeed, I cannot remember any such decision. And, of course, from the standpoint of the *Communist Manifesto* this is wrong, but then the *Communist Manifesto* was written under totally different conditions. From the standpoint of present-day politics, this slogan is correct".

And he went on to explain how, throughout the world, hatred of the *Entente* powers had become intense. Thus, he said, "the result has been to make Russia the direct spokesman of all the oppressed of the world".

SOCIALIST CAMP

Today, we have not only Russia, not only the Soviet Union, but a mighty socialist camp stretching from Cuba to China, and embracing 1,000 million people—a third of mankind.

This powerful socialist camp has become a mighty champion and supporter "of all the oppressed of the world".

This has not only provided a massive help to the peoples struggling to be free, it has helped to defend their new-won freedom—as in Cuba, Vietnam, and the United Arab Republic.

It has also laid a heavy imprint on the entire path of development of the sixty new national states that have appeared in Asia and Africa.

In this epoch, in which there exists a mighty socialist camp, an advancing world movement for national liberation, and powerful international working class, and democratic and peace movement, the whole world is turning away from capitalism towards socialism.

New States in which pre-capitalist forms of society persist and are usually dominant, now have the opportunity to enter the mainstream of a world in transition to socialism without having to go through a long painful path of fully developed capitalism.

Now, thanks to the existence of a socialist camp, these states can limit the life of capitalism, and strike out in the direction of socialism.

It says much for the theoretical brilliance of the founders of Marxism that they foresaw such a development.

HIGHER LEVEL

In his work on social relations in Russia, written in 1874-75, Engels argued that the common ownership of the land in Russia, even though already moving towards its disintegration, might be saved, and the form of society raised to a higher level, without it being necessary for the Russian peasants to go through the intermediate stage of bourgeois small holdings".

But for this to happen, he said, not only would the peasants have to cultivate the land collectively, but a successful proletarian revolution would be needed in the West, in order to provide "the material conditions" which would enable the Russian peasants to carry through such a transition.

Eight years later, in their preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, in 1882, Marx and Engels posed again the question as to whether such a pre-capitalist formation as the Russian obshchina (or village community), based on a form of "primeval common ownership of land" could "pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership" without going through the normal process of full capitalist

development and the dissolution of pre-capitalist forms as had happened in the West.

The answer they gave then was the same as Engels had given previously:

"If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution becomes the signal both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development".

After Marx's death, Engels still preoccupied himself with this question. In a letter to N. F. Danielson, on October 17th, 1893, Engels wrote that it would not be possible in Russia, any more than it would be elsewhere, "to develop a higher social form out of primitive agrarian communism unless that higher form was already in existence in another country, so as to serve as a model".

A year later, in 1894, twenty years after he had first written on social relations in Russia, Engels wrote a postscript to this work, which carried forward those ideas still further.

"It is not only possible but unquestionable that

the productive forces of modern industry, transformed into social property, serve the whole of society in its entirety, only then will these backward countries be able to steer a course towards such a shortened path of development. But in return their success will then be assured. And this applies not only to Russia but to all countries which are in the pre-capitalist stage of development."

As we know, the revolution came first not in the West, in the motherland of capitalism, but in backward Russia. Russia, surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, had to pull herself up by her own bootstraps.

It was the Soviet Union which became industrialised, which built socialism, which created collective and state farms and which so provided "the model", the "example of 'how it's done'", as well as the "material conditions" which can assist "all countries in the pre-capitalist stage of development" to shorten the life of capitalism, to take a less painful path to socialism, making full use of their "relics of social ownership and the popular customs appropriate to them".

The Unity we shall build

by a Spark Correspondent

WE WARMLY welcome the announcement from Diallo Telli that the Heads of State Meeting will definitely be held in Accra on October 21st. The many difficulties and obstacles in the way of holding the Conference have now, in the main, been overcome and we are sure that everybody will work to ensure that decisive steps will be taken to strengthen the organisation enabling it to face up to the serious challenges it still has to tackle.

The Heads of States last year in Cairo agreed to meet in Accra in September, 1965. The Cairo Conference marked a significant advance in the development of African Unity with the adoption of the O.A.U. Charter.

More important perhaps than even the adoption of a Charter was the sense of fraternal unity which was so evident. The O.A.U. had shown itself able to undertake the most delicate negotiations between African States which had difficulties one with another, on border questions for example. This success was indicative of the great potentialities of the African States, when united, as a force for world peace.

The Conference gave a great stimulus to the African peoples still under colonial rule, because the unity evinced at state level was an indication of the real strength which can be mobilised behind their fight for freedom.

Why is there now some reluctance on the part of some Heads of State to fulfil their promise? We cannot believe that the change of date by a few weeks really affects the actual principle of whether or not to meet in our capital.

Neither is a real problem constituted by the quick succession of the Afro-Asian Conference after that. All Heads of State are busy, they are used to rapid successions of engagements.

The reason goes much deeper than that and is not far to seek.

The Addis Ababa and the Cairo Conferences were specifically held to overcome the formation of separate political blocks of independent African States.

Such blocks are dangerous because the very fact of separation sets up its own logic. It establishes the most favourable conditions, in which those desiring to re-assert their domination of African countries and their economies, can set about their self-appointed task more easily.

The blocks themselves would obviously be weaker than a real union of states, involving the whole of Africa, unable to resist with the same effectiveness attempts at domination and interference.

Separation gives the opportunity for the playing off of one group against another, in which tiny, temporary concessions and advantages, given by more powerful imperialist countries will be used to play off one African state against another.

Imperialism is skilled in the art of divide and rule as is the only too obvious in Africa at present. The very borders of our states have been drawn up in such a way as to divide peoples between differing states, so that their attention should be concentrated on the problems arising from this rather than on the positive problems of creating prosperous viable states which can combine together without the complications of border disputes to divide them.

We see in the granting of aid by the capitalist states all kinds of forms of discrimination. Aid is given to some countries, and not to others. Why? Do not all the African states have basically the same problems?

Why are loans made interest-free for long periods to certain Governments while pressing hard demands are made on others to pay up and immediately?

We suggest that the criteria for such so-called "aid" is whether some countries are more docile than others and prepared to make concessions to Imperialism.

Aid is not the only lever which is used as a disintegrating force. The war of words has its powerful effect. We know that in Africa today, many of the organs of propaganda, newspapers, radio, television, are owned and controlled by private foreign interests, who use them, not only to make money, but to keep Africa safe for them to go on making money.

The press campaigns such as have been organised against Ghana since the Cairo Conference were launched, not because the editors of those newspapers were concerned in the abstract about African prisons and their conditions, but because they wanted to create an anti-Ghana atmosphere, in which it would be easier to refuse to carry out the agreed decision of the Cairo Conference to meet in Accra.

It has been noticeable, for some weeks, that the journal *West Africa* has been carefully counting up total votes cast for the meeting in Accra. It has not always been reliably informed—but that is *West Africa's* problem.

What is important is the general note of satisfaction which has been evident, when it has been discussing some of the difficulties. Why do these people gloat over our problems? Why do they celebrate when it looks as if there will be obstacles in the way of African Unity? What are they so worried about?

They are worried because they see that the most determined anti-Imperialist forces are those who work unrelentingly for Unity. They understand that African Unity is a sure defence against the power of neo-colonialism.

They see the great possibilities that Africa will become a powerful independent and progressive force in the world, and they fear it.

Within the Soviet Union itself, the former tsarist colonies, with the aid of the more industrially developed regions, were able to take such a path and by-pass full capitalist development.

In the same way, neighbouring Mongolia was assisted to travel from feudalism to socialism, without passing through a capitalist phase.

Later, China, North Vietnam and North Korea were able to avoid the stage of mature capitalism and to press ahead to the construction of Socialism.

The changes now taking place in Algeria, the U.A.R., Ghana, Mali, Burma, and other countries are a further striking confirmation of these ideas of Marx and Engels.

It is in vain, in this epoch, for the imperialists to think that they will see three score capitalist states replace the former colonies.

As Lenin pointed out at the Third Congress of the Communist International on July 5th, 1921, (*Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. 32, p.458):

"In the coming decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the popu-

lation of the world, first aimed at national emancipation, will perhaps, play a much greater revolutionary role than we expect".

This prediction of Lenin's is each day becoming more clear. The struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America can no longer be confined within the limits of a national struggle.

The very needs of their own development impose on them the necessity to carry forward their struggle, from political independence to economic independence.

And this requires not only a battle to dig up the very roots of imperialism, but, in the course of such a battle—and in order that it may succeed—the peoples find it necessary to place limits on the growth of their own indigenous capitalists.

Marx and Engels did not live to see these historic changes taking place. They lived before the epoch of proletarian revolutions, and the consequent breakdown of the old colonial system.

But all their life's work and effort was directed to such an outcome. And, if they were alive today, they would have fully endorsed Lenin's extension of their famous slogan, and proclaimed: "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations unite!"

immediately if they showed their hand against unity.

There are other dangers—the cries for the wrong kind of unity. We have in the past week or two, followed with interest Mr. Meenan Williams travels around West Africa.

Now, as the Nouakchott venture he supported did not really succeed, he has changed his tune and says he is for unity.

We should be very wary when voices are raised for an African Common Market by those who do not at the same time raise the question of political unity, of common foreign policy, of common defence, and of total liberation.

Unity must have content—the content of the continued drive to reorganise our economies to meet the economic and social needs of our people, the drive to make Africa's powerful contribution to world peace.

This is the unity for which Addis Ababa and Cairo laid the foundations, this is the unity which will be consolidated in Accra.

African Diary

Continued from page 2

TUNISIA: The United States has extended a loan of 7,750,000 dollars, about 6,587,500 cedis to Tunisia to help modernise her roads under an agreement signed in Tunis.

GHANA: Mr. E. A. Mettle-Nunoo, chairman-director of the First Ghana Building Society left Accra today by air to London to head a three-man Ghanaian delegation to the 10th congress of the International Union of Building Societies and Savings scheduled to open at Hilton Hotel tomorrow.

Mr. Seyoun Akalewold, Ethiopian Vice-Minister of Natural Resources has left Accra by air for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia after a

week's visit to Ghana. * The four-man Lebanese delegation now in the country in connection with a monument to be created in memory of the late Mr. Shakib Jaber, leader of the Lebanese delegation to the Afro-Asian Conference held at Winneba in May this year, today called on President Nkrumah at the Castle.

BURUNDI: Mr. Legnold Bihya, private secretary to King Mwami Mwabuta, has become Prime Minister of a new Burundi Government. It has been announced in Bujumbura, Burundi today.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Rhodesian racist Premier Ian Smith is to visit London next week for discussions with the British Government on the Rhodesian independence issue.

A NEW TYPE OF GERMAN STATE

THE celebration this week of the sixteenth anniversary of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic—the first German State to break with imperialism and militarism—is an event of great significance not only for the people of Europe, but also for the peoples of Africa.

German imperialism made its appearance on the world stage later than its British and French rivals. It was in many respects a more "up-to-date" model of imperialism: German industry was in many respects more advanced than its older-established British and French competitors, and its ownership was more concentrated in the hands of giant trusts and monopolies.

These great combines sought sources of cheap raw materials to feed their factories; they sought access to foreign markets to sell their products; they sought spheres for the profitable investment of their ever-growing capital.

GERMAN CAPITALISM

German capitalism found a ready ally—and subsequently tool—in the German military caste, offspring of the reactionary Prussian landowners whose creed was summed up in the words "Blood and Iron".

German imperialism was able to secure some footholds—on our own continent in West, East and Southern Africa, where German colonialism showed itself to be a force no less rapacious than its British and French rivals.

But these footholds could by no means satisfy the German monopolists; they wanted a re-division of the world which had already been divided between the older imperialist powers, a larger share in the spoils of imperialist exploitation.

German imperialism's desire for a re-division of the world was one of the prime causes of World War One, in which it threw down the challenge to the older-established British and French imperialism.

German imperialism was defeated and deprived of its colonies—but the thirst for overseas expansion was not quenched.

The demand for the re-

turn of the colonies lost at the end of World War One and for a re-division of spheres of influence was a prominent feature of the programme of the Nazis, who in the 1930's became the spearhead of the German monopolies' renewed world hegemony.

WORLD WAR II

In World War Two German imperialism's second attempt to bring about a re-division of the world likewise suffered defeat, and the post-war Potsdam Agreements signed by the victorious Powers of the anti-Nazi coalition ruled that the great trusts which had financed Hitler and the German military caste which had played a vital part in the implementation of his plans for world conquest were to be smashed for all time.

But the Western imperialist powers saw German imperialism and the German militarists as potential allies against the growing forces of Socialism, personified by the Soviet Union and the new European Socialist countries, and against the growing national liberation movement.

Therefore in West Germany, power remained in the hands of the monopolists—in many cases the very same men who had aided Hitler—while the West German Army that was built up with Western assistance was headed by ex-Nazi generals guilty of complicity in monstrous atrocities.

This West German state in which the monopolists and militarists who bear the responsibility for two world wars once again have a decisive say in the formulation of policy is continuing the old German imperialist tradition.

West Germany is the only state which does not recognise the frontiers laid down at the end of World War Two; it calls a revision of existing borders—a revision which can only be brought about by force of arms.

Already West Germany has become the strongest military power in Western Europe; West German spokesmen have made clear their determination to secure a West German finger on the nuclear trigger.

In Africa, West Germany co-operates with Verwoerd's

The G.D.R. and Africa

racist regime in nuclear research; it is one of the major foreign investors in South Africa, with which it also carries on an extensive trade.

West German spokesmen—including the present President of West Germany—have voiced support and approval for Verwoerd's racist policies—policies which owe much to Nazism.

West Germany also supplies military equipment to Portugal for use against the liberation movement in Angola, Mozambique and so-called "Portuguese" Guinea.

Though West Germany has no colonies, it is a vigorous exponent of the techniques of neo-colonialism in the developing countries. Like their American, British, French and Belgian colleagues, the West German capitalists derive great profits from the exploitation of the developing countries, not only directly but also through "collective neo-colonialism" in the form of Common Market "association".

POSTDAM AGREEMENT

BUT today West Germany is not the only German state: today there is another German state—the German Democratic Republic, where in accordance with the Potsdam Agreements the power of the monopolists and militarists has forever been broken and where a new state of workers and farmers has been created and is advancing along the Socialist road.

Completely renouncing the legacy of German imperialism, the German Democratic Republic has consistently supported the national liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

"The German Democratic Republic everywhere and at all times supports to the best of its abilities the newly-emerging states and the peoples fighting for their freedom and for their rights", the Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Walter Ulbricht, has declared.

NEW POLICY

When in 1956 the imperialists attacked Egypt, the G.D.R. condemned this aggression and demanded the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian territory; it supported Algeria's independence struggle, and proclaimed its solidarity with the Liberation Movement in the Congo; it has denounced the fascist terror regime of the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, Mozambique

and in so-called "Portuguese" Guinea.

It has condemned the racist policy of the Verwoerd regime in South Africa, and submitted proposals for a convention against racial discrimination to the U.N.

In 1963 it severed all trade relations with South Africa.

O. A. U.'s SUPPORT

The G.D.R. has called for the immediate implementation of the U.N. resolution on the immediate granting of independence to the colonial peoples.

It backs the just demands of the people of Southern Rhodesia for majority rule. The G.D.R. welcomed the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity, and fully supports the struggle for anti-imperialist African unity.

It supports the African peoples' demand for the creation of a nuclear-free zone on the African continent and for the winding-up of all foreign military bases on African soil.

In its relations with the newly-emerging states in Africa and also in Asia, the G.D.R. strictly adheres to the principles of equality, non-interference and mutual benefit. It is doing its best to assist the Afro-Asian countries in the consolidation of their political independence and in the achievement of economic independence.

By transforming the property of the imperialists and big landowners who have been guilty of two world wars into the property of the entire people, the people of the G.D.R. have torn up the economic roots of imperialism.

COMMON INTEREST

The community of interest between the G.D.R. and the newly-emerging countries is based on their common opposition to imperialism, their common interest in peaceful co-existence between states with differing social systems, their support for disarmament and their opposition to the spread of nuclear weapons.

The West German imperialists try to dictate to the newly-emerging countries whether they shall maintain relations with the G.D.R. or not. They threaten to withdraw diplomatic recognition and economic "aid" from countries which establish relations with the G.D.R.

This policy suffered a resounding failure when, despite threats from Bonn, the United Arab Republic welcomed Walter Ulbricht. It failed, too, in Tanzania, where Bonn's attempts to prevent the establishment of a G.D.R. Consulate-

General were defeated.

Unlike Bonn, the G.D.R. does not wish to involve the newly-emerging states in the dispute between the two Germanies; it does not want these countries to take sides in the dispute; it believes that the German problem will above all be solved by the German people themselves.

The best contribution that the people of the developing countries can make

is to reject Bonn's arrogant attempts to dictate their foreign policy, and to establish equal relations with the two German states.

The establishment of normal relations with the G.D.R. would be to the advantage of both the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries and Germany in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The G.D.R.—a highly in-

dustrialised country—has on many occasions declared its readiness considerably to expand its co-operation with the Afro-Asian countries.

The friendly relations which have developed between Ghana and the G.D.R. are proof of the G.D.R.'s anti-imperialist socialist policy, and an expression of the common ideals and aims of our two countries.

Neo-Colonial Exploitation

Contd. from page 1

belonging to Tate & Lyle, as well as a rubber and tin company in Malaya.

Another is Sir Eric Tansley, who is on the Colonial Development Corporation and Plantation and Colonial Products, as well as the Cocoa Association—a fact of significance in view of cocoa's importance as the chief West African export crop.

PROFITS

Another B.W.A. director is Sir Edward Spears, who altogether sits on about a dozen boards—including that of Ashanti Goldfields, of which he is chairman.

The B.W.A. has branches in Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia and other parts of West Africa, where it has operated for over sixty years, amassing issued share capital of £4 million and assets of £97 million. Its net profits increased from £290,000 in 1954-55 to £535,000 in 1963-64.

It is through the B.W.A. that the new consortium will seek to extend its influence in West Africa. The merger opens the door to increased penetration of West Africa by U.S. capital in the shape of Chase Manhattan, one of its most trustful and aggressively-minded representatives.

NEW CONSORTIUM

The creation of the consortium would seem to point to a decline in the relative strength of British finance capital, which finds itself obliged to enter into what can at best be an "antagonistic alliance" with its U.S. rival and to establish links with its West European competitors.

Thus, while undoubtedly constituting another example of collective neo-colonialism, the consortium at the same time is symptomatic of the shifts in the balance of forces between Britain, the United States and West Europe.

While the creation of the consortium foreshadows increased U.S. financial penetration in Africa, it is significant that the international

advisory committee now set up by its leading participant is headed by Mr. John H. Loudon, a former managing director of the Royal Dutch Shell group and present chairman of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company.

It has extensive interests in Indonesia and is therefore vitally concerned with the balance of forces in the Far East. So the activities of Chase Manhattan herald tougher imperialist policies are not only in Africa, but also in the Far East.

STOP PRESS

To give our readers full coverage of the forthcoming Accra Summit meeting and to show its significance in the African Revolution, "The Spark" will be for a period published daily from October 15th.

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Editorial

Continued from page 1

Under The Banner of Nkrumaism

it embraces, is set by Kwame Nkrumah as the embodiment of the many sided activity and authority of the Party.

Just as democratic centralism demands unity around a policy when once formulated, so these same principles demand unity around an ideology. There is only one Nkrumaism; there cannot be an ideology, variously interpreted by individuals. Our ideology must be presented with one voice and fought for by the whole of the Party united around it.

One Nation, one Party, has been created by the unceasing efforts of Kwame Nkrumah who has more than any other person in this country, recognised the need for scientific understanding. His grasp of scientific theory and his consistent application of it at every stage of development has been the guarantee of our success.

The fight for ideological unity is as unceasing as the general struggle for socialism, it is an integral part of it. Just as we are assailed by imperialist economic tactics, we are also assailed by imperialist ideas, presented in a variety of form.

The declaration of Kwame Nkrumah of the overwhelming need for unity based on a common ideology, which alone can be the guarantee of our survival and growth, should be a new stimulus to every member of the Party as he strives for practical achievements based on the clarity and power of Nkrumaism and the inspiration of Kwame Nkrumah himself.

The Roots Of Poverty

Continued from page 4

ature on armaments, against its imposition of segregation and racialism against its irresponsibilities which leads it to exploit whole areas of the country and then leave them worked out and useless with rotting factories, worked out mines, looted forests, and a population without the means to live.

The war on poverty must be a war against capitalism

and for a new, just social order, socialism.

We warmly recommend this little book, not only for its survey of the extent of the problems of poverty in the United States but because it exposes the nature of capitalism, the relations between monopoly capitalism and the state, and the necessity of socialism, even in the richest capitalist state in the world.



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