

NEW YEAR  
GREETINGS  
TO ALL  
OUR READERS

# THE SPARK



Notes of the Week	2
Rhodesia's (1961) Constitution	3
The Myth of Capitalism	5
West German Revenge Seekers	6

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Registered at the G.R.O. as a Newspaper)

No. 1167 2p.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1965

## COMMENT:

# Goodwill to all Men

WILL the coming year see the continuation of the current slide toward a third world war as a result of imperialism's world-wide counter-offensive—or will it see the drive to war halted and new victories for the forces of peace and national liberation?

That is the vital question that confronts us as we stand on the threshold of the New Year. It is the question to which the common people of the world must give the answer.

That answer must be a firm "No" to war and the imperialist policies of aggression and armed intervention which during 1965 brought the dangers of world war nearer.

At home, 1965 saw new important steps along the socialist road, with the Ghana Trades Union Congress for the first time celebrating May Day in a way which reflected the importance of the working class in our society.

The colour, enthusiasm and socialist vision which the massive demonstration displayed, reflected the keenness and eagerness of workers by hand and brain to devote their full energies to the success of our Seven-Year Plan and our Socialist perspective.

### SOCIALIST ADVANCE

The presence of delegations of trade unionists from many other countries symbolised the strengthening of the links of the Ghanaian workers with their brothers in Africa and throughout the rest of the world.

In his speech to the nation on the eve of May Day, Kwame Nkrumah stressed the vital, leading part which must be played by the workers in ever-increasing numbers in our industrial successes and in our political struggle to build a new socialist Ghana.

May Day 1965 will be the prototype of yet more similar events each one marking the growth of our Trade Union Movement in numbers, and significance.

The new National Assembly is the first to be formed under our new One-Party system. The M.P.'s received vigorous manifestations of support as they toured their constituencies. Their electors look to them to be actively engaged in all aspects of our national life so that this 'tribune of the people' can help to mobilise the

fullest energies of the people, and so that they can be the eyes and ears of the nation, sensitively reflecting the experiences, the needs and the opinions of the masses.

Among our young people, whose vigour and socialist enterprise is a value, one of the most important developments has been the re-formation of the Ghana Students Organisation and its withdrawal from reactionary international affiliations.

Now the Ghana students, as members of the International Union of Students, stand shoulder to shoulder with progressive students' organisations on a world-wide scale.

The Young Farmers, too, have their achievements to look back on in 1965, with the great success of their Conference at Sunyani where their response to the lectures and their contributions to questions and discussion were a tremendous encouragement to all who look to our rural youth for big new successes in agriculture to help us to develop our economy, satisfy our people's needs for food and improve the quality of country life.

Coming at the end of the year, but not least by any means in importance, was the meeting of the National Executive of the Convention People's Party. This newly-elected leading body of the Party will add a new dimension of strength to the work of the Party and assist the fuller development of democratic centralism in our ranks.

### NEW UNITY

The re-writing of the Constitution of the Party to expunge reference to "African" socialism and to embody the scientific socialist concepts of Nkrumahism is a great ideological strengthening of our work.

This same ideological development was to be seen earlier in the year, in June, when the Government Ministers gathered at Winneba for an ideological orientation course, setting the example to the rest of the country in study and in listening to lectures and holding seminars on questions of the theory and practice of Nkrumahism.

Meeting in Winneba, the representatives of the Afro-Asian People's organisations took the anti-imperialist struggle onto a

## Need for Unity the Lesson of 1965

new level with the decision to include the people's organisations of Latin America.

The Three Continents Conference about to take place in Havana is the result of this important decision. Delegations from the people's organisations and liberation movements will meet to discuss how to combat the danger of world war which constantly threatens us because of the activities of the imperialist powers.

Any internal differences which may exist are secondary to the need for unity in the face of still powerful imperialist governments whose main strategy is to foment splits and divisions.

The importance of the Havana Conference is underlined by the step-by-step deterioration of the situation in Vietnam, where the United States is waging a brutal colonial-type war 7,000 miles from its own shores against a small Asian people who wish only to determine their own way of life.

It is now almost a year since President Johnson without any declaration of war, ordered the launching of the terror bombing campaign against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Following in the tradition of Goebbels, Hitler's notorious propaganda chief, Washington at first claimed that its raids were "reprisals".

Even if this were true, it would not alter the fact that the raids constitute crimes under international law, which expressly forbids armed reprisals.

But it was not true: terror raids against both North and South Vietnam, and the subsequent rapid build-up of U.S. ground forces (first they went as "advisors", then "to protect U.S. military installations; now they wage open war) far from being "reprisals", were part of a carefully thought out plan to crush the national liberation movement.

Washington has declared there must be no more wars of national liberation. Just as Hitler and Mussolini used the Spanish Civil War as a dress rehearsal for the Second World War, so Washington is using Vietnam as a testing

ground for the new weapons and techniques which, if they are successful in South-East Asia, it will apply in Africa and Latin America—wherever, in fact it feels itself threatened by the national liberation movement.

It was early in the year revealed in the U.S. Congress that the Pentagon has prepared handbooks for intervention covering many countries in Latin America and Africa; U.S. "Special Forces" are already being trained to operate in these countries.

### INTERVENTION

If Washington's terror tactics succeed in Vietnam, it will be Africa's turn next. That is why the fight of the Vietnamese freedom fighters is our fight too.

That action against the freedom movement throughout the world does indeed form the basis of U.S. policy was demonstrated in April when some 10,000 U.S. Marines were landed in the Dominican Republic.

According to Washington, the Marines were landed to "protect" American lives. In fact, they went to back a U.S.-supported military junta against a popular uprising demanding the return of a constitutionally-elected President who wasn't to Washington's taste.

The resistance of the Dominican people, the solidarity of the people of Latin America which obliged even reactionary governments to voice their objection to the big stick methods of Yankee imperialism and a world-wide wave of protests forced Washington to change its tactics.

Forced to renounce open armed intervention, it resorted to undercover methods.

In Africa, too, after its direct intervention through participation in the Stanleyville operation at the end of 1964 (again the pretext was the "protection of American lives") Washington has confined itself to covert activities designed to divide the African liberation movement and discredit its most militant sections, and thus keep Africa safe for U.S. Big Business.

While protesting its sympathy for the African freedom movement, Washington has continued to line up with Britain, France and other North Atlantic Treaty Organisation member-countries in giving economic and military aid to two of the worst enemies of the African people, Salazar and Verwoerd.

Thanks to American and also British obstruction, 1965 saw no effective economic measures taken against Verwoerd. Thanks to the United States, Britain and the other N.A.T.O. powers, arms and other military aid continue to flow to Portugal for use in its war against the peoples of its African colonies.

Washington also played an active part in the campaign to prevent the Accra Summit Conference, fanning differences between the African states and encouraging divisive regional groupings of every kind.

Only when it became clear that the Accra Summit would take place despite their efforts did U.S. spokesmen suddenly renounce their former coolness and come out in favour of it.

### O.A.U. SUMMIT

Ghana became in the early months of 1965 the Number One target in the campaign to sabotage the Accra meeting.

In an attempt to discredit the champion of anti-imperialist unity in Africa, the London Daily Express published a photograph which it later had to admit was a fake purporting to show chained political prisoners in a Ghana prison.

There was a spate of articles designed to depict Ghana as being on the brink of economic collapse, and attributing this to wasteful spending and bad management.

There were also attempts to take advantage of Ghana's temporary economic difficulties (due not above all to the manipulation of the cocoa market by the Western monopolies and the unequal terms of trade in the capitalist world market).

The failure of this campaign was demonstrated when in mid-October the representatives of 28

states, including the Heads of State and Government of nineteen countries, assembled in Accra for the Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity.

Despite the efforts of those who want to see an Africa divided and weak, a prey to their intrigues and manipulations, the Accra Summit was attended by the representatives of all the major states of Africa and of the overwhelming majority of its people.

Its deliberations marked a new stage in the advance toward a united Africa free from every kind of foreign domination and interference.

The refusal of the Entente countries and Togo to come to Accra and make their contribution to the discussion of the vital problems confronting Africa was seen for what it was—a display of petulance unworthy of statesmen claiming to have the interests of our continent at heart.

The conference was marked by a high degree of unity in the discussion of major issues. It raised the tempo of the freedom movement confronting our continent.

Only the operation of Article 18 of the O.A.U.'s Charter, which requires a two-thirds majority of all members, prevented the adoption of an Ethiopian resolution proposing the creation of a seven-nation committee to examine Ghana's proposal for a permanently-functioning O.A.U. Executive Council.

### APPEASEMENT

The conference served clear warning on Britain regarding Zimbabwe and recommended that O.A.U. member-states use all possible means, including force, to prevent a "unilateral declaration of independence"—in other words, a seizure of power—by Mr. Smith and the white supremacists.

Mr. Wilson, Britain's Labour Prime Minister, had followed the policy of appeasing the white supremacists pursued by earlier British Governments.

He had at an early stage in the negotiations given Mr. Smith the green light by making clear that Britain would not use force to prevent a take-over by Rhodesia's quarter of a million strong white minority.

One of the factors influencing the timing of his final approach to Mr. Smith was his desire at all costs to postpone Mr. Smith's seizure of power until after the Accra meeting had ended.

The British Prime Minister realised that a racist seizure of power in Salisbury while the O.A.U. Summit was in progress in Accra would mean immediate joint action by the African states.

Mr. Wilson succeeded; Mr. Smith, having first secured the imposition of virtual martial law, seized power on November 11th.

### A WALK OUT

Mr. Wilson, one of whose first foreign policy moves had been to make the British Ascension Island base available to the Americans and Belgians for the Stanleyville operation on the pretext that European lives were threatened, was not however prepared to take any effective action to protect the four million Africans of Rhodesia—Commonwealth citizens whose lives and liberty are threatened by Smith's police state regime.

And although the Labour Government have shown their readiness to resort to force against independence movements seeking real independence in the name of the majority of their people, for example in Malaya, Kenya, British Guiana and Aden, Mr. Wilson persisted in his refusal to use force against Rhodesia's white supremacists.

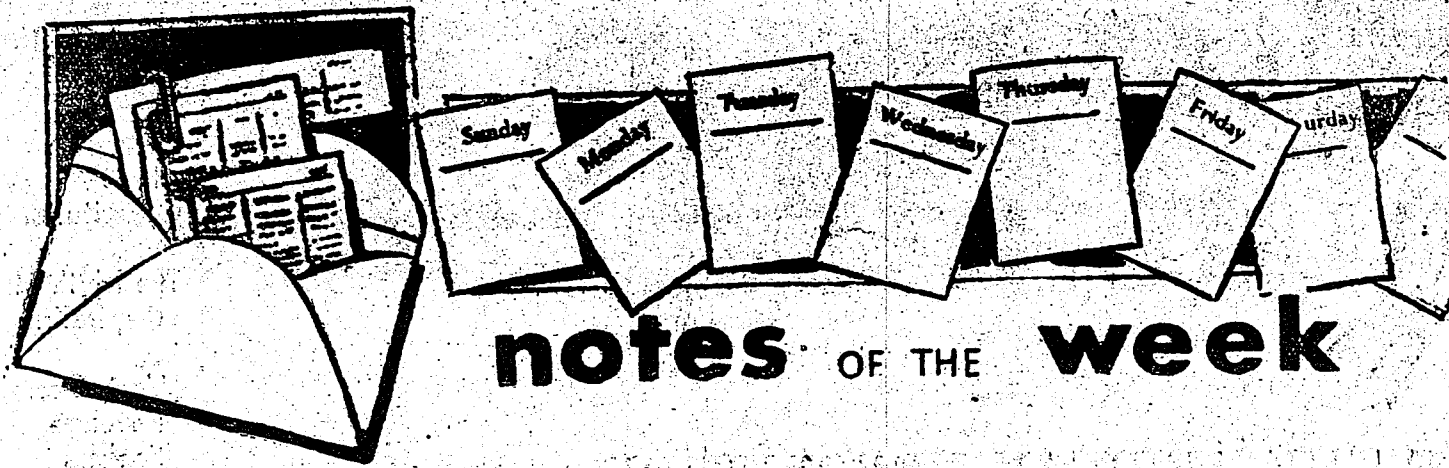
His first moves were confined to half-hearted economic measures and, after British representatives had for years claimed that the United Nations had no right to discuss Rhodesia, he now referred the matter to the Security Council—not to secure effective action but, in his own words, "if we don't, somebody else will".

He thus hoped to head off any effective action by other states, particularly African states.

But under pressure from African and world opinion, expressed both at the United Nations, where Mr. Wilson had the doubtful honour of becoming the first Head of Government to be the target for a General Assembly walk-out, and by other means (a number of African states,

Continued on page 2





## notes OF THE week

**ANSWERING** questions about the newly-imposed oil embargo during an interview on U.S. television, Mr. Smith declared his readiness to buy oil from Communist countries in order to evade sanctions.

His answer was broadcast without comment by the B.B.C. and other western radio services. Thus an attempt was made to create the impression that socialist countries will not back action against the Smith regime.

In fact, the socialist countries have already pledged support for the freedom struggle of the four million Africans of Zimbabwe against the police state regime imposed by Mr. Smith in the name of the quarter of a million strong white minority.

\* \* \*

This attempt to smear the socialist countries and to sow dissension between them and the Africa freedom movement is reminiscent of a similar campaign waged in relation to trade with South Africa.

Allegations that the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are still trading with South Africa were refuted in a report submitted by the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee to the Council of Ministers' Accra meeting in October.

The report made it clear that such allegations were part of a deliberate campaign of falsehood and exaggeration designed to divert attention from the fact that it is South Africa's major trading partners such as the United States, Britain and West Germany which are obstructing the imposition of effective sanctions.

It indicated that there was evidence to suggest that many of the allegations—which have been repeatedly denied by the socialist countries themselves—originate in South Africa as part of Verwoerd's psychological warfare campaign.

Now Mr. Smith is trying to use the same technique.

But, though he will get no oil—or anything else, for that

matter—from the socialist countries, Mr. Smith will not find it too difficult to evade the embargo. In the words of the London Economist,

"To believe that oil sanctions will work overnight... is rubbish... Even if the big international companies stay in step with President Johnson and Mr. Wilson, the freebooters will not. There is a surplus of small tankers they could employ. Even if naval patrols keep them out of Beira, the port for the Umali pipeline, Africa is accustomed to a petrol trade in drums that any freighter can bring in to any harbour. There is plenty of petrol in brokers' hands, around the world, and it is petrol for their cars that the white Rhodesians need, not heavy oil for industry. It is difficult to envisage white Rhodesia grinding to a halt for many months yet." (25.12.65).

Mr. Wilson's acceptance of the oil embargo which he had earlier dismissed as unpractical is welcome.

But the fact must be faced that unless it applies to the whole of southern Africa it will be ineffective, and at best will be a long-drawn-out affair.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile the white supremacists remain in power threatening the economic well-being and security of their neighbours and subjecting the African majority to police-state brutalities.

In the more-than-unlikely event of an African government subjecting Europeans to the persecutions to which the Smith regime subjects the Africans of Zimbabwe, Mr. Wilson's reaction would be swift and forceful; he would send troops.

But Mr. Wilson has a double standard—one for Africans and another for whites. If he is unwilling or unable to protect the lives and liberty of the Africans of Zimbabwe, he should not stand in the way of those who are both able and willing.

## A New Year Task

**PROGRESS** towards peace in the New Year in large measure depends upon progress towards disarmament. There can be no doubt that new steps towards disarmament would make an important contribution to the relaxation of tension and the improvement of the international atmosphere.

Agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear tests, including those underground, is long overdue. In the past the obstacle has been the West's insistence that underground tests cannot be reliably detected without an extensive network of on-the-spot inspection teams.

Now an increasing number of Western scientists are coming to accept the Soviet view—that underground tests can be detected by instruments and that inspection is therefore unnecessary.

Agreement to stop underground tests would not reduce existing nuclear stockpiles which are already more than sufficient to wipe out all mankind. It would, however, impose some curb on the development of new types of nuclear weapons.

Likewise agreement to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons is long overdue. Here again the main obstacle is Western policy.

The United States and Bri-

tain are advocating plans which aim at giving West Germany a finger on the nuclear trigger, while West Germany has made it clear that if she does not get a say in the control of the West's nuclear weapons, she may find herself obliged to take steps to acquire such weapons on her own.

Having themselves encouraged Bonn's nuclear ambitions, U.S. and British spokesmen now seek to justify their plans for giving West Germany a voice in the control of the West's nuclear arsenal by pleading that if they do not, West Germany will go it alone.

The hypocrisy of such an argument is obvious; obvious, too, is the fact that any plan to give West Germany a finger on the nuclear trigger is completely incompatible with an agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

It is high time too to take a new look at proposals for the creation of nuclear-free zones.

When it was in opposition, Britain's Labour Party expressed great interest in the Polish plan for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, which has the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But since coming to power, Labour seems to have lost interest.

## The Spy Business

**ALL** is not well in the American spy business, according to the current issue of "Newsweek". According to the U.S. weekly, the root of the trouble is the new head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Vice Admiral William F. Raborn.

Raborn, says the magazine, quoting C.I.A. officials, is "a greenhorn at the spy business... so unlettered in international politics, indeed, that he could not pronounce or even remember the names of some foreign capitals and chiefs of state."

This, the magazine goes on to explain, has put the C.I.A. at a disadvantage in what Newsweek itself describes as "the jealousy-ridden jungle optimistically called 'the intelligence community'."

The magazine goes on to give a thumbnail survey of the U.S. spy business:

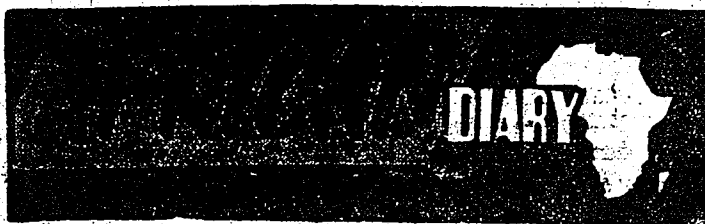
"... an interlocking set of nine agencies, each pursuing its separate, defined tasks, all watched over by the C.I.A. chief as board chairman. In fact, spying is an overlapping, a highly com-

petitive business, with each agency keeping a chary eye on its potential rivals for territory, money and power. The rival that C.I.A. staffers watch hardest these days is the Pentagon's aggressive burgeoning Defense Intelligence Agency (D.I.A.), formed four years ago out of a merger of the intelligence arms of the separate services."

According to Newsweek, the C.I.A. feels itself outclassed in the struggle, headed as it is by an Admiral at sea in the spy business.

It recalls a saying that one earlier C.I.A. chief, Allen Dulles, "ran a happy ship", while another John McCone, ran "a taut ship"—and then goes on to quote one C.I.A. man's gibe that "Raborn's running a sinking ship."

The C.I.A., which has of late been coming in for a great deal of criticism, has reacted by claiming that criticism of its activities is "Moscow-inspired". It will, to say the least, be difficult to substantiate such an allegation in relation to Newsweek.



### DECEMBER 6:

**CONGO (Leo):** Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, former President of Congo Leopoldville has been allowed to leave the military camp where he was held after the bloodless coup which toppled him from power according to reports from Leopoldville.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Alec Quaison Sackey, Minister of Foreign Affairs declared in Accra today that the general feeling among member states of the Organisation of African Unity is that the British Government is conniving at the seizure of power by Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia.

**NIGERIA:** Alhaji Nuhu Bamali, has been appointed Federal Nigeria's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

### DECEMBER 7

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin has warned that there would be a "national liberation war" over the Southern Rhodesia issue if immediate steps are not taken by the British Government to end the settler rebellion in the colony.

**TANZANIA:** President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has instructed Mr. Christopher Ngaiza, his High Commissioner in London, to be ready to close down the Tanzania High Commission office in London next week in line with the Organisation of African Unity's decision to sever relations with Britain.

\* The British Labour Government's double-gamit attitude over the Southern Rhodesia rebellion was further demonstrated in the House of Commons in London when British Premier Harold Wilson refused to halt a British tanker now on its way to Rhodesia with 12,000 tons of oil for the white settler rebels.

**ZAMBIA:** The United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant's personal representative in East and Central Africa Mr. George Ivan Smith met President Kenneth Kaunda and Vice-President Reuben Kamanga of Zambia in Lusaka.

### DECEMBER 8:

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The Defence Minister of apartheid South Africa, Jim Fouché today said in Heidelberg, Transvaal, that South

Africa is expected the West to supply her with ground-to-air missiles.

**CONGO (Leo):** Premier Leonard Malamba of Congo (Leopoldville) today named Mr. Diaka Mungu from the Kwilu Province as Minister for the Middle Classes, filling one of the two empty ministerial posts in his new Government.

**TANZANIA:** President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has said in Dar-es-Salaam that despite the many "outstanding problems"—some of them very serious, Africa could move forward to a peaceful united continent.

**U.A.R.:** Twenty-five people have been accused in Cairo of attempting to overthrow the United Arab Republic Government by force. Fourteen of them were also alleged to have plotted to assassinate President Gamal Abdel Nasser and other officials.

### DECEMBER 9:

**NIGERIA:** The Western Nigeria House of Assembly will meet in Ibadan today for the first time since the disputed election in the region last October, it was announced by the Regional Governor, Sir Odeleye Fadahunsi.

**GHANA:** The new Ghana High Commissioner in the United Kingdom has asked all Ghanians in Britain to join him in an enterprise of constructive citizenship.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Africa's determination to see that Southern Rhodesia is redeemed and a truly democratic government establishment was today underscored by Mr. Kojo Botso, Minister of African Affairs and Chairman of State Planning Commission.

**ZAMBIA:** President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia declared in the Zambian Parliament in Lusaka today that he would order the Zambian Armed forces into action if Ian Smith's illegal regime in Rhodesia interrupted common service between the two countries.

**ETHIOPIA:** A committee of News Agency experts from 17 member states of the Organisation of African Unity has ended three-days of talks on

the establishment of a Pan-African News Agency in Addis Ababa.

**KENYA:** Kenya's Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Mr. Tom Mboya has warned that there could be no racial harmony without equality.

**GUINEA:** The Chief delegate of Guinea, Mr. Achkar Marof, has told the U.N. main Political Committee in New York of an imperialist plot against his country.

**ZAMBIA:** Britain's special envoy in East Africa and Central Africa, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, left Nairobi, Kenya, aboard a British Air Force plane for Lusaka today.

**ALGERIA:** The Chinese and Algerian Governments have signed a protocol, under which another Chinese medical team will be sent to Algeria.

### DECEMBER 10:

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The Johannesburg Afrikaans language newspaper "Die Transvaler" has said in an editorial today that the fascist South Africa Government had refused visas to two Dutch Journalists because "their purpose would merely be to launch a new attack" on South Africa.

**SENEGAL:** President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal returned home today after a six-day visit to Mali. He told reporters in a question put to him that he and President Modibo Keita of Mali has studied all current questions and their points of view if not identical were at least similar.

**KENYA:** A three-day celebration of the second anniversary of Kenya's independence began here today when President Jomo Kenyatta attended the world Premier of the film "Harambee".

**U.A.R.:** Sayed Sadek Al-Mahdi, leader of the Umma Party, the majority party in the Sudan Government, said in Cairo today that Sudanese confidence in the United Arab Republic had been restored.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Paul Martin, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, disclosed in London today that he had written to all the African members of the Commonwealth about the Rhodesian crisis, pleading with them to uphold the Commonwealth integrity and unity.

### DECEMBER 11:

**TANZANIA:** President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania today renewed his threat to break diplomatically with Britain over the Rhodesian crisis.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The apartheid Pretoria regime's "representative" to the United Nations Fourth Political Committee on apartheid was prevented from finishing his speech defending the fascist regime's obnoxious policies in South-West Africa.

### DECEMBER 12:

**U.A.R.:** Experts working on the Aswan Dam of the United Arab Republic, hope it may be completed by 1967, two years ahead of schedule, a senior spokesman on the project said at the site.

### DECEMBER 13:

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Defence speaking on "The Case for African Unity" at the School of Administration, analysing the present crisis in Britain's last colony in Central Africa declared that the Southern Rhodesian rebellion has made it clear that the establishment of a Union Government, a Union defence system and common development plan for Africa cannot and must not be delayed any longer.

**CONGO (Leopoldville):** President Joseph Mobutu of Congo (Leopoldville) has outlined a five-year plan for the country's economic recovery.

**ALGERIA:** The Algerian Prime Minister, Colonel Houari Boumediene arrived in Moscow today for a week's visit to the Soviet Union.

**MALI:** A Mali trade delegation, led by the Minister of Finance and Trade, Mr. Attahir Maida today started talks in Moscow on a Soviet-Mali trade protocol for 1966.

### DECEMBER 14:

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The National Council of Zambia's ruling United Party (U.N.P.) today accused British Prime Minister Harold Wilson of performing "political somersaults" and of now trying to negotiate with racist rebel Ian Smith,

**NIGERIA:** Mr. Diallo Telli Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity in his message sent to the first meeting of O.A.U.'s Scientific Technical Research Council, meeting in Lagos urged the O.A.U.'s scientific council to forge effective inter-African co-operation in the field of Science and the pace of economic development in the interest of their peoples.

**MAURITIUS:** British troops sent to Port Louis, Mauritius after bloody racial riots on the island in May began pulling out today.

### DECEMBER 15:

**GUINEA:** Guinea today broke off diplomatic relations with Britain and ordered the closure of the British Embassy in Conakry, forthwith.

**SOUTH-WEST AFRICA:** The United Nations General Assembly called up for probable action

today on a number of resolutions already adopted by committees for dealing with the explosive situations in apartheid South Africa and South-West Africa.

**U.A.R.:** Committee of the United Arab Republic National Assembly has called on the Government to curtail expenditure of luxuries, advertising and propaganda.

**MALAGASY:** Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia left Addis Ababa by air today on a four-day state visit to the Malagasy Republic.

**ZAMBIA:** The Resident Minister for Western Province of Zambia, Mr. A. B. Mutemba has said he would recommend to his Government to establish closer relations between Zambia and Singapore.

## Goodwill to all Men

Continued from page 1

including two Commonwealth countries, Ghana and Tanzania, have broken off diplomatic relations with Britain) the British Government was obliged to take sterner measures.

It stiffened its economic measures and sent an R.A.F. detachment to Zambia—though subject to the stipulation that it did not cross the frontier into Rhodesia.

There was speculation that its presence would prevent the use of Zambian airfields by aircraft carrying troops from other African countries which were determined on more resolute action.

Finally, as international pressure mounted it imposed an oil blockade—a measure which Mr. Wilson had at one stage described as impractical.

The effectiveness of this measure is, however, to say the least questionable unless it is extended to Mr. Smith's sympathetic neighbours, the Portuguese-dominated territories of South Africa.

It is clear that before long military intervention will become necessary if the lives and liberty of the African majority are to be protected and their democratic rights ensured.

Thus, for Africa, the lesson of 1965 which must be applied in 1966 is the lesson of anti-imperialist unity, both on a continental scale and within each country.

### EFFECTIVE ACTION

Mr. Smith was in no small measure emboldened to seize power, and Mr. Wilson encouraged to appease him, by the knowledge that the Organisation of African Unity is not yet a body geared for prompt and effective action.

The events of the latter part of 1965 in Zimbabwe are the clearest possible demonstration of the vital need to put teeth in the O.A.U. Charter, and to create a permanently functioning Executive Council along the lines proposed by Ghana at Accra, backed by an African High Command with forces at its disposal.

A number of African countries, including Ghana, which has alerted its armed forces and begun the creation of a People's Militia, have declared their willingness to put forces at the disposal of the O.A.U. for the liberation of our

brothers in Zimbabwe.

Such offers could have been taken up more speedily, and effective action taken more promptly, if there had already existed an all-African Command with plans drawn up ready for any contingency.

The lesson of unity applies too within each country. In Zimbabwe, the disunity between the main branches of the freedom movement, Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., has played into the hands of Mr. Smith. The restoration of the unity of the Zimbabwe freedom movement is a vital prerequisite for victory.

### NEGOTIATION

Indeed, it can with truth be said that the lesson of unity applies throughout the world. The forces of socialism, national liberation and peace are now so strong that if they are united and vigilant they can impose peace upon the forces driving for war.

The essence of the fight for peace is the fight to prevent world war and to enforce the settlement of international disputes by negotiation.

The main threat of war comes from imperialism. Every success of the national liberation movement weakens imperialism and strengthens the forces working for peace.

Likewise the world peace movement aids the national liberation struggle by curbing the aggressive actions of imperialism, by bringing the pressure of world public opinion to bear against military intervention. The fight for peace is the fight against imperialism.

The fight for peace and the fight for socialism are similarly interrelated.

On the one hand, only socialism can give the final guarantee of peace in the world; each country that moves to socialism makes world peace more secure.

On the other, peace is needed to provide the most favourable conditions for the building of socialism. The people of the world want to build socialism in a world of peace, not in a world devastated by nuclear war.

The struggle for peace, freedom and socialism can succeed if the enemies of imperialism are united. Never was the traditional slogan "Unity is Strength" more relevant than it is today, on the threshold of 1966.



# The 1961 Constitution—no Basis for Rhodesian Independence

By JACK WODDIS  
A Writer on African Affairs

THE Southern Rhodesian Premier, Mr. Smith, has staked his claim for independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. Acceptance of this constitution as the basis of independence was also a feature of the policy adopted at the British Conservative Party Conference in October 1965.

The resolution adopted on this matter declared, *inter alia*,

“... a solution will be found by negotiation on the basis of guaranteeing the 1961 Constitution which enshrines the principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule...”

On the other hand, the African people and their organisations and leaders have repeatedly rejected the 1961 Constitution, have refused to work it despite every kind of blandishment, and have emphasised time and again that they will never accept this constitution as the basis for independence.

Amidst all the discussions about the unilateral declaration of independence (U.D.I.) by Mr. Smith, many people have overlooked the realities of the 1961 Constitution, while others have mistakenly regarded it as a valuable reserve on which the British Government could have fallen back in the event of the settlers being deterred from taking the plunge.

## CONSTITUTION MAKERS

This, in fact, was the position taken by Wilson in his talks with the Rhodesian African leaders during his visit to Salisbury at the end of October. The official statements of the British Government spokesman after Mr. Wilson's first talks with Joshua Nkomo and N. Sithole (the leaders of Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U.) made it clear that Mr. Wilson claimed that he could persuade Mr. Smith to refrain from U.D.I. providing that the Africans agreed to work the 1961 Constitution.

It is therefore important to examine this Constitution in some detail, to see what it contains, and to examine to what extent it gives the African majority the possibility of achieving their democratic rights and self-determination.

The Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference was held from January 16th-24th, and January 30th to February 7th, 1961. It took place in Salisbury, under the chairmanship first, of Sir Edgar Whitehead, at that time Premier of Southern Rhodesia, and then, in its second phase, under Mr. Duncan Sandys, then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Present at the Conference were representatives of the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments, of the United Federal Party (the predominantly European party which was then in power in Southern Rhodesia), the other settlers' Party, the Dominion Party (well to the right of the reactionary United Federal Party), the National Democratic Party (including both Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole, who now lead Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. respectively), the small more liberal European party—the Central Africa Party, the Coloured Community (people of mixed racial origin), the Asians, and the Chiefs.

## NO CONCESSIONS

At the conclusion of their deliberations the delegates agreed on the basic principles for preparing a new Constitution for Southern Rhodesia. The Dominion Party, which was represented by four M.P.s, three of whom are now Ministers in Mr. Smith's government, was opposed to the franchise proposals, urging that “there should be no change insofar as this would involve a lowering of existing standards”, and advocating that “the present Lower Roll should be eliminated”.

In other words, Mr. Smith's colleagues were determined to prevent even the smallest con-

cession to the African people. The mass party of the African people, the National Democratic Party urged the



Joshua Nkomo  
Zimbabwe Leader

adoption of the principle of “one man one vote”, but the other delegates were opposed to this. In the event, the N.D.P. delegates initially agreed not to oppose the Constitution, but when the full meeting of the N.D.P. Executive Committee considered the matter in detail, it was decided to reject the 1961 Constitutional proposals.

These proposals were worked on by the British Government after the conclusion of the Constitutional Conference, and were presented to the British Parliament, in the form of a Southern Rhodesia Constitution, in June 1961.

In considering this Constitution, there are four main questions to examine:

1. the Declaration of Rights;
2. the Constitutional Council;
3. the Representation and Franchise; and
4. the question of Amendments to the Constitution and the Reserved Powers of the United Kingdom.

In examining these four questions one has perforce to examine in some detail the economic and social conditions of the African people, and the extent, if any, of democratic liberties. In all cases, this examination must be made within the context of a society based on the most blatant practice of racial discrimination.

## MISLEADING

The Declaration of Rights, which is embodied in the 1961 Constitution was supposed to have been inserted in order to protect the democratic rights of the people. The 1961 Constitution states:

“The Declaration of Rights... will state first of all the fundamental rights and freedoms to be enjoyed by the people of Southern Rhodesia. Such rights will apply without distinction of race, colour or creed... (Clause 38).

The Declaration itself, which is contained in Appendix 2 of the Constitution, refers (point b) to

“freedom of conscience, of expression, and of assembly and association”.

Section 9 of the Declaration states that

“no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference, and freedom from interference with his correspondence.”

Section 10 (1) states that “no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of assembly and association, that is to say, his right to assemble freely and associate with other persons and in particular to form or belong to trade unions or other associations for the protection of his interests.”

Section 11 (1) declares “No written law shall contain any discriminatory provision” and Section 11 (2) states that

a provision shall be regarded as discriminatory if persons of a particular description by race, tribe, colour or creed are prejudiced,

“by being subjected to a condition, restriction or disability to which persons of another such description are not made subject of, or by according to persons of another such description of a privilege or advantage which is not accorded to persons of the first-mentioned description.”

One has only to take a quick glance at what is the actual situation in Southern Rhodesia to appreciate how useless was this Declaration in practice. The white settler government had no intention of abiding by its provisions or its spirit; its inclusion in the 1961 Constitution was solely for the purpose of misleading British public opinion.

## REPRESSION

Freedom of association is specified in the Declaration of the 1961 Constitution—but every political party of the African people has been banned in turn. Trade unions are allowed, but European farmers prevent African agricultural labourers from forming trade unions; and for other African workers, the 1959 Industrial Conciliation Act provided for the setting up of so-called multi-racial unions in which votes of Grade A (journeymen—in practice, almost entirely European) count as eight times the votes of Grade C; and the Registrar is given powers to increase the representation of “skilled and minority” interests (i.e. European) on the union governing bodies from the branch level upwards.

Freedom of assembly is asserted in the Declaration—but when peaceful crowds assembled to greet their leader, Joshua Nkomo, during the visit of Mr. Wilson, the police attacked them and set fierce Alsatian police dogs on them.

Freedom of expression is likewise specified—but the *Daily News* has been suppressed, students were asked (unsuccessfully) to pledge themselves not to take part in politics, 18,000 Africans are in prison or detained, the former premier, Mr. Garfield Todd, is detained, and so is Z.A.P.U.'s European legal adviser, Mr. Baron.

A series of repressive laws makes a complete mockery of the Declaration. When the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act was passed in 1960, the then Federal Chief Justice, Sir Robert Tredgold, resigned, stating that the Act “will remove any lingering vestige of doubt whether Southern Rhodesia can properly be called a police state. It outrages every basic human right.”

## NEO-NAZI

This Act is still on the Statute book.

In May, 1961, the Catholic bishops of Southern Rhodesia issued a Pastoral Instruction, *Peace Through Justice* which declared that

“the doctrine of racial superiority as taught and practised by many in this country, differs little in essence from that of the Nazis...”

The Instruction went on to declare:

“Wages are inadequate, housing conditions in many instances are unworthy of human beings, terms of employment are such that husbands are separated for long periods from their families, and in many towns, locations and compounds, married quarters are so scarce that married workers pose as single men in

order to find employment or accommodation... Such a state of affairs cries to heaven for vengeance. For far too long has this state of affairs been allowed to exist without protest.”

A number of further repressive Acts and administrative measures have been since introduced. There are such Acts in operation in Southern Rhodesia as the Subversive Activities Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act, the Preventive Detention Act, and many others.

The London *New Statesmen* (22.10.65) has summed up the position of democratic rights in Southern Rhodesia in these terms:

“Any statement imputing an improper motive to the legislature, government, ministers, officer or department of government is *prima facie* subversive; so is any statement likely (even if not intended) to excite dissatisfaction against the government, or to induce any person, actively or passively, to resist any law. Any organisation or publication can be banned at the government's pleasure; any person can be restricted to any area for 5 years. The police can, without warrant enter any home in which they suspect a subversive statement may be made. The courts must impose minimum sentences for a wide range of convictions: 3-10 years for intimidation directed at opinion; 5-20 years for throwing, or threatening to throw, an article at a car; 2-7 years for boycott; the death penalty for arson against property. All these laws, and others, are drastically applied.”

## WHO RULES?

“But, for any white Rhodesian inclined to resist U.D.I. the final irony may be prosecution under the Preservation of Constitutional Government Act. This provides imprisonment for up to 20 years for any resident who, within or without Rhodesia, even suggests the creation of any body attempting to coerce the government—coercion being defined to include the mere threat of boycott or passive resistance to any law. This comprehensive law has extra-territorial effect: woe to any Rhodesian who, at a British teach-in let alone the U.N. campaigns against the Land Apportionment Act! Such penalties apply to anyone who seeks to aid even a single individual or to suggest the formation of a pressure group. Moreover, as with many other Rhodesian laws, the accused must prove his innocence.”

So much for the Declaration of Rights. The 1961 Constitution also established a new body, the Constitutional Council, whose job is to “advise the Legislative Assembly as to whether its Bills are in conformity with the Declaration of Rights”.

The setting up of this Council meant the elimination of most of the reserved powers concerning legislation in Southern Rhodesia which had hitherto been vested in the Government of the United Kingdom.

For nearly forty years, ever since the original 1923 Act, the British Government, despite its reserved powers, had done nothing to stop the appalling practice of racial discrimination and anti-democratic repression which was such a feature of the political scene in Southern Rhodesia.

The new Constitutional Council has proved of similar “usefulness” to the African people, and to those few pro-

gressive Europeans who are opposed to the white settler Government.

Why is this so? Why have these provisions of the Constitution proved valueless?

It is simply a question of political power. The decisive state power—the armed forces, the police, the machinery of law and government—remains in the hands of the representatives of the 220,000 Europeans; and the four million Africans are effectively deprived of any say in their own country.

It is this which explains the racial discrimination and repression. It is this which explains why the economic wealth of the country—the best land, the mineral resources, the sources of power, banking, insurance, manufacturing and so on—are in the hands of Europeans, while Africans starve on a wretched pittance.

## DISCRIMINATION

The 1961 Constitution is therefore a sham and a deception. The Tory Party Conference resolution claimed that African progress towards majority rule is “enshrined” in the 1961 Constitution. Similar claims have been made by Mr. Wilson in his TV broadcast setting out his five principles; and by other political spokesmen in Britain and in Southern Rhodesia.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The 1961 Constitution was designed to maintain white minority domination, and nothing makes this more clear than the franchise and electoral provisions which are the heart of this Constitution.

These provisions are so blatantly discriminatory in their purpose that the first act of the new Constitutional Council—if it was really to carry out the job for which it was ostensibly established—would have been to challenge the franchise and electoral arrangements laid down in the Constitution as being a direct violation of the Declaration of Rights included in that same Constitution.

The 1961 Constitution introduced a most elaborate system for elections designed to block any possibility of the Africans becoming the decisive voice in the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly.

Under the new arrangements, there are two electoral rolls, “A” and “B”. Roll “A” elects 50 Members of the Legislative Assembly, and Roll “B” elects 15. It is therefore obvious that ability to get on to the “A” Roll is decisive.

## VOTES FARCE

To be eligible for either Roll, one must be over 21 years of age, be a citizen of the country, have residence and language qualifications. But to be on the “A” Roll one must have the following additional qualifications:

(a) Income of £720 during each of two years preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £1,500.

OR

(b) (i) Income of £480 during each of two years preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £1,000; and

(ii) completion of a course of primary education of prescribed standard.

OR

(c) (i) Income of £300 during each of two years preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £500; and

(ii) four years' Secondary

education of prescribed standard.

OR

(d) Appointment to the office of Chief or Headman.

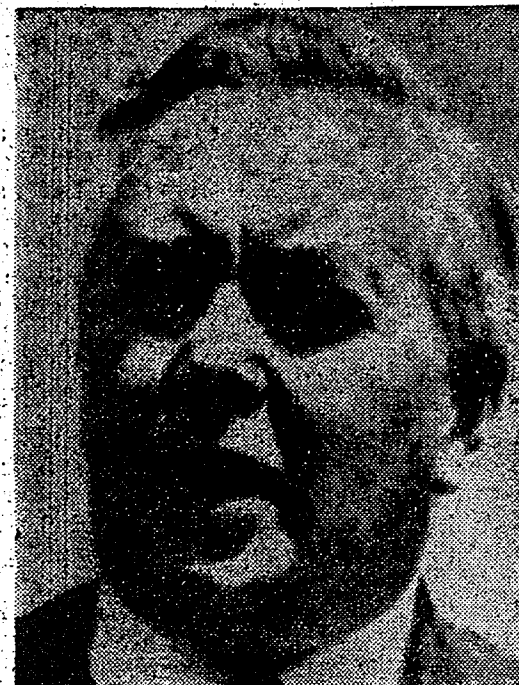
(See *Southern Rhodesian Constitution: Summary of Proposed Changes—Crund. 1399*)

The first thing to be noticed about these categories (apart from (d) which only concerns a few hundred Chiefs and Headmen) is that the higher your income, the lower is the educational qualification required.

Despite all the propaganda of Smith and Co. that the “Africans are not yet educated enough to vote”, the

ing on the “A” Roll by virtue of their low income levels. But this is not only a case of racial discrimination; it is also a case of class discrimination, since the provisions enable a small handful of better off Africans to qualify, but debar the workers and peasants, who are the overwhelming majority.

The Rhodesian Government pretends that these income disabilities of the Africans have nothing to do with racial discrimination. A hand-out of the Southern Rhodesia Information Service (*This is Southern Rhodesia*) argues that “people of any race may qualify for either roll.” It adds



Mr. Wilson supports 1961 Constitution

highest income category—£720 a year—does not need any education whatsoever! You can be an illiterate fool—but if you are rich you can vote.

## RICH AND POOR

It has been claimed by supporters of the white settlers that the franchise terms are not discriminatory since they do not refer to categories by race but only by education and income and property.

An examination of what these income and educational qualifications mean in practice shows only too clearly that they are blatantly discriminatory.

Let us examine income first. The average earnings of the European workers in 1961, when the Constitution was drawn up, were £1036.16s.0d. a year and for the 612,573 African wage workers were £75.12s.0d. Over half the African workers, mainly those in agriculture, earned less than £5 a month.

Thus the average earnings of European wage and salary workers was above the maximum income qualification for the “A” Roll, and the average of the African was below the minimum qualification.

An analysis made in 1964, shows that at the time of the 1961 September Census out of 612,573 African employees, only 6,100, or less than one per cent, received £25 a month or more—the lowest income qualifying figure for getting on to the “A” Roll.

The latest figures show average earnings for African workers (including payments in kind which are not included in the income levels for purposes of registering for voting) as £121 a year, and for European workers, £1241 a year. Most African workers receive much less than £121.

## AFRICANS INELIGIBLE

The majority of Africans in Southern Rhodesia are not workers but peasants. According to Dr. Montague Yudelman (*Africans on the Land*) average cash earnings of African subsistence farmers are £4 per head per year. Other estimates give £12 per family holding, which, when one takes into account the number of people living off a family holding, works out at even less than Dr. Yudelman's estimate.

It is therefore clear that the majority of Africans are entirely ineligible for register-

that “no one is barred from the vote by reason of race.”

It conveniently forgets to point out that it is white minority Government which wields effective power—and that this power enables it to enact Minimum Wage Regulations, based on a “Poverty Datum Line” system, which lays down a minimum wage of £9.10s. a month (including £1 for accommodation) for workers employed in the towns—with a lower level in the countryside.

It fails to point out that employment for Africans means employment in European concerns which naturally keep to the abysmally low minimum wage regulations of the Government.

In the same way, the white settlers' Government has enacted the Land Apportionment Act which deprives the 4 million Africans of nearly half the land in Southern Rhodesia, confining them to small six-acre plots on the worst, sandy soils.

In addition, as Patrick Keatley has pointed out (*The Politics of Partnership*), the Tobacco Marketing Board uses its powers to prevent African farmers growing the higher-revenue Virginia type tobaccos; an African selling maize to the Grain Marketing Board receives only about two-thirds of the price given to the European farmer, since the African has to pay three special levies—for the Native Development Fund, for a traders' handling margin, and for a “transport equalisation fund charge”.

## CROPS AND CASH

Under the terms of the Hippo Valley Agreement which provides for sugar production by a private company from the irrigated area, the Agreement signed with the Government states:

“The Government shall assist the Company with the selection of suitable settlers, all of whom shall be of European origin”.

Thus the political power in the hands of the white minority, enables it at very point of the economy to ensure that every African incomes are held down, not only in the interests of high rate of profits, but also to prevent all but a few Africans to qualify for registration on the decisive “A” Roll.

And if, at any time, it appears that more Africans than were intended are creep-



# Rhodesia 1961 Constitution

Continued from page 3

ing up towards a higher income level, the Government under the terms of the 1961 Constitution simply increases the income qualifications.

When one comes to examine the "B" Roll, here the income qualifications are considerably lower, ranging from £240 a year down to £120. The details of the "B" Roll qualifications in the 1961 Constitution were stated as follows:

was introduced, the enrolment of African students in all secondary schools in Southern Rhodesia was as follows:

	Government		Mission		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Form I	604	218	1,327	390	2,539
Form II	318	127	919	253	1,617
Form III	108	18	278	40	444
Form IV	95	13	235	21	364
Lower VI	67	4	—	—	71
Upper VI	30	4	—	—	34
	1,222	384	2,759	704	5,069

(a) Income at the rate of £240 per annum during the 6 months preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £450.

OR

(b) (i) Income at the rate of £120 per annum during the six months preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £250; and (ii) two years' secondary education.

OR

(c) Persons over 30 years of age with: (i) Income at the rate of £120 per annum during the six months preceding date of claim for enrolment or ownership of immovable property of value of £250; and (ii) completion of a course of primary education of a prescribed standard.

OR

(d) Persons over 30 years of age with: Income at the rate of £180 per annum during the six months preceding the date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £350.

OR

(e) All kraal heads with a following of 20 or more heads of families.

OR

(f) Ministers of Religion. Even here, however, it will be noticed that the lowest income level is on a par with the average earnings of African workers, and it is therefore instructive to find that in September 1964, the Southern Rhodesian Government simply increased the income qualifications on both rolls by 10 per cent, thus making the minimum on the "A" Roll now £330, and on the "B" Roll £132. Thus, once again, the lowest minimum on both rolls is above the average wage of the African worker.

### THE OLD TRICK

The question of raising the income qualification, so as to keep Africans off the register is an old trick of the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia. In 1898, before there was a two-roll system, there was a single income qualification of £50 a year. In 1912 it was raised to £100; in 1951, to £240. A further raise was made in 1958.

Since 1961, with the introduction of the two-roll system, no increases in the income qualification had taken place until September 1964. By the increases introduced then, the Smith Government indicated that it was still ready to play the traditional trick.

No matter what the Africans do, the elusive right to vote is effectively kept out of the reach of the majority of the people, and if they seem to be approaching near to their goal, then once again the white settlers remove the goal a bit further away.

The Africans can never win on this basis. One might just as well play football against a team which has the power to change the rules every time you come near to scoring!

The same discrimination is shown in relation to the question of education. The lowest income category on the "A" Roll requires an educational qualification of four years' Secondary education.

At the end of 1961, at the time that the Constitution laying down these conditions

From the above figures one can see that for the decisive Form IV there was a total of only 364 pupils. By 1964, this figure had crept to 655; with a total of only 35 in the Upper Sixth form.

Thus, even if Africans can climb into that group of better-off citizens earning £330 a year, only a handful of them can pass the educational qualifications.

Official estimates project that by 1973 there will be about 3,500 African children in Form IV of secondary schools; by 1970, according to present plans about 12,000 Africans will have emerged from school with some secondary education.

These figures show conclusively that at the present rate of advance it will be decades before anything like sufficient Africans pass the educational barrier to getting on to the "A" Roll.

At present some 60,000 Europeans are registered on the "A" Roll. Even if 3,000 Africans a year passed through Standard IV of secondary school, it would take at least twenty years to reach the European figure on the "A" Roll.

On the basis of the 1964 figure of 655 African Form IV pupils, it would take nearly a hundred years. And even then, the African might still not qualify because of his inability to reach the minimum income level.

As with income levels, the Rhodesian Government tries to argue that the lower educational qualifications of the Africans are not due to racial discrimination practised by the Government. Once again, it avoids admitting that it is its own educational policy which is responsible.

Although the African people have to pay for education, the Government spends its educational funds on a blatantly discriminatory basis. For the 1964-65 school year, the Government of Southern Rhodesia spent an average of £110 per European child, compared with £9 12s. per African child. Thus, the bulk of African children have to depend on the charity-backed missionary schools.

Although admittedly Africans over 30 years of age, with an income qualification of £132 a year, can qualify for the "B" Roll on the basis of completion of a course of solely primary education of a prescribed standard, it counts for very little, for even if half a million Africans so qualified, the "B" Roll can only elect 15 out of 65 Members of the Legislative Assembly.

### FALSE CLAIMS

Thus, in every way, the franchise and representation clauses of the 1961 Constitution are heavily weighted against the Africans and provide no basis for African majority rule, nor any guarantee of any unimpeded progress in that direction, and certainly of no speedy progress.

It has been claimed that 100,000 Africans could register under the existing Constitution. This claim is not supported by any statistical or scientific survey—and even if one accepts this dubious figure it represents only about 24 per cent of the African population.

Further, the facts are that in the last elections, in 1964 there were only 2,263 Africans on the "A" Roll and 10,466 on the "B" Roll—a total of 12,729, or 0.325 per cent of the African population.

Estimates have been freely thrown around to the effect

that Africans could have majority rule under the present Constitution within 15 years. Other estimates put it as high

as 50 years. Neither of these figures is based on any scientific analysis.

If they are supposed to refer to the numbers of African voters on the "B" Roll, then the claim is valueless, since no matter how many Africans are on this Roll they can only elect under 24 per cent of the Members of the Assembly.

power and the possibility to change or suspend the Constitution?

The white settlers and their supporters make a dubious claim, based on past practice or "convention", that the British Government has no legal right to intervene.

They further argue that the 1961 Constitution gives the Southern Rhodesian Government the right to amend the Constitution by a simple two-thirds majority of the Legislative Assembly—and, naturally enough, they are relying on the discriminatory electoral system prescribed in the 1961 Constitution to grant them their 50 seats out of 65—sufficiently more than the two-thirds figure of 44.

Prior to the 1961 Constitution of Southern Rhodesia without the approval of the United Kingdom, the 1961

to take the form of a simple majority of votes in a separate referendum for each community.

"Until there are 50,000 Africans registered as voters, Africans over 21 years of age, who have completed a course of primary education of prescribed standard, will be entitled to vote in the African referendum."

If the Government does not wish to hold a referendum, then it has to "seek the approval of the United Kingdom Government for the constitutional changes" it desires.

The incredible thing about this procedure is that, providing that the Southern Rhodesian Government can persuade or cajole 50,000 Africans to register, and can persuade or cajole 25,001 of these to support a worsening of the Constitution, then the Southern Rhodesian minority Govern-

stated in the House, in reply to a question from Mr. Michael Foot on this matter, that Mr. Smith was prepared to release the leaders provided that they gave a satisfactory assurance "that they would now revert to purely constitutional means of political activity."

Mr. Wilson, when making this statement, must have been aware of the fact that practically every means of normal political activity is barred to the Africans; their parties have been banned, one after the other, over 35,000 people have been detained, publications have been suppressed, and meetings are restricted.

In addition a major form of political activity, voting, is denied to at least 97½ per cent of the African people. What, then, can Mr. Wilson mean by referring to "constitutional means of political activity" other than working the 1961 Constitution?

### BRITISH POWERS

There remains only the question of the British Government's overriding powers. In the Report of the Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference (Cmd. 1291) it states (para 34):

"The Southern Rhodesia Government asked that the United Kingdom Government should initiate to provide that, in future, Parliament at Westminster would not legislate for Southern Rhodesia, except at request of the Government of Southern Rhodesia, in regard to any matter within the competence of the Legislative Assembly."

The Report then runs: "The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations took note of this request without commitment."

In other words, the British Government did not surrender to the Southern Rhodesian Government Britain's power to legislate for Southern Rhodesia. These powers indubitably remain with the British Parliament, which can either legislate for Southern Rhodesia or suspend the existing Constitution.

Southern Rhodesia, from a legal standpoint, is still a colony, and the British Parliament still has sovereign powers to legislate for Southern Rhodesia. This has been underlined recently by Professor Stanley Smith, Professor of Public Law at the University of London:

"The Rhodesian Legislature, even by a two-thirds majority,

is incompetent to restrict the ultimate sovereignty of the United Kingdom Parliament or the powers of the Queen in Council by asserting that Laws for Rhodesia cannot be operative there without the Rhodesian Government's consent. If it purported to impose such a restriction it would be told unambiguously that sovereignty was sovereignty and that bootstraps were bootstraps." (Guardian, 27.10.65).

From the above analysis of the 1961 Constitution, several things are abundantly clear.

First, it is a Constitution designed to perpetuate the domination of 220,000 white settlers over four million Africans.

Secondly, it lays down a franchise and electoral procedure deliberately aimed at preventing the African people almost indefinitely from securing a democratic system of majority rule, and of one man, one vote.

Thirdly, the sections of the Constitution which are supposed to protect the democratic liberties of the people are not worth the paper they are written on, since effective political power is in the hands of an anti-democratic minority.

Fourthly, the sections of the Constitution which are supposed to check the practice of racial discrimination are similarly not worth the paper they are written on, since again effective political power is in the hands of a group of white racialists.

Fifthly, there are provisions in the Constitution which enable the white minority Government of Southern Rhodesia to make the Constitution still worse.

The 1961 Constitution must be scrapped. The British Government must use whatever measures are necessary in order to ensure that an arrogant minority clique can no longer stand in the way of the African people's just demand for majority rule.

No tinkering with the 1961 Constitution will do, for what is at stake is a fundamental question of political power. Shall power continue to lie in the hands of a racist, anti-democratic minority? Or shall it pass into the hands of a democratic majority? The best interests of the British and African people demand that it be the latter.



Smith's racist regime terrorises and imprisons all those who resist his repressive policies.

If it is meant in relation to the decisive "A" Roll, then it is a false claim since there is no way of estimating how fast the white minority will allow African annual incomes to advance towards the £330 minimum.

Past experience shows that everything will be done by the settler government to prevent Africans ever advancing to a position of being able to exert their democratic will on the body politic of the country.

From what has been said above it should be clear that the African people are completely justified in refusing to work this fraudulent Constitution and in demanding its suspension and the drawing up of a new Constitution based on the democratic principle of universal adult franchise or, to give it its popular term—one man, one vote.

It is not out of place to recall, in this matter, that in March, 1963 Mr. Wilson declared in respect of the 1961 Southern Rhodesia Constitution:

"We have said that no constitution is defensible which fails to allow the people of those territories to control their own destinies. We have bitterly attacked the Southern Rhodesian Constitution for that, and a Labour Government would therefore alter it—we've made that very, very plain."

Mr. Wilson has now gone back on this pledge, as he has on so many others.

The final question is: Has the British Government the

Constitution did away with this absolute right, but laid down the following procedure.

First, the Southern Rhodesian Government must secure the British Government's approval for any amendments affecting

(a) the position of the Sovereign and the Governor;

(b) the right of the United Kingdom Government to safeguard the position regarding:

(i) international obligations;

(ii) undertakings given by the Government of Southern Rhodesia in respect of loans under the Colonial Stock Acts."

Secondly, the 1961 Constitution gives the right to the Southern Rhodesian Government to make other amendments if it secures a two-thirds majority for these in the Assembly; but such amendments do not affect what is termed the "basic clauses".

These "basic clauses" include Clause 12, which expressly forbids the elimination from the "A" or "B" Rolls of any person who was eligible for inclusion under the 1961 terms.

If the Southern Rhodesian Government wishes to make such changes, it must, in addition to securing a vote of two-thirds of the Legislative Assembly, secure the agreement separately of "the four principal racial communities (i.e. European, African, Asian and Coloured)", the agreement

ment can do this, no matter if the other 159/160ths of the four million Africans are opposed.

But this procedure only covers the question of which people are allowed to register for "A" or "B" Roll; it does not cover the question of the number of Members of the Legislative Assembly.

"The Legislative Assembly, by a vote of two-thirds majority of its total membership, will have power to amend the composition of the Assembly" (Cmd. 1399—Para. 11).

In other words, as Mr. Wilson admitted in the House of Commons when reporting on his visit to Southern Rhodesia (see The Times 2.11.65) "an independent Rhodesian Parliament, without check or constitutional hindrance" could reduce the "B" Roll seats from 15 to one or increase to 100 the "A" Roll seats, and thus postpone for many years the achievement of majority rule."

And it is this Constitution which Mr. Wilson has been trying to persuade the African national leaders to accept as a basis on which to co-operate!

The African national leaders have stood firm, despite the considerable pressure and bullying to which they have been subjected. They have been faced with a virtual ultimatum: "Accept the 1961 Constitution or stay in detention."

Mr. Wilson has not only refused to press for the release of the political prisoners, but

## African Dairy

(Continued from Page 2)

DECEMBER 16: GHANA: President Nkrumah has called on the Organisation of African Unity to create and develop the essential machinery for African Unity.

U.A.R.: The United Arab Republic Government won a unanimous vote of confidence on its home and Foreign Policies at the end of two-day debate in the National Assembly in Cairo.

ZAMBIA: Zambia Finance Minister, Mr. Arthur Wina, said in Lusaka today that Zambia tobacco production could be stimulated following sanctions on Southern Rhodesian tobacco.

MOROCCO: Lawyers for Abdel Khatib, Ben Barka, brother of Moroccan socialist leader Mehdi Ben Barka, kidnapped six weeks ago in Paris, France, have asked that the French Interior Minister, Mr. Roger Frey be called to give evidence in the case.

DECEMBER 17: GHANA: Osagyefo the President has urged the youth of Africa to play a vital role towards the development of science, education, literature, art and culture in the new Africa now emerging

from the shackles of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

\* The United Nations Special Political Committee has approved Ghana's motion against Britain's request for an amendment to the U.N. machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes.

\* Members of Parliament today criticised sharply the British Government's handling of the Southern Rhodesia rebellion and called on Commonwealth countries to expel Britain forthwith from the club.

\* The Ghana High Commissioner in London has been instructed to "tidy-up things" and return home immediately following Ghana's decision to sever diplomatic relations with Britain. Foreign Minister, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey announced in the National Assembly in Accra today.

NIGERIA: The Organisation of African Unity's Scientific Council has called on African countries to give priority to the training of scientific and research workers at all levels.

UGANDA: A Federal German national, Mr. Burkhard Funke, has been deported from Uganda for subversive activities, a Government spokesman announced in Kampala.

KENYA: Kenya's Commerce and Industry Minister, Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, has told a Zambian trade delegation in Nairobi that improved road communications between African countries are an important step towards increasing their trade relations.



# The Myth of Capitalism (6)

by Ron Bellamy

IN a world of Cold War, where United States senators talk daily of the 'containment of Communism' and 'the menace of socialist tyranny', and the necessity to save the world for the freedom of the free enterprise system, it is at first sight strange to find the newest myth that not only is capitalism advancing gradually towards socialism, but, on the other hand, the socialist states are 'moving back to capitalism'.

It will perhaps seem less strange if one reflects on the practical conclusion drawn—that since the two systems are converging anyway into a single type of system (needless to say its exact form is not precisely stated but words such as *Etatism*, *Statism*, *Collectivism* are not uncommon), there is no need to struggle against capitalism or for socialism.

In short, such a myth theoretically disarms and thus in practice emasculates the opponents of imperialism.

With the first part of this argument—that capitalism is gradually changing into socialism—we have dealt already at length. Let us now turn to its other assertion—that socialist economies are 'going back to capitalism'. This assertion breaks up into a number of separate, but connected, arguments.

## THE FIRST ARGUMENT

The alleged appearance of a new capitalist class is the oldest and most prevalent of the 'proofs'. In the days of the New Economic Policy under Lenin in the early 1920's, when a temporary tactical retreat permitted the temporary re-emergence of the capitalist class in limited fields, the opponents of socialism, at that time unable to conceive of the workability of any other economic system, were quick to say that universal economic laws were asserting themselves and that capitalism would soon be restored. In our times the new capitalist class is an assertion that comes more frequently from the left, though the supporters of capitalism, who ought to be pleased if it were true, are not slow to propagate it. It takes a number of forms.

The first is a variant of the 'Argument of the Managerial Revolution' which was analysed in our second article. It claims "Under socialism, as under capitalism, the ownership of the means of production is irrelevant. In both systems (or rather in the common new type of system) economic power has passed into the hands of a class of bureaucrats whose driving force is the lust for power. Such tycoons are as typical of large scale Soviet industry as they are of the giant enterprise under private ownership".

No one would doubt that the building of a planned economy in an economically underdeveloped country, acutely short of highly trained labour and of people devoted to socialism is likely to lead to centralisation of decisions; nor that, in countries with a long history of bureaucracy, some of the features alleged in the myth can and have appeared. But what is also beyond doubt is that the form of ownership of the means of production proved in the end the strongest force.

The managers were not able to convert any temporary positions of privilege or high incomes into a permanent basis for economic privilege and power. It was the owners of the means of production, the people, who finally disciplined and tamed them, who began to root out bureaucracy as the material conditions, which had made for over centralisation, began to be changed. Just as under capitalism it is the owners who finally appoint and control the managers, so under socialism. In both cases the managers manage on behalf of the owners: the difference is between ownership by a minority and ownership by the majority. Of course there are those, whom Marx much earlier dubbed *petty-bourgeois* or *anarchistic socialists*, who believe that management can be done directly by elected

committees of workers in each enterprise responsible only to the workers of that enterprise. This is petty-bourgeois because it elevates the interests of sections of workers (especially those who happen to be employed in particularly favoured industries or factories and thus enjoying a privileged position) above the interests of workers as a whole.

It is anarchistic, because it is drawn from a picture of economic development where all production is on a small scale and where the problem of financing huge modern enterprises and co-ordinating their production does not arise. We can all agree that the problem of finding forms of control and management which combine personal responsibility of the manager, representing the interests of the state and of the people as a whole, and the initiative of the workers in a particular enterprise is not easy to solve and has to be continually solved again and again as the technical conditions of production change.

Alongside this argument, and often reinforcing it, goes the view that "big differences in income are proof of the re-emergence of capitalism. Managers, party bureaucrats and others in leading positions form an elite which lives in a manner entirely different from that of the people". Again, we shall not argue that such tendencies have never appeared.

The people who build socialism are not some abstract human beings: they "came from the womb of capitalist society and bear all the birth marks of their origin". But what is significant is not that such tendencies appeared (only a naive utopian who has never led real people would suppose otherwise); what is significant is that they are a declining force and that the ideology of socialist society condemns such tendencies and struggles, with increasing success to eradicate them.

## OWNERSHIP INEQUALITIES

However, it is also necessary to answer those who believe that income differences, even considerable ones, are a violation of socialist principles. This argument was already long ago considered theoretically by Marx in *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*. Bourgeois inequality, or differences of income between those who live from work and those who live from ownership of private property, is eliminated by taking means of production into common ownership. This is the main form of inequality in class divided societies. Socialist society establishes the egalitarian principles that all shall be paid according to work. There is thus only one source of income—work.

So long as society is relatively poor, and the main aim is to expand its resources, those who contribute more shall receive more. There remains here an element of inequality, since not all people are able to contribute the same. But that inequality can be finally eliminated only at the higher stage of economic development, when wealth flows in abundance, and people are equally willing to work. What Marx could not fully foresee was that in the underdeveloped countries which first established socialism, the need to remedy as fast as possible the acute shortage of skilled labour demanded high rewards for those who under conditions of great hardship and sacrifice were willing to acquire new skills after ordinary working days. But once the growth of the economy permitted the training at state expense, of skilled labour by the normal, full time educational system, and the acute shortage of skill diminished, so does the narrowing of differentials begin, and the improvements which greater productivity makes possible, go primarily to the lower-paid.

Finally, it is argued that a rising standard of living generates bourgeois values, a love of material things, and a decline of respect for the higher values. Such arguments come most frequently, in the present

writer's experience, from those who have never known severe material poverty. The view that poverty is ennobling, is an argument advanced in all class societies to persuade the poor that they are rich. A rise in the material level of society is a necessary condition for the brotherhood of man. And on that basis socialist societies have begun to develop a richness and variety of cultural life and devotion to the higher values which capitalism does not even approach.

## THE SECOND ARGUMENT

In recent years, as the methods of management and planning of the socialist economies have changed with the increased complexity of the productive process, with greater variety of goods, and with the greater availability of trained personnel, it is argued that the use of such categories as 'wages', 'prices', 'profits', 'accumulation', 'capital', 'investment' proves that the economy is capitalist.

It would no doubt be better if the economists of socialist countries were to invent new words for new things, and abandon words which have for so long been associated with categories of capitalist economy. It is no doubt true that when the Bible said 'what shall it profit a man...' the profit was not capitalist profit. Thus we are familiar with the use of the same word to refer to a fundamentally different content.

The bourgeois economist has become so used to the use of abstract categories taken entirely out of the social context of property relations that he may genuinely see no difference between profits in a capitalist and a socialist economy. For, after all, are not the profits of an enterprise under socialism, as under capitalism, simply the difference between its receipts and its costs? The emphasis on formal similarity instead of upon essential, fundamental differences, is the key to this mode of argument. But let us look at the essential differences.

In a capitalist society the profit of a large monopoly concern is based on receipts which are the results of monopoly prices, while costs are based upon raw materials bought at cheap prices from weaker producers, and upon the exploitation of labour. The profit is the income of a small minority of society. If they use it to add to the wealth of the enterprise by ploughing back profits, that does not make the added wealth the property of society, as is implied by those who assert, again abstractly that all societies accumulate wealth by consuming less than they produce. The newly added wealth like the old, remains the property of the capitalists.

In a socialist society, where the aim is to use society's labour most effectively, an enterprise which reduces its costs by more efficient use of resources while maintaining standard conditions of labour safety, and wages, is performing a public service. If its management and its workers receive a financial incentive, in the form of a small proportion of what they have saved for society and the rest of the 'profit' goes back to society for social disposal, it is hard to see what similarity of content there is between this and capitalist profit.

The same is true of 'Wages'. Wages in capitalist society are the payment by the minority owners of the means of production to the majority (the workers) for the purchase of the labour power of the latter. This labour power is then used to produce more than it was paid, and a surplus extracted from its employment. This is possible (a) because labour is able, in all class societies, to produce more than its own subsistence (b) because the bargaining position of labour, deprived of ownership of means of production is not strong enough to demand and obtain more.

In a socialist society where there is a market for consumer goods and therefore wages are paid in money, this payment has the same form as in

capitalist society: it is a payment in money for the performance of work; the worker also receives from his enterprise in the form of wages less than he produced in the form of goods. But the difference of essence is that he receives the rest back as a member of society, as one of the common owners of the means of production. Any surplus is the property of society, the property of all its citizens for them to dispose of in whatever way they collectively decide. Some of this will be devoted to collective consumption, that is for education, for social services. Some of it will be accumulated and added to society's stock of means of production for the further advancement of labour, productivity and thus for raising tomorrow's standard of living. This socialist accumulation is under the control of society.

The same myth which presents to us the end of capitalist imperialism also asserts the emergence of a new 'socialist imperialism'. Such terms as 'Soviet bloc', 'satellite countries' already a long time ago postulated the domination by the U.S.S.R. of other socialist countries. Later, the newly emergent Third World is said to be exploited by the socialist countries as a whole. To deal with this argument in detail would require a much longer article, but at least some of the essentials can be shown to be false.

Not only can it be shown theoretically that a socialist economy, so far from needing to export capital abroad in the search for profit, needs every scrap of accumulation

it can save from its own production for internal use, but it can be shown practically that socialist countries do not own enterprises abroad. It is worth recalling also that the first colonial countries to be liberated from imperialism were the oppressed nationalities of the 'prison house of nations' of the former Tsarist Empire. This, among the first acts of the first socialist revolution, was followed by a plan of economic development of the multi-national state which advanced them more rapidly than the country as a whole.

The pattern of economic relations between the socialist states which are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) can be usefully compared with that between members of the European Common Market, or between members of the IMF and the World Bank. In the CMEA all states, irrespective of size, have the same vote, and decisions must be unanimous. In the IMF and the World Bank voting rights depend upon contribution, and since the richest imperialist states make the biggest contributions they effectively control the organisations. In the ECE, voting is to be by majority, and clearly, since the most powerful members own many important enterprises in the weaker, the votes of the smaller will not be independent. Trade between socialist countries, despite very big initial differences in levels of economic development, is not one in which the most developed export manufactures and the least developed export raw materials. Both are exported by all

members. Certainly there is growing division of labour, but not on the basis of that between the colonial and imperialist countries. The gap between the socialist countries does not, like that between developing and developed countries, become ever wider.

There is however one respect in which modern capitalist economies are 'converging' towards socialism. The way in which the productive forces have been developed by capitalism demands, for the fullest realisation of their existing potentialities, a form of social ownership to match the social nature of production. This contradiction between the increasingly social character of production and the aims of private profit, between the increased planning of complex social production at the level of the individual capitalist enterprise and the anarchy of production in a society as a whole, was brilliantly described by Engels already ninety years ago. (*Socialism Utopian and Scientific Part III*).

In our time this contradiction becomes ever sharper and more blatant. We live at the beginning of an epoch of scientific and technical progress which demands ever larger enterprises, an ever more complex division of labour and planning for long distances ahead, not least of all in science itself. Shall these gigantic accumulations become still greater concentrations of private monopoly power, whether owned by giant corporations or by the monopoly capitalist state? The search for monopoly profits hinders that planned exchange of

knowledge and co-operation which is at the heart of scientific advance. Monopolistic rivalry leads to waste and duplication of facilities. The concentration of wealth and purchasing power prevents the people from buying the increased output of their increasingly productive labour. The monopolist drive for domination leads to war, absorbing vast quantities of resources and threatening to destroy most of humanity's painfully accumulated wealth.

Monopoly capitalism is thus 'ripe'—indeed long 'over-ripe'—in respect to the technical conditions for planned socialist production. But there is no gradual convergence. What there is, and what is becoming increasingly decisive, is a competition between capitalism and socialism for the mental and moral allegiance of humanity. In that struggle the victory will go to that system which can fastest use the vast potentialities of modern sciences for human benefit. But the stages in the struggle will be the construction of further socialist economies in new countries, both in developing and already developed countries. In both cases that construction will have to overcome by political struggle the most powerful vested interests—the monopoly owners of the means of production of imperialist states. And a part of that political struggle is the struggle to destroy the myths which comprise imperialist ideology.

## ERRATUM

Last week's article in this series should have been numbered '5'.

# PNEUMANT

## It is a comfortable feeling...



FOR CARS



FOR TRUCKS



FOR AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY

when you know that you can rely upon something. With PNEUMANT tyres you can also rest assured. PNEUMANT tyres achieve exceptionally high mileage rates. They are available in various sizes and with different treads. When it is a matter of seconds you can depend upon PNEUMANT for absolute safety.

**Available through:**

C.F.A.O. Motors Accra	United Africa Company Accra
--------------------------	--------------------------------



**EXPORTERS:**



**TRANSPORTMASCHINEN EXPORT-IMPORT**  
DEUTSCHER INNEN-UND AUSSENWADEL-TOB-BERLIN/DDR

Taubenstrasse 11-13/German Democratic Republic

Further information from:  
Economic and Trade Mission of the German Democratic Republic  
in the Republic of Ghana, P.O. Box 2348, off Farrar Avenue,  
C. 616/3, Accra — Phone 62157/64558.



# Bonn Prepares for Aggressive War

I SHALL in this article deal with the propaganda for aggressive war in West Germany, including in particular the encouragement given to "revenge" associations of former inhabitants of territories lost to Germany as a result of the Second World War and to Veterans' Associations of members of such criminal bodies as the S.S.; and I shall go on to show the legislative steps that the West German Government is taking to equip itself in peacetime with dictatorial powers similar to those that the same ruling-class gave to Hitler just over thirty years ago, in order—both then and again now to enable the government to crush all resistance to its large scale mobilisation for aggressive war, and to carry through such mobilisation more rapidly and effectively and under a cover of legality.

The problem of the "re-settlers", i.e., of how to deal with the members of the German minorities from the lost territories who came back into Germany after the war—mostly from Poland but also from Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.—was a real one.

For a defeated country honestly seeking to observe the terms of the Potsdam Agreement and desirous of living at peace with its neighbours, the right course was clearly to help the newcomers to settle quickly in the country and find useful work, and thus to become integrated with the rest of the population.

## REVANCHISM

This course was sincerely followed in the Soviet Occupation Zone and in the German Democratic Republic which was established to take over that Zone in 1948.

As a result, there is no longer any serious re-settler problem there, and certainly no propaganda for the reconquest of the lost territories nor any spirit of "revanchism" (revanchism is a word not easy to translate into English; it means in effect: "a policy of aggressive revenge for defeat in war").

On the contrary, the German Democratic Republic enjoys friendly and peaceful relations with its Eastern and South-Eastern neighbours, for perhaps the first time in German history.

Another way to deal with the re-settler problem—it might seem incredible that, after the experience of the Second World War, any state or any ruling-class would pursue so dangerous a course, but we shall see—is deliberately to foment and develop a resentment and revanchism among the re-settlers, so as to build up in them and thus in the general population an aggressive spirit leading them to support their ruling-class in its planning of a third world war to reconquer the lost territories, which are always described in their propaganda and shown in their official maps as including all the territory that formed part of Germany at the end of 1937.

## THE SAME POLICY

This "1937" propaganda shows the sinister hand of the old—and still unchanged and active—ruling-class of the Kaiser-Weimar-Nazi-West-German State, which fought the First World War largely for territorial expansion and the profits it brings, built up Hitler and the Nazis largely for territorial expansion and profits (and for a time achieved them on a terrible scale), fought the Second World War for the same objects, and is now plotting a third world war for territorial expansion and profits.

To this end the West German government, instead of incorporating the re-settlers into the life of the community as rapidly and as smoothly as possible, let them pass long periods in barrack camps and emergency housing.

Even to-day, when most of them after twenty years have moved into ordinary useful life, Bonn is still making the most elaborate efforts to keep

alive in them a desire to regain their former territories.

It is grimly interesting to notice that, when the ruling-class set about using the re-settlers as tools of its revanchist policies, it did not have to establish new organisations for the work; there were already available a long string of organisations with somewhat similar aims established after the First World War!

I need not recite all their names, but I will mention one, the "Vereinigung der Heimat-treuen Ost und West-Preussen" roughly, the Association of those West and East Prussians who remain loyal to their homeland.

## APPARATUS

West and East Prussia were the eastern most areas of Imperial Germany; much of their populations were Polish. Some of the territory was handed over to Poland at the end of the First World War, and all of it was transferred after the Second World War, mostly to Poland and some to the U.S.S.R.

Organisations of this type had been encouraged and developed under Hitler, for they served his racist theories. One of the most extreme of them in his period was the *Bund Deutscher Osten* (Federation of the German East), which was led by one Oberlander, with whom I will deal a little later.

The West German Government revived a number of these organisations and set them to work under new names; for example, the Federation of the German East became the "Federation of the expelled".

The whole machinery is extremely elaborate; it starts at the top with no less than two Ministries of the Federal Government at Bonn, the "Ministry of expelled, refugees, and war-wounded" and the "Ministry for All-German Questions" (which "Questions include among others the German Democratic Republic, which is officially regarded by the ruling-class of West Germany as one of the "lost" territories, to be "recovered" along with much of Poland and other territories.) These Ministries have a large number of Offices, Councils, Committees and other such satellite bodies for specific parts of their work.

## ORGANISATIONS

In addition to the Federal bodies, there are representatives in Bonn of similar departments of the governments of some of the various Provinces, as well as separate parallel ministries of those Provinces in their own capitals.

Then there are thirty *Landmannschaften* (roughly, associations of fellow-countrymen), which are particularly active, and a number of vocational organisations such as one of "expelled farmers", engaged in working out the theoretical bases of revanchist propaganda.

These include a "North-East-German Cultural Council", religious and charitable organisations for expelled persons, youth organisations, and similar specialised bodies.

There are then three overall co-ordinating bodies, one for the *Landmannschaften*, one for "refugees from the Soviet Zone" (the German Democratic Republic), and one for "West and Overseas refugees".

In all, great and small, there are at least 127 central revanchist organisations, supported and encouraged by the Federal Government; (this total does not include the numerous militarist, terrorist, and anti-Semitic organisations, and neo-fascist political parties).

Government financial support of this machine reaches a staggering total. I will give only one item; the Ministry of expelled and refugees mentioned above. Its budget for 1963 was DM.244 million or about £22 million.

These many bodies are very active in pursuit of the objects for which they have

*Professor D. N. PRITT of the University of Ghana, describes how the West German Government is fanning the spirit of revanchism and laying the legal basis for the establishment of a dictatorship.*

been established (or re-established) their standards can be judged from the Nazi records, at which I will take a look, of many of their leaders and members.

For the most important of all the posts, that of the Minister of expelled and refugees, the selection would presumably be made with some care to ensure that the Minister would fit—in the eyes of the ruling-class—for his work. From 1953 to 1960, the Minister was Theodor Oberlander.

Who was he? His record is well-known. He first came to notice in 1923, when he took part in Hitler's abortive insurrection against the Weimar Republic.

When the Nazis came to power ten years later, he advanced rapidly; at the request of the war-criminal Hess, he was appointed as the head of the "Federation of the German East" described above.

Throughout the Nazi period he distinguished himself by racist propaganda against all non-German people, particularly Jews and Slavs; the latter somewhat numerous group of peoples, he advocated, ought to be simply exterminated!

He was one of the group which initiated and organised the ruthless and unscrupulous fake attack on the Gleiwitz radio station which formed the pretext for the invasion of Poland.

## WAR CRIMINAL

When Poland had been occupied, and its large population had to be dealt with in one way or another, he opposed the comparatively mild if inhuman policy of "assimilation", and vigorously advocated the expulsion of the whole Polish population, with a view to the "Germanisation" of the territory.

Later, he established and trained the "special"—and specially infamous—"Night-ingale" battalion, one of whose exploits was, in the first week of July, 1941, to murder between 3,500 and 5,000 people in Lvov, including, in pursuance of Oberlander's special policy of exterminating the intelligentsia of Poland and the U.S.S.R., a number of outstanding intellectuals.

Under Oberlander's leadership, the battalion went on from that "exploit" to commit similar massacres in four or five other cities.

After committing various other war crimes, Oberlander got himself into safety by surrendering to the American forces in April, 1945. He was not prosecuted as a war criminal, and by 1953, as I have said, this man, with his horrible record, succeeded to the post of Minister, engaged in effect in propaganda for the restoration (to West) Germany of some of the territories in which he had carried on his Fascist and racist activities.

In the teeth of his record, and of the exposures of it by the German Democratic Republic, he held this post for some seven years.

## NAZI VOTES

I remember that, when I was taking part in 1959 and 1960 in the defence of a number of West German peace-workers, whose advocacy of peace had led to their being prosecuted on charges of "endangering the [West German] state", I asked one of my distinguished German colleagues—a Liberal in politics—why the Chancellor, Adenauer, insisted on incurring general odium in Europe by retaining Oberlander in office; he replied: "He does so in order to keep the votes of the Nazis!"

Soon after this conversation, Oberlander was tried in his absence by the Supreme Court of the German Demo-

cratic Republic for war crime, and crimes against humanity, and sentenced to life imprisonment. As a result of this trial, and the disclosures made in it, the scandal of such a man remaining in such a post became too strong for Adenauer, and Oberlander had to go.

He is now "only" a Christian Democrat member of the West German Parliament, and an influential revanchist politician; up to 1965 he was indeed chairman of the "Oder-Neisse" revanchist organisation of the Christian Democratic Party.

He was by no means the last incriminated Nazi to hold the important post he had vacated. In 1963, one Hans Kruger, after serving five years as chairman of the "Association of expelled", was appointed to the same Ministerial post. He too had a long Nazi history not very different from that of Oberlander, being particularly infamous for his work in the Nazi "special" courts at Chojnice in Poland, where 2,000 persons were murdered in one prison, on his direct "selection", in the first few weeks of his work there. His main difference from Oberlander was that he held office for only three months instead of seven years; disclosures of his record by the governments of Poland and the German Democratic Republic came so swiftly, and were so grave, that he had to go at once.

He too is now "only" a Christian Democrat member of the Parliament, where he and his fellow-member Oberlander can perhaps chat over their Nazi pasts.

Would one expect the West German rulers to be a little careful, after two such exposures, in choosing Kruger's successor? Perhaps there was no one with a clean record to be found; perhaps a man with a clean record was of no use to them; perhaps in their cynical arrogance they cared nothing for public opinion; even if it had beaten them twice already in respect of this very post.

At any rate, the person they appointed was one Ernest Lemmer, who still holds the post. He too has a long Nazi history; a journalist, he acted as an informer, reporting to the Gestapo on all the members of the Foreign Press working in Berlin.

## POISON IN PRINT

As a journalist, he was distinguished for poisonous Nazi propaganda and for anti-Semitism being an enthusiastic and copious writer in the service of the criminal Goebbels, writing no fewer than 20,000 articles in which he glorified Hitler and Hitler's wars, and minimised and justified the terrible persecutions of the Jews.

If his record seems a little pallid in contrast to those of Oberlander and Kruger, it is still surely much too bad to allow any civilised state, or any state purporting to follow the Potsdam rulings, to employ him as a minister.

I could continue almost indefinitely recounting the Nazi records of many more people holding important posts in the many expellee-revanchist organisations described above, particularly in the important *Landmannschaften*, but reasons of space confine me to the few examples I have given.

Linked with the "expellee" propaganda activity in the work of preparing the minds of the West German population for a new aggressive war is an extensive network of neo-Nazi and militarist publishing houses in West Germany. There are over one hundred of these houses, almost every one of which is managed by an incriminated Nazi.

They flood the periodical and book markets with Fascist

and militarist "literature", in which they justify and praise not merely war in general but the criminal wars of 1939 to 1945, and glorify the Nazi regime.

The articles are mostly written by generals of the S.S. and other members of that war-criminal organisation, who had taken part in barbarous warfare, or had worked in Goebbels' propaganda team.

No less than 20 million cheap booklets, describing Hitler's battles in glowing colours, are sold by these houses every year.

I remember that, throughout the five months of the case at Dusseldorf which I mentioned above, the only bookstall allowed in the Hall of the great Criminal Court building where the case was heard was full of cheap literature glorifying war, to the exclusion of almost everything else, except a little pornography.

I will mention a few samples of these publications. One is a journal called *Alle Kameraden* (old comrades), published in Karlsruhe; it is the central organ of some fifty militarist "traditional" associations—of which there are 600 in West Germany—and is one of the most widely-read militarist papers in the country.

Another without about the same circulation is the *Deutsche National-Zeitung und So-daten-Zeitung* (German National Periodical and Soldiers' Periodical); it is edited by a former Nazi colonel, whose record was such that one S.S. publication praised him as a "friend and defender of the rights of the former armed S.S."

## PRAISE OF WAR

This journal portrays the campaigns of the Nazi armies and its aggressions against peaceful countries in Europe, the horrors of which are well known as examples of soldierly discipline and virtue, to be commended to the new West German army as models to be followed.

Other publishing houses, such as the Pabel publishing house in Rastatt, Baden, which issues twopenny booklets with a total circulation of several million a month, could be described, again, at almost indefinite length, with the most distasteful details of their streams of praise of war and brutality; but once again space does not permit.

Another field of publication, less violent and brutal but perhaps even more dangerous, is that of school textbooks. Progressively through the years these books, used to mould the minds of West German school-children, by now too young to have lived under Nazi rule, have become less and less frank and less and less hostile in their accounts of the history of the twelve Nazi years, 1933-45, and more and more devoid of any clear statement of the evils of Fascism, of the facts of Germany's military defeat, and of the lessons to be drawn from it. Far too high a proportion of the teachers, like the other professions, at whom we have been looking, have Nazi records, of course.

I turn now to examine the legislative steps taken by the West German ruling-class to equip itself by means of "Emergency Laws" with legal power to act swiftly and under the cloak of legality when it thinks the time is ripe to establish a dictatorship that can ruthlessly and swiftly suppress any opposition to its aggressive policies, put the country on a war footing, and thus move more easily into war.

The policy underlying these moves presents an interesting parallel to Hitler's "Enabling Laws", which were designed by the same ruling-class—

with the assistance of expert draftsmen, some of whom survived to work on the new Emergency Laws, to free Hitler from the trammels of the peaceful, if weak, liberal Constitution of the Weimar Republic (1919 to 1933), so that he could "legally" enslave his own population and go on to levy war to enslave the populations of the rest of Europe.

The West German Constitution, adopted in 1949, presented real technical obstacles to a ruling-class bent on war; for it was drafted ostensibly, and almost ostentatiously, to preserve peace and to guarantee civil liberties.

Such provisions as it contained for dictatorial government in emergency were narrowly limited (far more so, indeed, than those of the Weimar Constitution).

Accordingly, when West Germany, under its unchanged ruling-class, had been enormously strengthened, economically and industrially, with the help of the U.S.A., and thereby became capable of developing political and military aggression, it saw that the Constitution would present it with problems as soon as it sought to prepare for war and to suppress the opposition which, in spite of its propaganda and the illegality it had succeeded in imposing on its one formidable and peace-loving opponent, the Communist Party of Germany, was pretty sure to arise.

It therefore determined to transform its Constitution, and its law generally, into a machine well fitted to establish a police state of the type that few countries in modern times have succeeded in establishing except in war.

It had to expect a good deal of resistance to the proposed changes both from the Trade Union movement and from bourgeois liberal sentiment, and it had to make fundamental alterations to the whole legal structure. The latter was a formidable task.

The West German ruling-class found it necessary to introduce no less than eleven "Emergency" Acts, including one substantially amending the Constitution.

They started badly; the first Bill they introduced, in 1960, was rejected by the Parliament as a result of opposition from the quarters I have mentioned; and the next step, in 1962, met a similar fate. By 1965, however, eight of the eleven measures had been passed.

If and when the whole legislative operation is carried through, it will be possible for the Parliament, in the face of any alleged "external threat"—which any competent ruling-class can fake up at any moment—to proclaim an emergency "on the proposal of the Federal Government and with the consent of the Upper House".

This gives an air of reasonable safeguard for the public, for it does call for the approval of two legislative bodies and of the Government; but as often happens there are a good many alternatives.

The first is that, if the "timely adoption of decisions... encounters insurmountable difficulties"—which again any ruling class can ensure—the decision may be made merely by a commission of 20 members of the Parliament and 10 members of the Upper House.

And even that is not all. If "procrastination is fraught with danger", the President and the Chancellor, after asking the Speakers of the two Chambers for their views, can make the proclamation themselves.

## DANGER OF PEACE

Thus, in the end, when the ruling-class decides to move swiftly, as it did in Hitler's day, it need not satisfy any elected legislature; it can just give orders to two of its henchmen to have a word with two others and then make the proclamation it wants!

All the safeguards will then disappear, and the government will have as much power as Hitler had after the "Enabling" laws were passed.

The Chancellor can then govern as a dictator for an indefinite period, can take into his own hands the powers of the Provinces, can cut down all civil liberties—freedom of the press, of expression, of association, and many others—can control industry and food supplies and the movement of citizens, and can introduce civil conscription and forced labour.

This plainly clears the ground for the unhindered preparation for war in peace time. It is difficult to think of any government to which such powers could safely be granted; and it is impossible to feel that such a ruling class and its Nazi servants as I have described can have such powers without grave and imminent danger to the peace of the world. And who can doubt why this sinister ruling class wants such powers?



# 'ZEBRA' HIGH QUALITY PAINTS

## LACQUERS AND ENAMELS

In different kinds for all purposes:

- BUILDINGS
- MOTOR CARS
- FURNITURE
- FLOORS
- BLACKBOARDS
- ROADS, ETC.

Exported by:

### Ciech LTD.

Import/Export of Chemicals  
Warsaw, Jarmy St. 12, Poland.

Information in Ghana:  
TRADE REPRESENTATION OF POLAND  
P.O. BOX 2112, ACCRA, GHANA