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EDITORIAL

Political Problems

"SPARK EXCLUSIVE" NEXT ISSUES

* A GREAT COUNSEL SPEAKS

D. N. Pritt Q.C. who ranks among the world's greatest advocates is at the University of Ghana as a visiting Professor on the invitation of the Chancellor, Kwame Nkrumah. He has always combined his great legal learning and skill with a fearless commitment to the cause of man's freedom that he occupies a special place in the hearts of millions of people all over the world. He has appeared in most famous political trials of our time. We are proud to be able to publish in our next issue Pritt's own account of the trial of Jomo Kenyatta.

* GUEVARA SPEAKS

Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the Cuban Minister of Industries who is regarded as one of the foremost authorities on guerilla warfare, explodes sky-high the new branch of American military mythology—"Counter-guerilla warfare". He explains how the U.S. with its immense and variegated military armour can be rendered helpless in the face of a popular social challenge.

* JULIUS SAGO WRITES

A detailed analysis of the 1965 budget.

* RON BELLAMY EXPLODES A MYTH

Much has been written about the economic miracle of West Germany, a development which, we are told, took the country from the ruins of 1945 to a leading position in European economy in less than fifteen years. Ludwig Erhard, the Chancellor of West Germany attributes the "economic miracle" to belief in a "free" economy as opposed to a "planned" economy.

Ron Bellamy, Acting Head of the Faculty of Economics, University of Ghana, goes deeply into the background of the West German myth.

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U.S. AND AFRICA

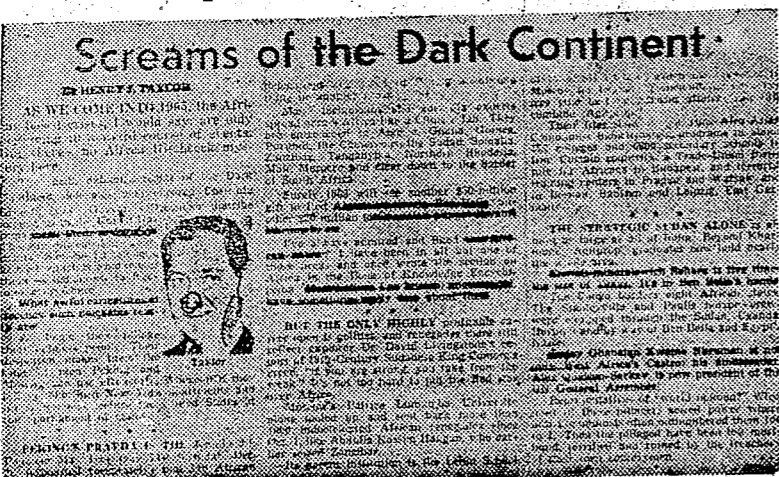
ELSEWHERE in this issue we reproduce an article which appeared in the 7th January issue of an American newspaper, the "Rocky Mountain News". The author of the article is Mr. Henry J. Taylor, who claims to have visited almost all parts of Africa.

We are publishing the article with the hope that it will contribute towards the "de-colonisation" of the mentality of those African leaders who still believe that the American presence on the African continent is any way connected with the well-fare of the African people.

We would have preferred to publish the article without comment but a large section of the American public is ignorant and knows next to nothing about other peoples and other countries and therefore tends to swallow readily everything that is dished out to him in the press by those who claim to be experts. For his sake we are compelled to make a few remarks.

Mr. Taylor begins his article by alluding to "the African-based crises" with which the world began 1965. But he does not tell his readers what the crises are and who has created them. It is true there is a crisis in Africa. It has been created by the stubborn resistance that Africa is offering against American imperialism on the continent. At present the centre of the crises has shifted to the Congo where America has launched an open

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of the plan

"...for socialist development, the socialist conscience of the people must be enhanced through education and party activity. The forces of positive action, political, economic and cultural need to be mobilised and streamlined for progress".

—Kwame Nkrumah.
(Consciencism)

IN an address to the fifth and last session of the First Parliament of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah offered a forthright and clear-cut solutions to the economic problems facing Ghana. The Annual Plan for the Second Plan year has been issued by the office of the Planning Commission. It reviews previous years and makes detailed proposals for our economy for 1965. The Minister of Finance has presented a budget to the country in which he offers a plan for the execution of the following tasks facing us:—

- (1) To maintain the rate of economic and social development envisaged in the Seven-Year Development Plan without aggravating our balance of payments position.
- (2) To change the emphasis in government expenditure from unproductive to productive investment so as to reduce the pressure on the economy.
- (3) To contain the inflationary pressures which have now developed in the economy.

PLANNING

Traditionally the concept of economic planning has been associated with the principles of socialism. As a contrast to the anarchy of capitalist production, the socialist movement all over the world has counterposed the enormous possibilities for material and cultural advance which can come when society plans in a rational and scientific manner the development of resources and the allocation of production to satisfy the ever rising material and cultural needs of the people.

With the patent successes of the planning which has enabled previously backward countries to begin to overtake the oldest and most advanced industrial countries in the world, planning has suddenly become the economic catchword. To mobilise their countries' resources for war even the strongest capitalist countries had to plan and control resources, the allocation of them and the direction of production. Now planning is fashionable; Britain has a plan blessed by the Tory Party, even the United States, the arch advocate of 'free' enterprise talks about planning and from time to time gives it its blessing.

SOCIALISM

Economics students in capitalist countries study planning. Does this mean that nowadays everybody is busy building socialism? Unfortunately not. It means that in capitalist countries big business is more and more exerting control and influence over government to make it intervene in the economic activity of the country in favour of monopoly capitalism. While every socialist is a planner not every planner is a socialist.

Economic planning is a new science and there are obviously many lessons to be learned about techniques which will make estimates more accurate and more reliable forecasts. But all plans have a purpose, they serve somebody's interests and an economic specialist is trained to be concerned not only with the narrow specialist techniques of drawing up a plan in the abstract, he draws up a plan for a purpose. The aim and purpose will determine much of the content and above all help to determine exactly how the aims of the plan can be achieved.

Ghana's political independence, won through hard struggle and through the mobilising of the ener-

gy and enthusiasm of the mass of the people can only be safeguarded if we attain our independence of the foreign capitalist domination of our economic life.

When the people of Ghana went into action to win political independence they were fighting not for an abstract concept of independence but for the achieving of the pre-conditions for the building of a prosperous and happy life for themselves and their families which imperialism denied them.

The economic reconstruction of our country and the development of its material and cultural resources is therefore the keystone for the future. The success of independence, of the theories and ideas of socialism, of the prestige of the Party itself will be tested against the actual concrete advances which the mass of the people see being achieved in their way of life.

RESPONSIBILITY

The heavy responsibility therefore which lies on the shoulders of all those who are involved in working on the plan cannot be too seriously stressed. Much depends on their technical skill, ability and experience but we believe that even more depends upon their political understanding and political convictions.

We do not believe that the planners have the monopoly of the secret of success in planning, indeed their efforts up to now are scarcely such as to demonstrate this and we believe that in the last analysis the real belief that socialism is the only guarantee for Ghana, a real under-



Our Task

THE creation of heavy industry with the simultaneous growth of light industry and agriculture will be given priority in our industrial development. This can create the backbone of our national economy and lay solidly the foundations of our socialist industrialisation.

Our heavy industries should comprise power industry, metallurgical industry, machine building industry, chemical industry, building material industry, alumina industry, iron and steel industry, and so forth. Such industries directly related to the living conditions and requirements of the people will provide the machinery for producing food, clothing and housing. It is in this way that our heavy industry can be made to serve more effectively light industry and agriculture.

In order to provide the necessary support for the many industrial and other projects now springing up throughout the country, the Government has already made plans for the establishment of heavy basic industries for the production of the machine tools and industrial equipment for our primary and light industries. This aspect of the Seven-Year Development Plan will now be given special emphasis in the remaining years of the Plan. Unless we can do this, our local industries will continue for many years to come, to rely on foreign supplies for the renewal of their spare parts and equipment. Real industrialisation can only be achieved when we have embarked upon, and completed a programme of establishing heavy industries. Our policy over the coming

years will be guided by the following principles: Firstly, an attempt will be made to close the budgetary gap while at the same time shifting the weight of development expenditure to productive investments in agriculture and industry. For this reason I have directed that the overall size of the Budget for 1965 should not exceed two hundred million Ghana pounds. This will allow sufficient funds to continue work on existing projects as well as for starting a few new ones.

We could easily and usefully provide a budget for additional productive products in the course of the year which would bring our expenditure ceiling to two hundred and fifty million. If additional external credits can be obtained to finance these new projects. In other words, our present overall ceiling of two hundred million will only be exceeded if additional credits are obtained. In this regard, our policy is that new credits should now be confined mainly to productive investments in agriculture and industry.

Secondly, the Budget Estimates for 1965 will be broken down into foreign and local currency components. In the past, the estimates have been restricted only to cash expenditure. Credit-financed expenditure was excluded from the estimates on the assumption that it did not involve direct or immediate disbursements. Although this assumption is correct, the effect of this practice of excluding credit-financed expenditure from the estimates has been to understate the true size of the Budget.

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STUDIES IN CONSCIENCISM

The Nkrumaist World Out-Look: (5)

A PROCESS can be defined by its exteriority and interiority data which correspond to what in Mathematics we call Co-ordinates.

The interiority co-ordinates for a given phenomenon are the original space-milieu and the original milieu-media of the phenomenon, the exteriority co-ordinates constitute the outside of the original space-milieu or time—in other words, the historical time separating the advent of the original milieu-media from that of the milieu-media of exteriorisation.

The birth of the original milieu-media corresponds to that of the original positive state, whereas the appearance of the milieu-media of exteriorisation corresponds to that of the positive state of exteriorisation. As far as the new Africa is concerned, Ghana is the original positive state and Algeria is the positive state of exteriorisation.

THE POSITIVE STATE OF EXTERIORISATION

The identification of the original positive state with the positive state of exteriorisation necessarily results in the categorial conversion of the phenomenon itself, that is to say, the appearance of a new phenomenon which is a development of the previous one.

When the phenomenon is the African Revolution, the categorial conversion will give rise to the take-off of the new phenomenon which we shall hereafter refer to as the self-induced development of Africa.

Just as the take-off of the African Revolution and its point of finality resulted in the appearance of the original positive state and the positive state of exteriorisation, so in the same way, the take-off of the phenomenon of self-induced development of Africa will result in the appearance of a self-induced African state.

The original milieu-media and the milieu-media of exteriorisation or the original positive state and the positive state of exteriorisation may be referred to as Pole of Attraction. In Mathematics, for example, a pole is described as a fixed point performing a specific function in geometrical transformation.

In a process, we may call the interiority co-ordinates (the original space-milieu and the original milieu-media) the pole of interiority; whereas the outside of the original space-milieu or time (the exteriority co-ordinates) will be referred to as the pole of exteriority.

The power of connecting the various stages of the process we may call the signifi-

We continue the publication of Mr. Habib Niang's expositions on Philosophical Consciencism. It deals with the concepts of space-milieu, categorial space-milieu and categorial space, and their relationship with the outlook of the blackman living outside Africa.

tion whereas the dialectical moment which marks the connexion may be referred to as the condition of signification. Both the pole of interiority and that of exteriority may be designated the connecting link.

The pole of interiority realises the connexion of the vital co-ordinates, whereas the pole of exteriority ensures the connection of the movic co-ordinates. By movic-co-ordinates (movic, from the Latin movere, to move), we mean those relating to the movement of the phenomenon; and by vital co-ordinates (vital from the French 'vie', life) we mean those relating to the life of the phenomenon.

The life of the African Revolution lies in the original space-milieu, and its movement is to be found in time. That is to say, in the historical time separating the beginning of the process and its point of finality, that is, the birth of the original milieu-media and the appearance of the milieu-media exteriorisation. It is precisely this historical time that we refer to as focal time in the same way as in mathematics we speak of focal distance.

The merging of space and time necessarily results in the very dialectical moment which, by way of categorial conversion, transforms the phenomenon into a new one. It is this moment of identification of the pole of interiority with the pole of exteriority that we call condition of identification.

POLE OF ATTRACTION

But each pole of attraction being by itself a given process, it is to be found, within, conditions of signification and condition of identification. The connexion of the various stages of the forward march of the C.P.P. towards the political independence and economic liberation of Ghana may be referred to as conditions of signification. By way of parenthesis, let us note that we use here the term economic liberation and not economic independence which scientifically is not very accurate. Those conditions of signification develop into the merging of the space-milieu called Consciencism with its outside in Ghana, that is to say, with time—the historical time separating the very birth of Consciencism from that dialectical moment which transforms all milieu-media in Ghana in accordance with the principles of Nkrumaism.

Again, it is this moment of identification which is referred to as condition of identification. If time is the outside of space in the dialectics between space and time, insti-

tutions are outside of the space-milieu which is here Consciencism.

In fact, the space-milieu is the outside of the milieu itself; that is to say, institutions are outside of an outside of the Outside, for they are in fact outside of the ideology which is an outside of the space-milieu itself.

If obviously the entire milieu with its complexity is the very place where human energy armed with intelligence achieves production, ideology is in fact a milieu-media within which intelligence alone can produce and it is in space-milieu that conscience itself achieves its production. Space-milieu the very milieu of philosophy, is a milieu-media. But ideology is also the inside of institutions, that is to say, institutions are not only milieu-media but also outside of a milieu-media.

In the dialectics between the people and the state, the state is the outside and the people the inside. The Party, The Trade Union and Women Organisations etc. are inside institutions and the National Assembly and the Government are outside institutions.

THE PEOPLE'S FOCAL INSTITUTION

It is because the life of all phenomena lies in the inside and that their movement is to be found in the outside that Kwame Nkrumah is the life chairman of the inside focal institutions (the Party) and at the same time declined to be the life President of the Republic of Ghana. The people's focal outside institution is the National Assembly. We have then, two focal institutions: the outside focal institution and the inside focal institution. The other institutions associated with the inside institution, the Party, such as the T.U.C., U.G.F.C.C., etc. may be referred to as Satellite institutions. Here 'satellite' is used in its scientific, non-perjorative sense.

In the struggle between man and his surroundings, man is the inside and the surroundings the outside. The Marxist emphasis on economics which led Marxism-Leninism to refer to economics as the basis of society needs some re-thinking. For the basis is in fact the milieu in its totality and complexity; economy is but the basic outside institution of society.

During one particularly good olive harvest, Thales astutely cornered the available olive presses in Miletus and subsequently hired them out at exorbitant rates.

Owing to the change in the structure of society whereby social-political hegemony passed into the hands of the mercantile oligarchy, prosperity no longer depended in a crucial way on a propitiation of the gods in connection with agriculture. It depended on commerce with its ancillaries whereby the Ionian products were marketed along and across the Mediterranean' (c.p. 31). Therefore Thales 'philosophy' only supported a sort of bourgeois democratic revolution, and not a socialist one' (c.p.34). Hence we have found primitive feudalism followed by ancient capitalism. The Dark Age of Europe was an example of what we may call the feudalism of the Middle Ages followed by modern capitalism after the European Renaissance. But 'capitalism is but the gentleman's method of slavery' (c.p.72).

NKRUMAIST THEORY OF INSTITUTIONS

Indeed, for the Nkrumaist theory of institutions, in a horizontal stratified society, that is in a society committed to the principle of the exploitation of man by man there can be found one of these two mode of production, namely the feudal mode of production and the bourgeois or capitalist mode of production. The society is said to be feudalistic when the production relies mainly on land as capital; in fact primitive collect and hunting relied on land as capital—The society is said to be a bourgeois or capitalist one when its production is being carried out mainly through financial capital.

But in a vertical stratified society, in a society which shares the ideal of the liberation of man by man we have communalism when land is the main capital and socialism when we reach a higher level of development which required financial capital as the dominant factor in investment.

The basic inside institution of society is to be found in the youth, for it is among the youth that we can discern the greatest loss of mass as far as technical production is concerned.

This is precisely why, if we may take an example from the Akan tribal system, 'the powers and duties of the Asafo Company may be summarised as follows:

1. Possession of definite and popular voice in the chieftaincy of the town or village.
2. The right to advise on prices of commodities and merchandise brought to the local markets.
3. As the only recognised organised body for local emergencies: road work, town work, and civil and military services." (Kwame Nkrumah: Mind and Thought in Primitive Society).

Here let us just point out that the Asafo Company is an organisation of the young men and women.

In an African tribal state, or, if we like, in a communalist society, in a society which avoids the idea of the exploitation of man by man and is committed to the liberation of man by the Elders, is the inside focal institution, whereas the body of Councillors headed by the Omanhene (to use the Akan word for King) is the focal outside institution.

In an African Socialist state, the Party led by the Central Committee is the focal inside institution, whereas the National Assembly is the focal outside institution.

If the progress of society is to go on without any impediment, it is necessary, as the Akan organisation has it, that the basic inside institution plays a basic role within both the inside focal institution (the Party, and in parti-

That is why, in his New Year's Message, Kwame Nkrumah emphasised that:

"To the youth of Ghana, I have this to say: you are the heirs of our Revolution."

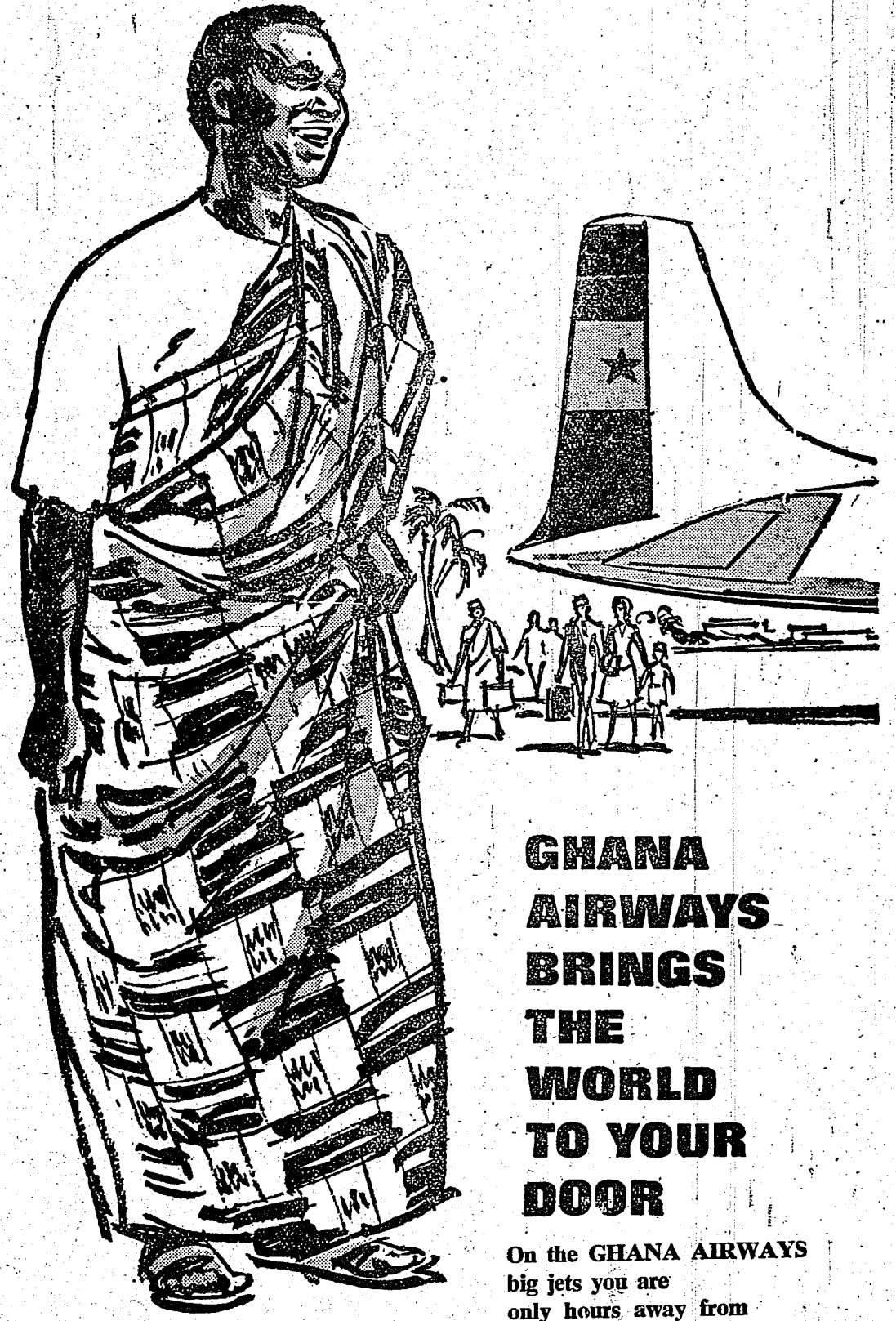
But Ghana is not any ordinary link of that clan called the African Revolution. She is the original one, that is, the very foundation of the new order which is to be established in Africa, beginning from the next African Summit Conference to be held in Accra in September this year.

Again, that is why this historical mission of the youth is to be borne in mind in the composition of the next Ghanaian Republican Parliament, which has to play a vital role in the realisation of an African Continental Government.

by Habib Niang

cular, its Central Committee) and the outside focal institution, namely, the National Assembly.

It is in this way and this way alone that the progress of the basic outside institution—i.e. the economy of the nation—is to be achieved and maintained.



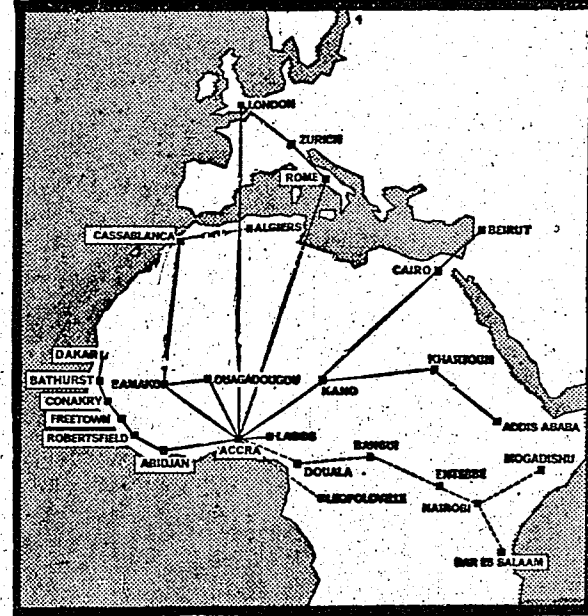
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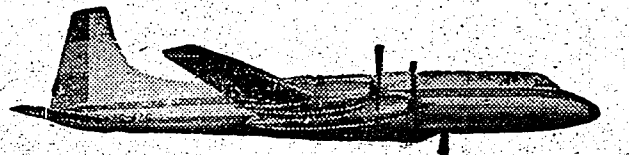
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While the Labour Government 'Plays it Cool'...

Rhodesia's Settler Masters Dig in

THE African people of Rhodesia are angry at the apparent reluctance of the British Labour Government to do anything to end the domination of Rhodesia by the white settler minority.

This was made abundantly clear on his recent visit to London by Mr. J. R. D. Chikerema, the Deputy-President-General of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the party leading the liberation struggle of the African people in Rhodesia.

"Many people," said Mr. Chikerema, "have acclaimed the Wilson Government's attitude toward the so-called threat of a unilateral declaration of independence by Smith."

"As far as we in Rhodesia are concerned, Britain has not moved one inch nearer settling matters in favour of the African people. The threat of Smith to 'go it alone' has never been the real issue."

ONE VOTE EACH

"What is really at stake is the ending of white minority domination, and the introduction of a new Constitution based on one man, one vote, so that Rhodesia can enjoy majority rule."

"Only on the basis of majority rule can there be any stable foundation for an independent Rhodesia, or Zimbabwe, as we call it."

The African people of Rhodesia are concerned said Mr. Chikerema, not only by the in action of the British Government, but also by the deliberate attempt on the part of the major Press organs in Britain to hide from the British people the real issues at stake.

This Press silence, the "play it cool" line of the Labour Government, and the apparent acquiescence in all this by the Parliamentary Labour Party, is playing into the hands of Smith and the settlers.

Far from the opportunity being used, as some Labour M.P.s claim, to "persuade" Smith to change his tune to one of "sweet reasonableness," Smith is making the utmost use of the time gained to strengthen his position.

In recent weeks, Mr. Chikerema says, Smith has been taking steps to strengthen his support in the armed forces.

He has been putting into key positions those who are not likely to hesitate as did the recently dismissed Major-General Jock Anderson, commander of the Rhodesian forces to back Smith in all he does.

Mr. Chikerema further claims that four West German air pilots have been brought by the Smith Government to Salisbury, to train the Rhodesian air force.

Intimidation of the people continues, and there are now 6,000 in concentration camps at Whawha, and Gonakudzungwa, and in the jails at Gwelo, Bulawayo, Inkai, Gwanda, Marandellas and Sinoia.

Steps are being taken, too, to transform the Government-paid chiefs and headmen into completely pliant tools of the government.

Their pay has been increased from £16 a month to £50, and, in addition, they are being granted Land Rovers, petrol allowances, various perks and the personal use of proceeds from fines exacted in the Chief's Court.

Behind this corruption lies the intention of Smith to make changes in the present Con-

stitution which will render the position of the African majority still worse.

At present, the Rhodesian Parliament has 65 Members, 50 of whom are elected from an 'A' roll category of voters for which the minimum income qualification (raised once again on 12 September, 1964), is £330.

For the 'B' roll which elects the other 15 Members, the minimum is now £132.

The average annual earnings of African workers is £114—and of Europeans, £1,217. Most African workers



Reid N. Sibole.

receive far less than £114—and the African peasants very much less.

Thus only a handful of African chiefs and headmen, and a few others can vote. The overwhelming majority of

Africans cannot qualify.

In the last elections, in December 1962, 67,000 European voters elected 50 M.P.s on the top roll. On the bottom roll, there were only 3,177 African voters.

It is now hinted that, on the assumption that the British Labour Government will do nothing to interfere, Smith plans to hold an election in 1965 which will result in only a handful of Africans bothering to register, and in a big enough victory for Smith's party to allow him to change the Constitution.

This he may do by eliminating the present 'B' roll representation, replacing it by a method of bringing the Chiefs into Parliament. This would pave the way for a set-up not very different from the apartheid "Bantustan" system operated by Verwoerd in South Africa.

DANGEROUS

Those chiefs and headmen who are not prepared to go along with Smith are likely to get short shrift, like Chiefs Magwende, Chacha, Mudzimir, Hungwa, Musana and Nyamkope, who have now been restricted to Gonakudzungwa along with 18 headmen, for revealing the truth about the bogus "referendum" of Chiefs at Domoboshawa, and declaring their support for national liberation.

One of the most dangerous things in the present situation

considers Mr. Chikerema, is the growing tie-up of Smith with Verwoerd.

The recent trade agreement with the Verwoerd Government the decision to use the South African radio news service, and the employment of South African constitutional lawyers, are all straws in the wind.

A CONTRAST

It is believed, too, that military talks between the two countries have taken place.

Portuguese-controlled Mozambique is expected to back Smith, too. In fact, the "Guardian" (5th December 1964), says that "many people in Salisbury believe that it is only a matter of time before a firm military alliance between the three white-supremacy States will be con-

by Jack Woddis

cluded." The time for Smith to achieve his aims is being provided for him by the British Government's refusal to intervene. No one can fail to mark the sharp contrast between British Guiana and Southern Rhodesia. In British Guiana, where

Dr. Jagan's Left-Wing People's Progressive Party won 45.88 per cent of the votes, emerging as the largest party, the Wilson Government acted in 48 hours to change Constitution and throw out Dr. Jagan's Government.

In Rhodesia, where the reactionary Smith was elected by less than two per cent of the people, the British Government refuses to act.

The British Government is playing a dangerous game. No wonder the Financial Times (December 21, 1964) puts confidently that "prosperity would be best served by the present state of self-government which has deterred surprisingly few foreign investors."

Let sleeping dogs lie, is the advice of the Financial Times. This might suit the City of London and British investors. But it will never be accepted by the African people of Rhodesia.

On the contrary, they are determined to win the release of their political leaders, and the establishment of majority rule, based on one man, one vote.

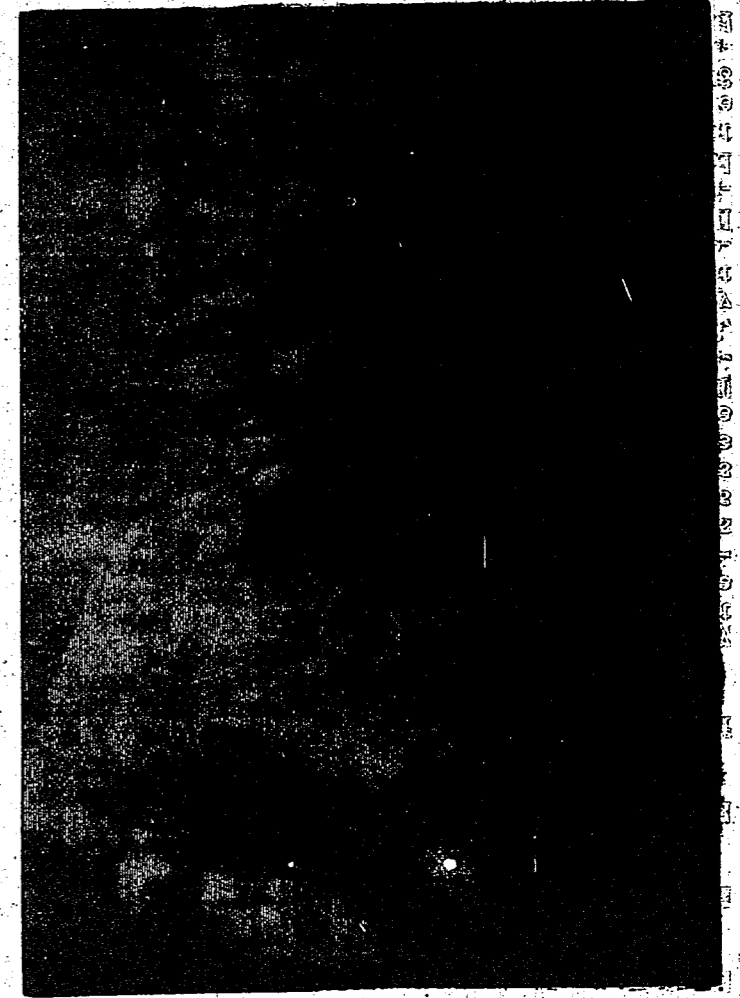
LABOURS ROLE

The Labour Government can never prevent the eventual achievement of this essential change. It is up to the British people, and above all the Labour movement, to compel Mr. Wilson to abandon his

apparent silence. Bargaining with Smith behind closed doors is the road to further surrender.

The British Labour Government should use all its weight

and public influence to end the tyrannical rule of the white minority in Rhodesia, and to make possible the emergence of a fully democratic, independent Zimbabwe.



Joshua Nkomo, President of ZAPU.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA—THE FACTS

IN 1957, Garfield Todd was deposed as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, because he wished to add a few thousand Africans to the electoral roll. His replacement, Edgar Whitehead, despite repressive measures such as the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, proved too liberal also. His party was defeated in December 1962 elections by the more right-wing Rhodesian Front of Winston Field, on a policy of rapid independence and "Community Development"—polite Apartheid. Even Field was not intransigent enough however, being replaced by his Finance Minister, Ian Smith, earlier last year.

Since then Smith, whose position is insecure, has threatened a unilateral declaration of independence under white minority rule. Owing to the opposition of the British Government, this threat is in temporary abeyance. But how, in a continent which is rapidly gaining independence under majority rule, could such a series of events in the opposite direction occur?

The answer depends on the relative powers of the African and white populations. The whites are a quite separate group—economically, politically, socially, in every way isolated from the African population (except for their dependence on African labour). To understand how this is so, one must examine in detail the conditions under which the Africans live:

rages eighteen pounds a year. The situation is made for worse by the vast amounts of idle "European" land—4 million acres of the ironically named "European National Parks", 8 million acres reserved for future white occupants. Only a minute three per cent of that reserved for white is actually cultivated. Hundreds

of thousands of Africans are forced off the land by taxes, poverty, soil erosion and the Kariba project: yet they cannot even rent "European" land. About 650,000 Africans are urban: they are not allowed to live in the towns, only in "African Townships", where they must be indoors by 9 p.m. and where they may have visitors for only two weeks in each year. They must carry identity cards—"passes"—and can lose their jobs or try to change them. There is an immense shortage of married quarters, so that of the urban population in 1962 there were more than twice as many

and hardly any will achieve a secondary education. In the current academic year, there are 4,108 places in Form I, and 655 pupils in Form IV. There are no African engineers, 10 doctors, 2 barristers, 1 solicitor and 100 graduate teachers—in 3.7 million people. For the whites there is universal compulsory primary and secondary education: on average ninety-six pounds per annum is spent on educating a white child, against nine pounds for each African child.

HEALTH: Southern Rhodesia has a good medical service. It is, however, principally for the benefits of whites. Most hospital beds are in the towns, so that rural Africans (80 per

one pound for a woman, and ten shillings for a child. How is an African earning eighteen pounds a year going to pay such fees? European fees have not, of course, been raised.

TAXATION: The majority of Africans are too poor to pay income tax. They have to pay a hut tax of two pounds if they live on the land however, and are taxed heavily by indirect means. Successive governments have increased taxation on the cheapest articles and one essential services. For example the Salisbury City Council (white) recently reduced rates on non-African property and increased the charge for electricity in the "African Townships." The latest Budget cut tax levels on incomes over twelve hundred pounds (the average non-African wage being twelve hundred and seventeen pounds). Apart from the medical charges mentioned, school fees have been recently introduced which are four times higher compared to income for Africans as for whites.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL: There are hardly any social contacts between Africans and whites. Almost all public accommodations are segregated, as are housing and education. Thus the average white insulates himself from the feelings and opinions of Africans: in addition the only daily paper giving space to these opinions has been banned. He has also isolated himself politically. Every mass African political party has been banned and its leaders detained, on the excuse that they represented only an extremist element and were responsible for violence and racial tension. Such a description might be better applied to the Rhodesian Front. Franchise qualifications ensure that whites shall never

form a minority of the electorate. At present the qualifications for the A roll are:

- Income of 792 pounds and literacy, or
- Income of 528 pounds and primary education, or
- Income of 330 pounds and Form IV, or
- Appointment to the office of chief or headman.

From the figures already quoted it is obvious that it would take decades for the Africans to become a majority on the A roll, which elects 50 seats directly and influences the remaining 15 by cross voting. To make it even more difficult the qualifications are raised at intervals: in 1961 the income-with-literacy qualification was 240 pounds; B. Roll qualifications are equally out of reach for the great majority of Africans. At present there are on the A roll 89,278 whites and 2,263 Africans, including the chiefs and headmen, who are government employees. On the B roll there are 10,466 Africans and 608 whites. There are a small number of Indians and coloured on both.

The African is therefore denied any form of constitutional action to secure his liberty and decency: the present government represents only a few per cent of Rhodesia's population. While it is important that the demand for independence under white minority rule should be squashed, the real question is not of independence, but of whether the people of Rhodesia shall have a democratic constitution and majority rule. The foolish demands of the white settlers must not obscure the fight for the just demands of the African people and their white allies.



This article is based on a broad sheet compiled by Chris Allen, a student of Brasenose College, Oxford, for distribution at a meeting addressed by the Rhodesian High Commissioner at Oxford.

only 474,000 African children are in school—62 per cent of those of school age; of the seven-year olds only 45 per cent were receiving education. Less than 60 per cent of these will go beyond standard 1,

cent of Africans) have little chance of treatment, and there are 3 times as many beds per white as per African. Moreover the R.F. government has recently introduced fees of two pounds for a man,

The Co-Operative Movement

FOR centuries on end the Bulgarian people waged heroic struggles for their national, political and economic liberation but they only gained real freedom on September 9, 1944, when, under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, they overthrew monarchism and established a people's government. After the historic triumph of September 9, 1944, the construction of socialism, of a system in which exploitation of man by man has been done away with, was begun in Bulgaria.

In 20 years, the people liberated from fascism and capitalism, having set out along the road to progress, radically transformed their country, Bulgaria, which in the past was one of the economically most backward countries; built up her own modern industry, created large-scale highly developed farming and raised the culture and education of the people to a still higher level.

Today, on the eve of the great 20th anniversary of their liberation, in conditions of real freedom and democracy, our people look back with justified pride to strike the balance of the fruitful road they have travelled. Inspired and full of enthusiasm at the successes achieved, profoundly convinced that the road along which the Party is leading them is the correct one, they are striving with might and main to complete the building of socialism and communism to which they have set their hands.

20TH ANNIVERSARY

The hardworking peasants are preparing to celebrate the great 20th anniversary with particular joy. They have good reason for this. Many of the great successes gained by our people on the road to socialism fall to their share. It is precisely with the most active support and help of our peasants that the Party was able to build the co-operative system in the village in such a short time.

In less than two decades our peasants, under the leadership of the Party, radically reconstructed their fragmented private farming into large-scale socialist farming, founded on the public ownership of the means of production and collective labour. In this undertaking the peasants manifested exceptional political consciousness, unique self-denial and an unshakable faith in their tried leader and true defender, the Bulgarian Communist Party.

After having gone through and been tempered by countless bloody skirmishes with the class enemies—at Douran Koulak, Vladya, in September 1923, and so on, they were familiar with the cruel face of the bourgeoisie. The peasants experienced the wonders of capitalism in agriculture on their own backs. That is why, after power was taken over by the people, they fearlessly set out along the road mapped out by the Party, a road which saved them from capitalist exploitation, from ruin and poverty.

Up to September 9, 1944, Bulgaria was a backward agricultural country. The ruin and impoverishment caused by the exploitation of the toiling peasants by the village rich, the grocers, tavern-keepers and so on, prior to that date, doomed the population of the countryside to poverty and uncertainty as to the morrow. This was a rapid process in those days. The figures, indicating in whose hands the land was, are eloquent of the sorry plight in which the major part of the peasants found themselves under bourgeois rule.

Farmsteads of 10 to 20 and over 20 hectares formed 10.7 per cent of all farms in 1934, but in them was concentrated only 33.1 per cent of the arable land. Farms of up to 4 ha, i.e. the group of the poor peasants, formed 52.4 per cent of all farms, and owned 20.4 per cent of all the arable land. At the same time many families who were entirely landless lived in the Bulgarian countryside. These were the families

of the farm labourers and sharecroppers, who belonged to the army of unemployed, and who found work with difficulty, the lack of land and the exploitation of the peasant workers forced part of the poor peasants to leave their homes and seek a livelihood even beyond the boundaries of their own country.

The process of mass impoverishment among the peasants was intensified by the disastrously low prices of farm produce. The majority of the peasants barely secured their families' food. The material and technical base of agriculture was also primitive.

Prior to September 9, 1944, 22.7 per cent of all farms in the country had no draught cattle at all, 9.1 per cent had one head of cattle, 18.7 per cent did not even have the simplest farm implements and only 30.2 per cent of the farms cultivated their land with iron ploughs, the remainder still used the wooden plough. All this provided no opportunities for the future and made the peasants desperate.

THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

By means of the co-operative farms the People's Government put an end to this painful situation of our peasants once for all. In accordance with the Act on Land Reform which consecrated the principles "The land belongs to those who cultivate it" up to 30 ha of land was left to the koulaks and big landowners in the Dobroudja, and up to 20 ha in the other regions of the country. The land above this maximum, which was expropriated, was included in the state land fund, from which the landless peasants were given land.

The nationalization of industry, the banks and trade also dealt a heavy blow to the capitalist elements and did away with the exploitation of the village by trade and bank capital.

The triumphant march of the socialist revolution in the towns exerted its influence, and most indisputably proved the advantages of the new and superior social system. Socialist industry and the socialist town gave tremendous moral and material help to the socialist revolution in farming.

The measures of the Party and the Government in restricting the economic role of the koulaks as a class, such as compulsory state deliveries, progressive income-tax and so on, as well as the vast economic and financial assistance given to the co-operative farms, and to raising the material and cultural standards of the peasants, aided with still greater force the pooling of the peasants' land into co-operative farms.

In transforming production relations an exceptionally great part was played in the countryside by the worker-peasant alliance, built up by the Party, which alliance was given a new content after the revolution. The Party thoroughly understood the unusually important part of the peasant as a political force, and was acquainted with their

revolutionary possibilities, and this enabled it to draw the peasants not only into the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, but also into the construction of socialism. Only because it based its policy on the peasant question on Lenin's teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the keystone of which is the alliance between workers and peasants, with the working class playing the leading part, was it possible in general successfully to solve the radical questions of the socialist revolution. In the new conditions, the Party engaged in vast activities to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. While revealing the reasons for the sorry plight of the peasants under capitalism, the Party made it clear that it was only in alliance with the working class that they could achieve a better life. Marching shoulder to shoulder with the working class in the struggle for socialism, the peasants

solidating the communist-agrarian unity under the tried Leninist leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and of contributing our share to the full triumph of socialism.

COLLECTIVISE AGRICULTURE

Owing to all this, it has become possible in a historically short time to collectivise agriculture, which is one of the most brilliant and most stirring triumphs of the Party, of the People's Government and the entire Bulgarian people in this period. The wisdom and maturity of the Communist Party was manifested most forcibly in solving this most complex and most difficult task of the transition period. Educated in a spirit of profound consistency and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, by such great sons of the Bulgarian people as Dimitar Blagoev, Georgi Kirkov, Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov, our Party has shown high principles and a creative sense in the construction of socialism in agriculture.

At the fifth Congress Georgi

and forms of socialist reconstruction of agriculture. On these basic questions the Party can serve as a model of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. With our concrete conditions in mind, as well as the experience of the CPSU in kolkhoz construction, the Party implemented Lenin's co-operative plan by means of the co-operative farms.

It is known that Lenin was the first to work out the question of the new historical role of the co-operative in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Marxist economic science. In co-operation he perceived that the interests of the peasants could be successfully combined with the public interests of the country. By means of co-operation millions of small-scale private peasants producers could voluntarily and gradually united in joint production.

HIGHEST DEGREE

Our experience has shown that the construction of socialism in the countryside through co-operation in production proved to the highest degree comprehensible for our peasants. The co-operative movement was already deeply rooted in the Bulgarian countryside in the past. In the conditions of capitalism the co-operative waged an active struggle, in so far as that was possible, in defence of the poor and middling peasants, against the robbery of the town and village rich and the usurers. The Party made extensive use of the co-operative as a legal form against the capitalist exploitation of the peasants and for its political work in re-educating them in a spirit of collectivism. That is why in our conditions the co-operative farms in the consciousness of the peasants proved the most successful and acceptable from their gradual transition to socialism, for turning small-scale commodity and unprofitable agriculture into large-scale socialist agriculture, for doing away with the exploitation of man by man in the countryside.

The co-operative farms proved a form of co-operation in production which could successfully combine the public and the personal interests of the peasants. Owing to this, they were able to attract on a mass scale not only the poor and landless but also the middle farmers. As is known, the Party did not proceed to nationalizing the land, which for a certain period necessitated the payment of land rent. In our conditions this situation facilitated the socialization of farming.

The Bulgarian Communist Party was greatly facilitated in resorting to this manner of socialist reconstruction of agriculture by the fact that socialism in Bulgaria was built after a socialist system had already been built in the Soviet Union, and that a world socialist system was already in existence. Later, while the development and consolidation of the co-operative farms was still in progress, the peasants realized that rent, being an unearned increment, does not help to increase production, and gave it up.

Today the income of the co-operative farms is distributed among the co-operative farmers only according to the work they have done. The problem of nationalizing the land was thus essentially solved. Today as an essentially socialist economy the co-operative farms do not differ from the kolkhozes, in which Lenin's co-operative plan was embodied. That is why, according to us, the co-operative farms in our country are a creative application of Lenin's co-operative plan under our particular conditions. The general principles of the revo-

In the emerging countries where the aim is to build socialism co-operation in fields where a national unified apparatus is not considered necessary, would relieve the central government of the burden of much detailed planning and would release the energy and initiative of the people, and introduce valuable elements of self-organisation from the start. In the 95th number of "The Spark" a writer discussed in details the general problems of co-operatives using the experience of Britain.

The experience of Bulgaria shows that in less than two decades the peasants radically reconstructed their fragmented private farming into large scale socialist farming founded on the public ownership of the means of production and collective labour.

In this article, Mr. Ivan Pamirov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party gives us the experience of Bulgaria which has many lessons.

realized their aspirations to save themselves from capitalist exploitation, poverty and ignorance, and to be masters of their own fate. In their common struggle they were convinced that only under the hegemony of the working class and in alliance with it could the countryside set out along the road to progress.

The successes achieved in agriculture along this road finally convinced the peasants that their salvation was not to be found in independent peasant rule, but in the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

The Bulgarian Agrarian Union makes a big contribution to the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. The Communist and the agrarians in our country have resolutely joined hands and are advancing confidently along the road to socialism. They hold sacred the fraternal unity and co-operation, sealed with the blood of thousands of peoples' sons, who fell in the struggle against fascism and capitalism. The newest manifestation of the resolution of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union to march undeviatingly with the Communist Party is to be found in the letter written by Comrade Georgi Traikov to Central Committee of Communist Party of Soviet Union. For us, organized agrarians, taught by the experience of our people's long years of struggle for freedom and independence, by the glorious years of socialist construction, there is no higher duty than that of guarding the worker-peasant alliance as the apple of our eye, of constantly con-

lution and those of practical socialist construction in our country are combined in the co-operative farms.

Owing to the correct policy of the Party and the help of the state, the peasants in a short time pooled their land and set out along the road to socialism. About 1958 the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was completed. Socialism triumphed finally and irrevocably in the towns as well as in the countryside.

Alongside with the drive for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Government turned their attention to the rapid development of the productive forces to the creation of a sound material and technical base, as the main condition and prerequisite for consolidating the economy of the co-operative farms and securing a greater output of farm products.

The Party based its policy on the historical truth that every social system arises and is consolidated only by the economic and financial support of a definite class, and that to have the co-operative system triumph in our country, too, as it is the child of the proletarian state, it must be supported to the maximum by the latter.

First and foremost, the paramount task in this respect was to equip co-operative agriculture with modern technology. It is impossible to build socialism in the countryside if agriculture is not placed on a new technological basis, if it is not supplied with the necessary modern machinery. Extensive possibilities of introducing machines were created on the co-operative farms, no matter how little land was initially pooled in them.

UP-TO-DATE AGRICULTURAL MACHINES

From the early years of co-operation and to this day our socialist agriculture has been steadily saturated with most up-to-date agricultural machines: tractors, combine harvesters, self-propelled chassis, cultivators and so on. The Soviet Union has rendered great services to the mechanization of our agriculture as, despite its own vast needs, it set aside sufficient machines for our agricultural and continues to do so.

At the same time, our own farm machine-building was founded. Works for trailers and implements were created, and a plant for tractors and threshing machines. In the first stage of co-operation, machine-tractor stations were organised which were entrusted with important tasks in providing technical organisational and economic assistance for the co-operative farms.

The machine-tractor stations were among the most important bases for the managements of the co-operative farms, provided by the state. The machine-tractor stations most vividly demonstrated to the peasants the advantages of large-scale farming, and induced them to join the co-operative farms where their labour was lightened and they were assured higher incomes.

Without the aid of the state in technically re-equipping agriculture by means of the machine-tractor stations the triumph of socialism would have been unthinkable at that time. The machine-tractor stations fulfilled their task and exhausted their possibilities. That is why in the major part of the country they were re-organized, their stock of machines and tractors being

(1)

transferred to the co-operative farms.

All that has been achieved in the field of mechanizing agriculture is a tremendous success of the policy of the Party in building and consolidating the co-operative system in the countryside. A real technical revolution has been accomplished, which revealed boundless opportunities for a steady growth of labour productivity in agriculture and for increasing production. About the end of 1963 agriculture had at its disposal over 54,600 tractors (calculated in 15 h.p. units), 34,311 tractor drawn ploughs, 24,755 cultivators and many more machines and other equipment, which has made it possible to mechanize basic farm operations almost 100 per cent. The use of electric energy was highly successful in supplying agriculture with motors and power capacities. Today there is electricity in almost all the farmyards of the state and co-operative farms.

ELECTRIC ENERGY

Electric energy is ever more extensively used in the household production of early vegetables, in the dairy farms and the milking of cows, shearing of sheep in the poultry and pig farms, in preparing feed for the farm animals and clearing away dung. Electric energy is particularly extensively used in irrigated farming, and at the auxiliary and processing enterprises of the state and co-operative farms. The introduction of technology and electricity in agricultural production raises it to ever higher levels, makes the work of the co-operative farmers much more productive and easy, essentially changes its character and raises it to the level of industrial labour.

In building the present-day material and technical base of agriculture the People's Government set about extending irrigation, putting much effort and means into this task. Over 50,000,000 leva are invested in irrigation every year. To see how much has been achieved in this direction, it is enough to indicate the fact that in 1939 there were 36,000 ha of irrigated land in the country, while irrigated areas have topped 900,000 ha in 1964.

Present-day irrigated agriculture is however, radically different from irrigated agriculture under bourgeois rule, not only in the extent of areas under irrigation, but also in quality. Today it is developing on an entirely new, highly technical foundation, which turns it into an industrial activity. This makes it possible to obtain two and three times higher yields from irrigated land.

The People's Government pays great attention to supplying agriculture with more fertilisers and chemical preparations. Our own chemical industry for the production of chemical fertilizers and preparations against plant diseases, pesticides and fungicides has been created to this end. A chemical works was built in Dimitrograd which has already reached an annual output of 78,000 tons of nitrogen fertilizer of 100 per cent pure substance. The Nitrogen Fertilizer Works in Stara Zagora has also been commissioned and it is to produce 450,000 tons of ammonium nitrate annually. In 1965 agriculture will receive over one million tons of mineral fertilizers, or an average of 210kg per ha of arable land. All this creates conditions for still higher yields.

The Forces of the African

Revolution (4)

UNDER the land consolidation scheme introduced into Kenya in the period shortly prior to independence, British imperialism hoped to set up a small class of 'kulaks' which would act as a buffer between itself and the mass of impoverished peasants; at the very worst, it calculated, this stratum would act as a drag on revolutionary change even if independence had to be granted. This view was well expressed by a leading member of the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, in a speech in London in January 1961, when he declared his belief that the changes being wrought in Kenya by the land consolidation and resettlement scheme was "beginning to create an agricultural middle class of Africans with a vested interest in ordered progress." He added that if time could be gained for this change to spread "there will be thousands of Africans with much to lose by political extremism, and therefore with no sympathy for it."

But the development of individual title to land among Africans, while it will make possible the emergence of a small class of better-off farmers is rapidly producing its corollary, a growing army of poor, and often landless peasantry, who crowd into the towns desperately seeking work, or end up doing seasonal work in the newly emerging African farms. In Southern Rhodesia, for example, where Africans are being settled on individual plots of six acres under the Native Land Husbandry Act, Joshua Nkomo, President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, has pointed out that while this Act "is ostensibly intended to produce a middle-class of small African farmers, holding land in freehold instead of communally... so far, its main result has been to force thousands of Africans off the land—providing a useful float for European enterprise."

Thus all the late efforts of imperialism to encourage individual African farmers growing cash crops for export have produced new problems for the African people. A class differentiation is showing itself markedly amongst the peasantry, a small richer group hiving up at the top, and a mass of impoverished peasants being created down below. A survey carried out in Basutoland in 1950 among 160,500 households on holdings of less than 80 acres, showed almost 7 per cent landless, and a third living on holdings of less than four acres. Some 90,000 households had 4 to 15 acres each, and at the top there were 6,740 households with 15 to 80 acres. Above them were a number of chiefs possessing 100-200 acres each.

In Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), where, as we have seen, the best land has been taken by the white settlers, differentiation among the African peasants has been taking place. A recent study by A. D. Jones on 'Farmers among the Plateau Tonga' (Seminar at Ibadan, July, 1964, on Social Classes and Elites in Africa), reveals that among the 600 African cultivators in this 100 square miles of maize producing territory, 15 are classified as 'commercial farmers'. These 15 have more land, machinery, implements, labour force, and income than the rest, and are clearly a separate stratum. Between them they own 4 maize mills, 1 saw mill, 6 motor vehicles, 3 tractors, 1 wind pump, 4 stores, 1 bakery and 1 petrol pump. The remaining 585 cultivators own only two maize mills between them and none of the other items at all.

In her study of the Gold Coast cocoa farmers in 1954/5, Polly Hill, on the basis of an analysis carried out amongst co-operative societies in ten different cocoa regions, revealed that 34 farmers reached a net annual income from cocoa of £500 each, 83 were in the £200-499 range, 98 in the £100-199 range, and another 542 earning less than £100,140 of the latter earning less than £50. Those in the £200-£500 group accounted for 20-40 per cent of the total income in most of the ten regions, except in Shai where they accounted for 56 per cent, and in Hwidiem where the very big farms, those with incomes over £500, accounted for 80 per cent of the total income. Further differentiation has undoubtedly taken place since then, though statistical evidence is not at present available.

Similar differentiation is taken place in a number of other territories. An agricultural enquiry in Senegal, 1960-1961, where the main crop is ground nuts, shows 127,800

holdings of less than two hectares each, totalling only 12 per cent of the cultivated land, while 40,700 holdings, of more than 7 hectares each, totalling 43 per cent of the cultivated land. Right at the bottom of the scale were 63,500 holdings of less than a hectare, covering 33,535 hectares on which worked 134,500 people; and at the top were 2,800 holdings of more than 17 hectares each, covering 77,239 hectares. Even more marked is the growth

of a class of African planters in the Ivory Coast especially in coffee and cocoa. Here, according to Raymond Barbe, in the rich region of Bongouanou, 500 of the richest planters possessing more than 12 hectares of cocoa and coffee each, employing at least five wage workers each, and representing about 7 per cent of the total number of planters, produce about a quarter of the entire cocoa and coffee output of the region. For the whole of the Ivory Coast he estimates about 8,000 to 10,000 planters, owning 10-12 hectares each, and employing at least five wage workers. "Some of them, including Houphouët-Boigny, political leader and President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, own more than 100 hectares." It is this stratum of planters says Barbe, which is able to accumulate sufficient capital, to branch out into commerce and transport and thus establish an African bourgeoisie. This development has been very rapid over the past decade. The emergence of 10,000 better-off African planters in

the Ivory Coast has been at the expense of thousands of poor peasants many of whom have ended up as the wage workers on these plantations.

Even in a less developed region, such as Dahomey, where the main crop is palm-nuts, a third of the proprietors, owning 60 per cent of the land under cultivation, are now employing wage labour. In Cameroun, by 1957, following on the lifting of the previous colonial restrictions on African production of coffee, there were 17,500 African coffee producers, owning 50-60,000 hectares of plantations, and making an average of 100,000 CFA francs each in that year—which is well up to the average in the Ivory Coast. A similar development of differentiation amongst the peasantry, consequent on the breakdown of the old communal land system, the drawing of the African countryside into the market economy, the change-over from communal land-ownership to individual title and from subsistence farming to cash crops for export, can be seen in Uganda, Kenya and Nigeria.

Thus the effect of sixty years of imperialist exploitation has made significant changes in the face of African agriculture. While elementary forms of feudalism remain

widespread (expressed in the power of the chief to allocate land, to expect gifts, to demand labour, to control the native courts), and are sometimes very marked (as in Uganda, Northern Nigeria, and Ethiopia, etc), the main enemy of the African peasant has been not the feudal landlord but the imperialist, who has robbed him of his land, taxed him to the hilt, ruined his subsistence agriculture, limited his participation in the production of cash crops, and so forced him into wage labour in European enterprises. Even those who have been able to break through into the cash crop economy and themselves become employers of African labour, have had to contend with the competition of the European farms and plantations and, even more, with the domination of the market by the big imperialist monopolies which strive to pay the African producer the lowest possible price for his cash crops. Alongside a stratum of better-off African farmers and plantations owners is a vast army of poverty stricken and often landless peasants, who are compelled to offer themselves up as wage labour in European undertakings and, increasingly in the past ten years, on African-owned farms and enterprises.

The widespread agrarian crisis in Africa, which is

a natural consequence of colonial rule, has been to some extent concealed by the migrant labour system. Communal land ownership and subsistence agriculture remains, but it has suffered heavy blows from sixty years of colonialism, and is now under attack from the indigenous capitalist forces which are growing in the African countryside.

No responsible African independence organisation, or trade union, no national or working-class leader, argues today in favour of a return to the village life of the past. Tendencies there may be to idealise what has gone, but these carry no decisive weight in the national movements for independence. What was positive in the ancient traditions—the communal feeling and activity, the knowledge of the special characteristics of African soils, climate and plant life, the forms of quasi-democratic consultation, the folk arts and crafts—these will certainly be carried forward and developed when the African continent has won its freedom.

But traditional African village life contained, too, the seeds of decay. It was based on a backward form of economy which, while it could sustain the people, gave no

possibilities for development. Moreover, on the basis of this form of economy existed a social order and a culture which perpetuated ancient superstitions and shibboleths and maintained the people in ignorance and obscurantism.

In contemplating the fate of African subsistence agriculture, one is inevitably reminded of the writings of Marx on India. Marx saw clearly how the impact of imperialism had destroyed the former primitive communal land ownership and subsistence agriculture, yet he shed no tears for the passing of this backward form of economy:

"Sickening as it must be to human feeling to witness those myriads of industrious, patriarchal and inoffensive social organisations disorganised and dissolved into their units, thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time their ancient form of civilisation and their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies."

(Karl Marx: The British Rule in India, 1853).

Africa's path of development has, of course, been very different from that of India, or indeed, from that of Asia as a whole. But, despite the differences, Africa and Asia share certain things in common.

Continued on page 6

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Should State Enterprises Make Profit?

SAM vander Puije's "Ghana T.U.C. and Our Revolution" in the December 24 SPARK may contain "answers" by Africa to the Victor Perlo article in your issue of November 27, "Should State Enterprises Make a Profit?"

During my last ten years in the U.S., I worked in the Methods Department of a goodly sized paper conversion plant. That gave me a first-hand view of capitalist's approach to worker incentives.

Out of this experience, before arriving in Ghana? I had formulated certain conclusions not too different from those expressed by Victor Perlo. After three years here, however—listening to trade union discussion of this point, and reading detailed reports about it from socialist Asia—I have had to modify my previous views considerably.

For me, the central question raised by Victor Perlo's article vis-a-vis Africa is this: under socialism, what constitutes "an individual incentive at the point of production?" Is it purely an economic phenomenon? Should it be permitted to be so?

If I read him correctly, Perlo's major points were:

- That the Soviet Union was about to "call things by their correct names" and, based on a share of profits, institute detailed "individual and group incentives" for workers at the point of production;

- That, in addition, there were proposals to rationalise the price system; to improve planning, while ending it for "the last nut and bolt," and to reduce paper work;

- That "historically, Soviet incentives were mainly of the piece-work variety," while "plant-wide collective incentives were based on the amount by which production exceeded the plan;"

- That the new method was being postulated to overcome certain shortcomings, chief of which appears to be that under the old order, managers could get "a low plan of production which they can easily overfulfill" instead of raising labour productivity and reducing costs for the benefit of social wealth; and

- That the new way would not undermine planning, but that some controls were needed because "Soviet people are not angels."

In the light of my own experience in this field, may I comment?

Incentives for workers arose under capitalism when the mode of production had reached that stage at which better productivity could provide greatly increased profits for the capitalists. In a word, incentives followed not far behind the arrival of imperialism, that "highest stage of capitalism."

The name most closely associated with incentives originally was Bedaux's. The "Bedaux system" was glorified piece-work, resulting in unbelievably inhuman speed-up. No sooner did the human element in production learn to "beat the machine" than the bosses lowered piece-rates. Then, to achieve the former take-home pay, the worker would have to produce at a greatly increased tempo. This process went on till the worker was tossed onto the employment scrap-heap, a human wreck less than 40 years old.

Naturally, the unions fought the system—to a standstill. At the same time, one section of the ruling class realised that the Bedaux system contained self-defeating factors: modern large-scale industry requires practical, if not consciously motivated, co-operation among

workers (one of Marx's big points). But "Bedaux" was individual incentive at its "purest," and among workers it caused a failure precisely in co-operation.

So, although the Bedaux system faded, the idea of worker incentives lingered. Carried to an extreme, a kind of "Robert Owens" approach in a few places proved capable of erecting a stone wall against unionisation. Endicott-Johnson's shoe factory in New York state and Heinz Jack's U.S. airplane parts factory were prize examples.

Old Man Johnson used to write a weekly column in the Company paper that served his Company shoe town. He never mentioned "workers,"

he talked to "his stockholders." In such advanced factories (for which workers waiting "in" formed a huge waiting list), vacations were provided on plots of resort-type land belonging to the Company. No worker was ever evicted from his Company-owned home "if times were slack."

During the war, wives (or sons, brothers, etc.) of workers away at the front held down their jobs (while full pay continued for the absent ones); and when those demobilised returned, their jobs were waiting.

When union organisers came to town (my husband was one such, who lived through this experience), management expensively invited them "right in," and voluntarily called a huge meeting of workers. Of course, nobody joined the union.

The owners of such factories lived like royalty, the same as other capitalists. What is more, they were never annoyed by strikes and other unpleasantness. Often, they tried to sell their methods to their class; they called it "the

intelligent way." Actually, however, their activities merely underlined the enormity of private profits under U.S. monopoly rule. "Intelligence," moreover, could not complete with the "rate of profit" which these individuals' CLASS bases itself on. Furthermore, the "income spread"—the notable difference between management's salaries and wages even for well-paid workers—is a fetish which capitalism cannot give up, since it contains the seeds of super-profits, which are its main diet. These are reasons why only three or four plants of any size in the U.S. ever followed this extreme example.

Yet, many factory owners found it profitable for a time to use genuine worker incentives, based on "time and method" study.

Time study had been introduced by Bedaux in his original speed-up system. The workers had their jokes about this, none of them printable.

The addition of method study, however, made it possible to extract the worst speed-up out of incentives schemes, while still vastly improving productivity. While the best worker is still photographed cinematically to determine what "excess motions" he makes as he works, the machine is also scrutinised to eliminate mechanical time wasters.

By this method, a worker may find his work even easier once "standards" or "norms" have been set for his machines. BUT all his notions now become productive. Thus, for the same energy expenditure per work-day, a worker on a measured job is shown how to put all the effort directly into production. This has brought enormous savings—and thus, additional profits—for the boss, the main benefi-

tor under capitalism, of course. Where I worked, management cared not a fig for individual incentives, preferring a collective of group variety. Workers, they reasoned correctly, whose extra gains depend on group performance more than likely will either help or prod their slower members.

This, however, did not mean that individual performance could not be ascertained. Administration of incentives allowed every workers performance to be judged by a scientifically set standard, by the day, week, month or longer periods. Obviously, such a feature could be valuable in a socialist society, disclosing which workers need help and which can give it. Moreover, this system also permitted fairly simple individual job costing, which could also be advantageous under socialism.

Unlike the Bedaux system, standards set under the system I worked with were considered permanent, changeable only following a definite, demonstrable change in the equipment. In all cases, union agreement was obtained. At the same time, since an improvement in equipment meant a higher standard, management encouraged workers to offer suggestions or innovations for methods improvements. For each such adopted, the "inventor" was paid 15 per cent of the first year's savings—after which, all the fruits of his invention belonged to the Company. (Methods engineers, at a set salary often not higher than that of the top workers, received nothing for any of their methods improvements, all of which, under the hiring arrangement, belonged to the company.)

Management evidently felt that productivity achieved by his method was pure gravy,

because they allocated about 65 per cent of all production above standard to the workers in bonus, themselves retaining 35 per cent.

Nevertheless, after about seven years, the entire incentive system was abandoned, although production continued to be measured. Thus, emphasis shifted from men to machines. To me, this showed that, though sections of this ruling class may experiment with such ideas, capitalism can only move away from incentives for human beings, looking instead to rationalisation to satisfy its inordinate financial appetite. And quite "naturally," for returns from automation are vastly superior to any obtainable out of labour improvements on existing equipment. In the plant where I worked, an unpublished decision by management to go for automation was definitely back of the abandonment of incentives.

The reason given for ending the bonus, however, was that incentives had proved "a needless expense." Management contended that the workers were making so much money in base wages that they refused to put out any further for "mere" extra money earnings. U.S. printing trades definitely are among the highest paid in a highly-paid land: some of the workers (but probably not more than 10 per cent) in that plant earned—including overtime, of course—well over £3,500 a year, drove around in big cars or snappy sports models which the Company Credit Union helped them to own. Thus, there was a certain ironical validity to management's argument. But back of it lurked more basic facts: first of all, management salaries of a much higher order though even here, my observation was that management tried to obtain technical and administrative skill as low as the traffic would bear, succeeding to a

(continued on page 7)

Law in the Building of Socialism:

Law and Theories About Law (I)

MOST people are ambiguous in their posture towards law. We are all impatient of its delays, its formalism, its rigidity that too often seems to block imperative social reform. On the other hand, it seems clothed in a mysterious suit of impervious armour, upon which the sharp edge of radical social change too often blunts itself.

We shall discuss the role of law in the building of socialism in Ghana in three articles. This first article is devoted to the development of a socialist theory of the role of law, and the two succeeding articles will discuss the 1964 amendments to Ghana's Constitution in light of the role of law in building socialism.

For our purposes, law may be defined as all those rules or norms of conduct which the State enforces with its strong arm. These rules sketch the pattern of society. Apartheid laws in South Africa, for example, guarantee exploitation of Africans by whites. In a slave society, the law insures that State power may be invoked to keep the slave in bondage. Appropriate laws under capitalism guarantee the "right" to exploit wage labour. Under socialism, the law forbids the exploitation of man by man. In sum total, law describes society.

Since law rests upon State power, to the extent that it describes a society structured by economic class, it in the main serves as a device to invoke State power in support of the ruling class, not only by way of laws which touch the sensitive nerve-centres of economic relationships, but in many other areas not so clearly affected by the economic order.

Yet it would be an oversimplification to conclude that therefore all law is simply an instrument of the ruling class. Many rules, like traffic regulations, are merely administrative in character. Much law is simply old-fashioned, and expresses relationships between classes which have long since died away. Most significantly, there are in the received law many democratic elements, monuments usually of now all-but forgotten transitory victories of the people in their eternal, grim struggle for freedom. The guarantee of equal protection in the United States Constitution now of great importance in the struggle for Negro liberation, for example, was won only after a bloody Civil War. The right to organise trade unions in England is another example of a democratic right won in law only after massive popular struggle.

Law therefore describes society in all its contradictions and ambiguities, in the main reflecting its principal relationships and forces. Since society eternally changes, law too is in constant flux—not invariably in step with society, but nevertheless, however haltingly and grudgingly, ever-changing.

FLUX AND STABILITY

Yet it is to this constantly-changing law that individuals look to their personal juridical security. That one can marry, walk in safety down the street, write a will, or own personal property depends in large part upon the law's guarantees.

Thus the law embodies a paradox. Constantly changing, it is nevertheless the essential formal source of what stability and security individuals have in society.

The resolution of the paradox is found in the very nature of law. A surprising number of the elements in the law to which common people look for their security are those won in the people's struggles for freedom—the freedom from unlawful searches and seizures, the right to habeas corpus, the right to security from arbitrary arrest.

Even more important, however, than these specific

guarantees, is the fact that law is expressed in general terms which theoretically apply without discrimination between persons. The rules of law thus provide a pattern by which a person supposedly can regulate his life in comfortable assurance that expectations raised by the law will be satisfied. In this sense, it is the nature of law itself which is the formal guarantee against arbitrary tyranny. Thus law, which from the long viewpoint of history is ever-changing, from an immediate personal viewpoint seems the central theoretical basis of individual security.

THEORIES ABOUT LAW

The most popular theory about law, nevertheless, is that law is, or ought to be, changeless. How did it come about that law, which patently continuously changes, is widely believed properly to be immutable?

The answer is to be found, as usual, in history. Following the Act of Settlement in England in 1701, landed and mercantile aristocrats controlled both Parliament and the Executive. Parliament wanted nothing more than to maintain the status quo, and the judges were vigorous in their service to the cause.

But the judges were also, to a degree, faithful to the notion of law. On some occasions, strong-minded judges refused to change the law to meet the whim of the executive. Some of the great English decisions asserting human liberty against tyranny come from this period, when judges in the name of judicial conservatism refused to permit the Crown to act in defiance of law. As a result, the rising industrial classes and the masses of the people tended to see in the law's unchangeability an important protection against aristocratic tyranny.

In the meantime, the industrial revolution in England was rapidly producing a whole new class for whom the entire legal framework of the law, which patterned the older, largely agrarian, aristocratic society was impossibly confining. The new industrial capitalists came to such power as they acquired under the banner of law reform. Reform, they believed, had to be accomplished by Parliament, since the judges could not be expected to do it in light of their devotion to precedent. Moreover, the long tradition of judicial resistance to aristocratic efforts to warp the law against the people had produced a firm belief that in the resistance to change, the judges were serving popular interests.

Since the reform of 1832, the capitalist classes have been, with very few interruptions, firmly in control of the English state structure. The law has been in the main, as they desired it to be; and where they wanted to reform it, there was usually small difficulty in changing it through parliamentary means.

But now a new function for theories about law developed. Seizing upon the popularity of the notion of an unchangeable law, the apologists for the ruling classes ceaselessly urged that the law was unchangeable and immutable. The role of legislation was merely to patch

minor inconsistencies or aberrations in what was otherwise an almost perfect, harmonious whole.

Nowhere was this propaganda stronger than in the colonies. How often were the subject people told that the greatest gift of British overrule was Common Law, the highest expression of civilization itself? By the introduction of English law, in fact the imperialists tried to make over society in the colonies favourably, to the same classes which dominated English society. By their incessant claim what the common law was the highest expression of civilization, and hence basically unchangeable and forever right and just, they tried to place it beyond the reach of social-revolutionaries.

To persuade the masses of people that law ought not to change, it is important to obscure the fact that law in the main expresses the interests of the ruling class. Hence a major element of the myth about the law's immutability is that its source of validity is not state power, but its own inherent justice and logic. Thus a recent Ghanaian author writes that "the common law of England consists of a collection of principles to be found in the wisdom of sages or reduced from universal and immemorial usage, and receiving progressively the sanction of the court... The genius of the common law is that the more it changes (or seems to change) the more it is the same thing."

Nothing could be further from the truth. But it is not surprising, in view of history, that most people believe this sort of nonsense—and especially among the educated classes in the former colonies, whose education, both in the colonies and in England, has been in large part directed towards persuading them that law is beyond social-revolutionary change.

THE IMPACT OF THEORIES ABOUT LAW

The significance of the myth cannot be over estimated. No class could maintain an exploitative position against all the people if it were not that the majority of the people were in bondage to ideologies which serve the interests of their masters. If the people can be persuaded that the law cannot and should not be altered, then to that extent law, and hence the ultimate expression of State power, is placed beyond the reach of social-revolutionary forces.

Most important of all, if the judges themselves can be persuaded that the law contains its own internal justification, then in the nature of things they will not change the law. As a result, for generations in England the judges have been by far the most conservative of all the branches of government.

LAW AS SOCIAL ENGINEERING

Theory must reflect reality. The reality about law is that it describes society. Because in the past the typical model of society has been one which allegedly ran by its own unchanging laws, like clockwork, it was easy for people to believe that the main function of law was faithfully to reflect the society that is. Thus law, which defines society, appeared as its very opposite, a mere reflection of the society it defined.

But socialism means, par excellence, that man is now to order his society. In that task, law is a necessary tool. Thus law in the building of socialism is not merely an expression of the society which is, but a device for helping to secure the society which ought to be. Law becomes, pre-eminently, a device of social engineering.

Among academic lawyers, ever since the mid-nineteenth century, similar or analogous ideas have been commonplace. Austin defined law as the command of the sovereign. Holmes, later to become the greatest liberal on the United States Supreme Court, said in 1881 that the life of the law has not been logic, but experience. Pound, the Dean of Harvard Law School, coined the phrase "social engineering" decades ago. But the view of academic lawyers has not been the prevalent view among either practising lawyers, judges or the vast majority of the population.

SOCIETY

The notion of law as a technique of social engineering does not mean that society is shaped solely by law. Society is the resultant of the relative strength of its several constituent classes. Perhaps the most important element in determining the relative strength of the various classes in society is the ability of the class to employ state power in its aid. Since it is the law which directs how state power is to be employed, the law is a principal factor in determining relative class strength, and hence the shape of society. Law is at once a resultant and a determinant of social forces.

Nor does this mean that Ghana ought forthwith to develop law appropriate to a fully developed socialist society. Ghana is not yet a socialist society; it is a society

with a mixed economy moving towards socialism—as the Constitution phrases it, it is in the process of "struggle to build a socialist society." So long as Ghana requires a private sector to the economy, for so long must laws describing capitalist relationships remain in existence, although no doubt somewhat ameliorated by minimum wage laws, progressive labour laws, workman's compensation laws and the like. But by consciously choosing to retain some laws which describe capitalistic relationships for a time, the lawmakers nevertheless engage in social engineering, for the laws represent their choice of the society presently desirable and attainable.

To state that law is a system of social engineering may seem dangerously amoral. It suggests that the law can with equal propriety be used for fascist or racist ends as for humanist ends. In fact, of course, law viewed simply as a technique of social engineering, is value-neutral. What morality there is in law derives not from its character as law, but from the morality of the objectives of the society to which the law is a means. To the extent that the objectives embody values which enhance the value and dignity of human beings in accordance with the demands of objective reason, to that extent is the law moral. A judge in Nazi Germany, or one in Verwoerd's South Africa, in applying Nazi or apartheid law, acts immorally not because he uses the law as a technique of social engineering, but because he uses the law for anti-human—and hence deeply immoral—social objectives. On the other hand, a judge acts morally who uses law as a tool to achieve a just society founded on the value and dignity of human beings. The law is no more moral or immoral than an axe. If to chop off heads, its use is

immoral; if to cut firewood to warm a man by night, its use is moral.

But law under socialism serves not only as a tool for patterning a just society. It also serves the pervasive need for stability and security which it is the function of law in any society to provide.

In bourgeois states, law serves a similar function. But the security afforded by the law in a bourgeois state is formal, not substantial. As Anatole France said, both rich and poor are equally privileged to sleep under bridges.

Under socialism, law ought to provide not only theoretical, but substantial legal security. This imperative arises from the very nature of socialism as a system of society, and from the ethic which is the core of the socialist value-scale.

Socialism is above all else rational, orderly, and planned. Under socialism therefore state power must be employed in accordance with general rules which are the result of the deliberate choice of the responsible lawmakers. All the careful social engineering of the lawmakers can be frustrated if an administrator, for whatever reason, chooses to ignore the applicable norm of law.

SOCIALIST LEGALITY

Society must act according to the rules of law not only because otherwise the planned society cannot be achieved, but also because an illegal application of state power inevitably denies to individuals the security and fairness of treatment which lies at the core of personal juridical security. Socialism is aimed at protecting individual human beings. The value and dignity of the individual is the main value in socialist thought; it is to enhance that value that socialism outlaws exploitation. Whenever an individual is

treated in a manner inconsistent with general rules applicable to all persons similarly situated, his personal security is destroyed and the main value of socialism negated.

Socialism as a planned and orderly system of social organization, designed to protect and develop individual dignity, requires the rule of law—i.e., that state power be invoked only in accordance with general rules of ascertainable content. This requirement of socialism may be called the requirement of socialist legality.

THE SOVIET EXPERIENCE

In this regard it may be well to consider the Soviet experience. A recent Soviet book states that "The Soviet State proceeds from the fact that socialist legality is an important component part of socialist democracy, and one of the most important factors in the stability of the Soviet political and social system." Obviously, one would not urge that Ghana copy any country; but it may be wise to learn from the hard-won experience of other socialist states.

Socialist law thus has, like all law, a dual and seemingly paradoxical function. On the one hand, law must serve as a device for social engineering—i.e., for expressing the choices made by the law-makers of the rules which pattern out the sort of society and economy which is desired. On the other hand, law must serve as a device for securing socialist legality—i.e., for stating in coherent terms the rules by which State power may be applied, both in order to make rational and orderly planning possible, and in order to protect the security and stability of individuals. Social engineering and socialist legality: This is the essence of the role of law under socialism.

African Revolution (4)

Continued from Page 5

Both fell under the heel of Western imperialism. In both continents the existing communal village life and subsistence agriculture were destroyed and the people impoverished as a result. In both, to borrow the words of Marx, "England has broken down the whole framework of... society, without any symptoms of reconstruction yet appearing. This loss of the old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the people." (Karl Marx: op. cit.)

In bringing about the destruction of the old order in Africa the imperialists have, just as in India, done nothing to "emancipate or materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people." (Karl Marx: *The Future Results of British Rule in India*, 1853). On the contrary, they have plunged the African peasant down to the utmost depths of poverty and disaster, producing as a result that peculiarly African phenomenon, the continually migrating peasant-worker, confronted with the "loss of his old world" yet "with no gain of a new one". It was not without reason that a report on the effects of migrant labour in Nyasaland, in 1953, correctly forecasts that: "the Nyasaland-born natives will have acquired a mistrust and loathing for administration by the white people which has made a wilderness and called it peace."

But a "wilderness called peace" does not exist only in

Nyasaland. Similar wildernesses are to be found throughout the African continent. Sixty years of imperialist exploitation have been sufficient to wreak this terrible damage.

We have already noticed that an African capitalist stratum has been developing fairly rapidly in the countryside. But this is not the only sphere in which one can note the emergence of such a class. It is true that it is not yet a fully matured and differentiated class, that it is often economically weak, and that its main fields of activity are still farming, trade and transport, with some building or construction work. But it is correct to state, as the late Dr. I. L. Potekhin (former head of the African Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences) has done, that "there is still no class of bourgeoisie opposed to the working class" but only "capitalist elements which exploit wage labour".

The origins of an African capitalist class are generally to be found in trade. Long before the arrival of Europeans in Africa, trading had taken place, much of it in the form of barter, the exchange of handicrafts, and sometimes of food. When the Europeans came (and the Arabs) the plunder of men and women, of Ivory and gold, became the main form of "trade", the Africans receiving in return only guns and baubles. In time, however, the relations between Europe and Africa began to change. An industrial revolution took place in Europe, and this increasingly demanded the raw materials of Africa

as well as the use of Africa as an outlet for European manufactured goods. This development went ahead first in West Africa where palmfruit production was already in the hands of Africans and where local trading was already widespread.

"The imported goods given in exchange went into African hands and African markets. The produce-buying companies, gradually extending inland, found Africans to bring the produce in and Africans to distribute the European goods even to the smallest villages."

(*The New Societies of Tropical Africa*: Guy Hunter: Oxford University Press, 1962)
*Africa: Ways of development: by I. L. Potekhin: Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1964.

In East and Central Africa, the lack of an immediate crop for export, and poor transport facilities compared with West Africa, delayed the emergence of African traders connected with the European market. Much of the trade fell into the hands of the Asians, who later expanded into cotton ginning and sugar plantations. European settlement in east and central Africa meant that they, too, monopolised certain branches of trade.

In the developing towns of Africa, the indigenous trader often had to compete with the petits blancs—French and Levantines, Greeks and Pakistanis, Belgians and Portuguese. In West Africa, however, African traders had more

opportunity, and with the coming of the lorry at the beginning of the twentieth century, a veritable revolution began to take place in African trading. Now it became possible to carry larger loads over longer distances in a shorter space of time; the interior could be more easily opened up to the trader; the village store could be set up and constantly restocked.

"The possession of a lorry became for some Africans a major instrument for multiplying their wealth—a multiplication which was inconceivable for them when their only means of transport had been men and beasts of burden." (Les Classes Sociales en Afrique Noire: Raymonde Barbé: Paris, 1964).

During and after the Second World War this process developed still more rapidly. In West Africa, says Guy Hunter, "from the mass of petty traders and craftsmen, the market women and the wandering Hausamen, there began to appear... a group of more substantial Africans in a more modern way of business. These might be the big traders of Accra, Kumasi, Kano, Lagos, Port Harcourt, and Onitsha, trading both in produce and European goods; the building contractors, the owners of fleets of lorries. These were men concerned with banks and credit, wages and customs duties; in many ways they were seeking to become modern men of business. This was the real start of a transition from the traditional market to the twentieth century sense of commerce."

BOOK REVIEW:

Marx On Social Systems

IT OFTEN comes as a surprise to many supporters of Marxism that a great deal of Marx's writings have not yet been translated into English. Lawrence and Wishart has now made available a section of a large volume written by Marx in the period 1857-9 when he was preparing the ground work for *CAPITAL*, translated by Jack Cohen and with a substantial introduction by Eric Hobsbawm and some supplementary extracts and letters by Marx and Engels.

Anyone interested in the Marxist view of history will value this book and, through the public libraries, will help to see that it is available for others.

Eric Hobsbawm states that most readers will be interested in one main aspect of this work; its discussion of the main types of social systems (or modes of production) and the light it may throw on how one succeeds another and why.

Marx's views have often been presented as though the chief socio-economic formations are, to use Eric Hobsbawm's words "a single ladder which all human societies climb rung by rung, but at different speeds, so that all eventually arrive at the top."

Eric Hobsbawm refers to this as an oversimplification which has led to a somewhat un-

successful (and unfruitful?) search for "fundamental laws" applicable to every stage of society.

On these questions, Eric Hobsbawm's introduction is interesting and helpful in reading the text by Marx.

Marx is attempting something of enormous importance. He is trying to dig down to the basic features of historical change in all pre-capitalist society in order to throw more light on the nature of capitalism itself. These manuscripts, after all, were preparations for the writing of his full scale analysis of capitalist society, *Capital*.

His opening paragraph is: "One of the prerequisites of wage labour and one of the historic conditions for capital is free labour and the exchange of free labour against money... Another prerequisite is the separation of free labour from the objective conditions of its realisation—from the means and material of labour. This means above all that the worker must be separated from the land, which functions as his natural laboratory. This means the dissolution both of free petty landownership and of communal landed property..." (p.67).

In some splendid passages, Marx demonstrates why capital is in the first place a *relationship bringing* (and accumulating) labourers and instruments together. The conditions of labour becomes something set up as against the labourer. In one sense this is a degradation of the labourer.

But in another sense the very development of productive power which underlies the entire development of human society opens the way for completely new prospects. In a moving and poetic passage (also picked out by Eric Hobsbawm in his introduction) Marx writes:

"Thus the ancient conception, in which man always appears (in however narrowly national, religious or political a definition) as the aim of production, seems very much more exalted than the modern world, in which production is the aim of man and wealth the aim of production. In fact, however, when the narrow bourgeois form has been poured away, what is wealth if not the universality of needs, capacities, enjoyments, productive powers, etc., of individuals, produced in universal exchange? What, if not the full development of human control over the forces of nature—those of his own nature as well as those of so-called "nature"? What, if not the absolute elaboration of his creative dispositions, without any pre-conditions other than antecedent historical evolution which makes the totality of this evolution—the evolution of all human powers as such, unmeasured

By
Sam Aaronovich

by a previously established yardstick—and end in itself? What is this, if not a situation where man does not reproduce himself in any determined form, but produces his totality? Where he does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming? In the bourgeois political economy—and in the epoch of production to which it corresponds—this complete elaboration of what lies within man, appears as the total alienation, and the destruction of all fixed, one-sided purposes as the sacrifice of the end in itself to a wholly external compulsion." (pp. 84-85).

Concentrated in these lines is an extraordinary wisdom which can bring illumination both to those engaged directly in the destruction of capitalism and to builders of socialism. It is a devastating reply to those who, like Sir Leon Bagrit consider that automation ultimately means for man ever bigger seaside resorts for the millions who will retire earlier. The book is well produced with pleasing over.

overtake and surpass the U.S.A.?" Is there any connection between group or individual incentives on a purely "share-the-profits" basis and continuation of corruption which has caused the shootings of (admittedly few—but after nearly a half century of socialism) numbers of speculators and embezzlers? Can one "overtake and surpass" capitalist economy, using even a large portion of capitalist methods, without also overtaking and surpassing various non-economic features that go with that system?

Back of my questions, admittedly, is actual experience in Asia, which bears considerable (though not all) similarities to our own situation in Africa.

In North Korea, for instance, phenomenal success has been achieved economically: 93.3 per cent of all rural villages now have electricity including 70.0 per cent of rural individual homes, with 100 per cent in both categories planned for the next two or three years. Korea also has completely solved its food problem, the first socialist country as far as I know to have achieved this objective.

China, too, now believe itself well on this road. And both these countries in their political writings dealing with human incentive take a non-economic approach:

The Dec. 4, 1964, No. 49 *Peking Review* carried an article on "The Cultural Revolution of China's National Minorities," by Lu Ting-yi. In it, the following appeared:

"Historical experience tells us: it is not enough for the proletariat to seize state power, he must also carry out the socialist revolution to victory on the economic front. And it is still not enough for it to win that victory alone; it must also carry out the cultural revolution and carry the socialist revolution to victory on the fronts of art and literature, ideology and education."

In No. 32 for August 7, 1964, the same magazine translated an editorial from the famous Chinese paper, *Renmin Ribao*, under the title: "Training Millions of Successors to the Proletarian Revolution." In it, this thought was expressed:

"The successor to the proletarian revolution must be selfless for the sake of the common good, and unremittingly oppose individualism. He must under all circumstances... resolutely oppose departmentalism... Both departmentalism and national-egoism have their roots in bourgeois individualism. To be a successor of the proletarian revolution, one must not be prey to the temptations of bourgeois individualism and under all circumstances put the interests of the overwhelming majority in first place."

This same mass collective approach to building socialism, a good bit of which recalls Kwame Nkrumah's admonitions; is also prevalent in North Korea.

In a speech delivered recently to the 5th Congress of the Korean Democratic Youth League, Premier Kim Il Sung told the on-coming generation the following:

"Our youth should further cultivate the spirit of resolutely fighting against the individualistic and egoistic ideas and loving the collective and organisation, their comrades and the people. All youth should fight for the common ideal and goal, helping and pulling each other along on the communist principle 'one for all, all for one.'"

Later, Korea's Premier referred to the need further to expand and develop the great Chullima (winged horse) movement, which is specifically aimed, like worker incentives, at improving productivity. Here is how he refers to it:

"The Chullima movement is a nation-wide movement for bringing about continued INNOVATION in all the economic, cultural, ideological and moral spheres and expediting

socialist construction to the maximum." It is a fine communist school closely combining the collective innovation movement in production with the work of educating and remoulding the working people."

Actual first steps in Asia consisted in improving the primitive tools with which peasants formerly cultivated. Side by side with this, semi-mechanised equipment was introduced, while industry was learning—through stubborn mass stick-to-it-iveness—to start producing heavy equipment. This may sound incredibly slow. Yet, so rapidly did this method yield fruit that, within a decade, automation became fairly advanced in certain key sectors of North Korean economy. Korean spokesmen emphasise that this achievement would have been impossible if attempted in a purely economic way.

Both Asia's experience and her attitude are reminiscent, on advancing levels, of the Stakhanovite movement in the early Soviet Union. Of course, it need not be concluded that such features will be missing from the new Soviet plan. Yet neither are they specified in Perlo's thorough article. Could this have any bearing on Ghana's problems?

When I first started living here I thought that group or individual incentives, especially monetary, would be required to break the general colonialist attitude, against work. But at trade union gatherings, I was intrigued when Ghanaian workers did not agree. At first, I tried "explaining my views" to individuals who, traditionally, listened politely. After a while, however, what the trade unionists were getting at began to seep through to me. They taught me, for instance, that Africa's extended family raises certain strong arguments against monetary incentives. They called to my attention that at this moment monetary gains by themselves would result mainly in new claims for support from relatives. "Give our relatives jobs," one unionist actually shouted during a heated discussion on the subject of incentives.

Ghanaian unionists also emphatically expressed a desire for amenities as incentives: more medical care on the job, free sports facilities, inexpensive or free food at canteens, and so on. In asking such things, they specified that everyone would benefit. Thus African communal tradition, as Kwame Nkrumah has frequently suggested, can and does exercise a healthy, collective influence on even incentive considerations, by passing capitalisms sharply individual, "maybe-I-will, maybe-I-won't" kind of "co-operation" which has proven so susceptible to rationalisation.

Sami vander Puije's article seems to support these individual observations of mine on this subject. While the article itself revolved around the broader topic, "Our Revolution", rather than like Perlo's dealing specifically with incentives, it seemed significant to me that, to cover the broader topic, the author needed to write in detail on incentives.

In the course of his exposition, Mr. Vander Puije offered enough material to allow a fair picture of Ghana's possible road in selecting incentives. I thought his keynote sounded in these words: "The (Ghana) Trades Union Movement, therefore, is in a transition stage between capitalist and socialist relations in industry and in some sections of the country's agriculture."

From this material base, starting point of any T.U.C. incentive programme, a specific objective is declared: "The Trades Union Movement of Ghana desires to create a type of worker, who will be in the vanguard of socialist labour and construction."

The general context in which this is to be achieved, set forth earlier, is this:

"Efficiency and productivity are not the preserve of the engineer and technician alone. These are concerned with the way every single worker expands his efforts and what the results are. Neither the road paver nor the civil servant in his office is exempted from this. Both teacher and cleaner learn to do their job better as a result of the application of new methods."

These key points, taken together, are specific to evolving Kwame Nkrumah's "new man," an impression further emphasised by the first steps toward increased productivity cited by the author:

1. Joint consultative meetings between the Ghana T.U.C. and the Ghana Employers Association "with a desire to evolve the spirit of harmony in their decisions, goals and policies in the private sector of the economy."

2. Along these lines, one-month course, referred to earlier, set up by the T.U.C. Productivity Promotion Department, wherein certain capitalist methods of improving productivity are studied. That these studies will not affect solely the private sector in Ghana is shown by the fact that, on completion of the course, the trainees were posted to various State-owned factories and establishments to enable them to gain practical experience." To imbue workers with even capitalist standards of work efficiency, as a prelude to the socialist attitude toward work, this approach is entirely realistic due to the colonialist inheritance, lat sur-wise, bequeathed to Africa.

3. A National Productivity Conference, wherein labour and employer representatives from all over Ghana met with academic personnel and productivity experts *per se* "from Ghana and abroad to study and discuss the various aspects of the problem of increasing productivity in Ghana's industries and services."

Within this context, Mr. vander Puije carefully records that "the Trades Union Movement is charged with the expansion in every possible way, through a variety of forms of ownership, of the productivity of Ghana so that... socialism can be constructed."

Underlining his last statement are two out of three features the author lists as characteristic of the crucial Seven-Year Development Plan which is based, of course, on the "different sets of production relations" in Ghana's mixed economy:

"(b) The incomes, which accrue to people as a result of organising their physical assets and human labour should be utilised for socially purposeful needs.

"(c) The community as a whole should play a positive role in the economy in order to ensure the attainment of a high level of economic growth."

A bit further on, summing up, the writer says:

"The Trades Union Movement believes that education for its rank and file—both ideological and technical—example and incentive all combined will lead to a big upsurge in the ranks of organised labour for the achievement of the Plan in the shortest possible time—if not ahead of the scheduled seven years."

This careful placement of education and example BEFORE incentives (even while all are to be combined) implies again the remaking of Ghanaian workers as the direction of intent AS productivity is improved. Borrowing from capitalist methods is deduced from the real material base, a mixed economy, and relates to the first phase of socialist development.

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State Enterprises

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large extent because of the total lack of organisation among such people); and most basic of all, the general fact that workers, not owning the equipment or their own product, found it of little concern to them whether productivity collected their agreed-on wages when due.

Certain "progressives" in my neck of the woods though it was horrifying for any radical to work at such a job as administering incentives, presumably on the "theory" that workers are better off if their enemies are in such strategic posts rather than their friends. But they could never point to any specific harm that had been done, outside the obvious fact that the bosses got extra profits. And that cannot legitimately be complained about as long as workers or their representatives support the status quo: if you support capitalism, you have to take the bitter with the sweet. The unions, thus, accepted time and methods study, standards and bonus, as a point of negotiations, thereby making of them a bone of contention over shares in the spoils.

Despite the attitudes of such progressives, my own attitude came to be that time and methods study could be beneficial under socialism, especially in a society starting with a big production handicap (whether from colonialism or from other kinds of imperialist warfare). Since workers must use up energy on a job in any case, to ensure that it is all used productively hardly seemed to me a political sin, especially with one eye on its use under socialism. This conclusion appears to be borne out by the vander Puije article, (to be discussed in detail below) which records the institution

by the T.U.C. in Ghana of schools teaching both Time and Motion Study and Incentive Schemes.

With all this in mind, let us now quote from Victor Perlo's article:

"The idea," he says, "of profits and of individual and group incentive is central. Economic fundamentals dictate it." (NOTE: unless otherwise specified, all emphasis in quotations herein are mine—H.E.)

"Under socialism," he continues, "the surplus (that is, values not immediately consumed by the working people to expand and modernise the productive plant, for national defence, and to provide the communal needs of the population) (free health services, education, cultural facilities, subsidised vacations, nominal rent, etc.). This part is essentially new under socialism and corresponds to the aim of that society to constantly raise living standards."

To back his point, he cites two questions from Latin, of which the second, written in 1921 reads as follows:

"We must not calculate on a directly communist transition. We must build on the basis on the peasant's personal incentive. We must give every specialist an incentive to become interested in the development of production. And we say that every important branch of national economy must be built on the principle of personal incentive. Collective discussion but individual responsibility."

Note that, while the two sections of the population Lenin actually specifies may be best motivated by monetary incentives, Lenin himself does not use the term at all.

It seems to me that with the confrontation: is Lenin's "personal incentive"

arrived at through "collective discussion but individual responsibility," actually equatable to Perlo's above words? — Can "the communal needs of the population (listed in detail by Perlo)" be discussed as purely economic?

One point which Kwame Nkrumah has stressed for the building of socialism here in Ghana is the need for a new man, a collective man who finds his biggest personal incentive in "the welfare of all." This tends to suggest that Kwame Nkrumah does not regard socialism as purely an economic phenomenon.

If even "Soviet people are not angels," "is there not a danger whereby using purely economic incentives and "profit" considerations might lead to undesirable results vis-a-vis any "new type of man" in Africa?

A hint to this effect as it affects the Soviet side is contained in the December 1964 *MONTHLY REVIEW*, an independent socialist magazine published in New York. Analysing "The fall of Khrushchov," this publication expounded as follows about the new approach to incentives in the Soviet Union (p. 477):

"No system of planning, no matter how perfectly conceived and applied, contains within itself the incentives for the human beings involved to perform their appointed roles faithfully and efficiently. They must be coerced into doing so—which no socialist has ever believed in except as a temporary necessity for survival—or they must want (original emphasis) to do their part, either because they believe they are engaged in a great collective endeavour which is worthy of their best efforts, or because if they do their jobs

well, they will improve their private material conditions. Soviet history has known all these types of incentives including coercion, but it is clear that during the first four stormy decades neither material incentives nor coercion can explain the historic achievements of the Soviet Union in economic construction and defence against foreign aggression. Only the passionate devotion of the Soviet workers to the ideals and promise of the Revolution kept the whole enterprise not only alive but able to overcome the most difficult challenges and crises.

"In recent years, however, all that earlier enthusiasm and elan have been subsiding, and no compensating system of heightened material incentives has been put in its place... K. S. Karolm, writing in the *New Statesman* of October 23rd, went directly to the heart of the matter:

"Russia became increasingly a political and skeptical about the future. This public mood has proved a great source of weakness. In a collective society, where the profit motive is absent and the stimulus to individual cupidity feeble, only political purpose can supply the driving force to individual effort and so make society dynamic."

"The only alternative is to devise a system of material incentives which will focus (Soviet workers') attention inward on their private concerns and once again restore the profit motive and rekindle the stimulus of private cupidity."

I quote this item from *Monthly Review* at length because of questions in my own mind regarding Perlo's article with its apparently pure economic approach.

Where does it lead? To... or not—tied to the goal "to

U.S. And Africa

Continued from Page 1

attack in the place of the covert methods she has been satisfied to employ in other parts of Africa.

The "curse" of the Congo is that it is rich not only in such minerals as copper which are found in other parts of Africa, but also in that strategic metal, uranium, which is so important in the development of nuclear energy. At present the whole of the uranium produced in the Congo goes to the Western countries and this forms, over fifty per cent of all their supplies. The immediate objectives of the U.S.A. and her allies in the Congo, is to ensure that this source of uranium supply remains securely in Western hands, preferably American, and to achieve this they have clearly shown that there is no depth to which they cannot sink. The world has not yet been told of the enormity of the crimes the U.S.A. is committing against the African people in the name of anti-communism. In one operation alone in which U.S.A. planes and pilots were involved over 3,000 Congolese civilians were killed. The fact is that the U.S. government does not permit herself the luxury of telling the American public the truth about her intentions and the nature of her involvements in the affairs of other countries. A convenient cover is always ready at hand: anti-communism.

puts the number of people carried away as slaves to the American continent at 100,000,000. With these resources, the economic foundation of the U.S.A., which today, is aspiring to the title of "the American Great Society", was laid. Today, of course, America is rich and great; but her rape of Africa still continues. It still continues in covert form in all the African countries but in the Congo it has come to the open. When will it stop?

Mr. Taylor next proceeds to lament the presence of a few Chinese in Africa. This he puts in his stinky literary style. Perhaps Mr. Taylor needs to be told that the troubles with Africa today are not due to the presence of the Chinese, but to the "over-presence" of the American. There are too many American C.I.A. agents in Africa masquerading as friends, representatives of their governments, experts, advisers, peace corps, and what not. Just as Mr. Taylor, this foremost agent of American imperialism, is now posing as an expert on African affairs (for the claims to have written "the section on Africa in the Book of Knowledge Encyclopedia") so are many of these other "experts" agents of forces inimical to African interests. Goodness only knows what mask Mr. Taylor wore when he visited Africa, as he claims to have done.

—Finally Mr. Taylor goes on to wail over the fact that African countries are turning more and more to the socialist countries of Europe for the training of the personnel they so badly need for their very survival as nations. We know that for obvious reasons the imperialist circles of the West are greatly disturbed about this African contact with the socialist countries. But instead of Mr. Taylor expressing this genuine concern of his masters, he goes out of his way to prepare a concoction which, perhaps, only the American public can swallow.

NO APOLOGY

We have no apology to offer anybody for sending our students to the socialist countries for further studies. In fact wisdom advises, and experience has taught, that this is the best thing to do. At least we believe that as independent states, we have the freedom to decide where to train our youth. In any case, of what use is a person trained in America, West Germany or Britain if he is to be cajoled into refusing to return to his country after his training.

So much for the factual content of Mr. Taylor's article. What about the motive behind it? What purpose is it meant to serve. To know this we

have to consider, firstly for whom Mr. Taylor is speaking, secondly the timing of the article.

It is not at all difficult to see that the views expressed in Mr. Taylor's article are identical with the official American stand in African affairs. Even the tone of the language is not much different from that with which Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. permanent representative at the U.N., sought to bully the African delegates over their stand on the U.S.-Belgian armed invasion of Stanleyville. Mr. Adlai Stevenson had the courage to tell the African delegates in the face and before that august gathering that in his long career as the U.S. permanent delegate to the United Nations he had never heard such "irrational, irresponsible, insulting and repugnant language". Mr. Stevenson's meaning is clear; the word 'language' in his statement was a euphemism he had to use for "argument" to make himself sound a little less crude.

Thus both Mr. Taylor's views and language closely reflect the official U.S. attitude to Africa and her people. We can therefore safely draw the conclusion that Mr. Taylor was officially assigned the task of this barbaric attack on Africa. And the article, following so closely on what amounts to a U.N. condemna-

tion of the American-Belgian invasion of Stanleyville, is meant to justify the U.S. Government action in the eyes of the American public.

To do this effectively Mr. Taylor feels he must do two things. Firstly, he has to present the African delegates gathered at New York as not representing the views of their people. Thus he describes them as despots who "pillage their own people". Their condemnation of the U.S. action at the U.N.O. therefore do not reflect the views of their people at home.

ANTI-COMMUNISM

Secondly the most militant of the African leaders whose names are always closely associated with African affairs and whose representatives played a leading role in the African stand on the Congo issue, must be discredited before the eyes of the American public.

Thus Taylor refers to Kwame Nkrumah as Ghana's puppet "Kwame Nkrumah" or as "West Africa's Castro", and to Ben Bella as the "Red Algerian Assassin Ben Bella".

Mr. Taylor very well understands the psychology of his people, and he chooses his epithets well. He knows that for the average American communism is a terror-striking evocative quasi-pathological reaction. He cleverly plays upon

this weakness of his countrymen in order to win their sympathy by branding the African leaders as communist or as communist puppets and agents, and by characterising the whole African struggle as communist-inspired.

Anti-communism has become a convenient excuse for the wanton interference by America in the affairs of other countries. It provides the cover for all the crimes that the United States is committing against peoples over different parts of the world.

In America, as far as communism is concerned, the end justifies the means. Therefore what the American government does not like it brands as a communist or a communist agent. In other words, you give the dog a bad name and hang it. This is the policy the American government is pursuing in Africa today, and that is why Mr. Taylor has filled his article with so many fairy tales about communists and communism in Africa.

While we seriously question the right of America to fight communism out of any foreign land, we have to point out that we have no trouble, and have never had any, with communism in Africa. All our struggles, from the time of the slave trade through the period of colonialism to the present time of neo-colonialism, have been against imperialism. In this we would have welcomed American help. But it is unfortunate that America has never offered to fight imperialism out of any foreign country. Perhaps if she did, it would have meant interference in the people's domestic affairs!

OUR TASK

Continued from Page 1

The 1965 Budget Estimates will now for the first time, show the total estimated expenditure during the year, indicating which project is to be financed on cash and how much on credit basis.

A third new feature of the 1965 Budget will be the presentation to Parliament for the first time of an Export and Import Plan and a Foreign Exchange Budget. I have already mentioned that the requirements of our development programme are such that we must conserve every possible source of foreign exchange for imports of investment goods. In order to do this effectively we have to plan our foreign exchange expenditure carefully during the year. I have accordingly directed the Minister of Finance to take the necessary steps to achieve this.

The fourth new feature of the 1965 Budget will be the presentation for the first time of a brief analysis of the latest balance sheets to each of our State-owned and Joint enterprises together with their financial plans and output targets. This will enable the Members of the House to see clearly for themselves the progress and development made by these institutions.

—Kwame Nkrumah.

EDITORIAL:

CUBAN STRUGGLE

Political Problems

Continued from Page 1

standing that without it there is no future for our people is basic to the whole concept.

Linked indissolubly with this is a genuine socialist confidence and respect for the creative talent and ability of the mass of the working people. We need to be clear that given correct political direction, selfless example and devotion to the cause of the working people of our country the plan can be achieved. Without this no amount of statistical genius will solve our country's problems, no amount of high powered specialisation will call new material wealth, new resources, new means of production out of the air. Only the labour, toil and skill of the ordinary man and woman can create wealth.

It has always been the proud boast of genuine socialists that when the burden of exploitation is lifted from the shoulders of the working class their creative energies can be harnessed to increase the quantity and quality of their work. The production relations of capitalism are a barrier to increased production because under capitalism the worker is robbed of the full fruits of his labour.

Unless the political problems of the plan are treated with urgency. Unless major creative steps to change the political relations between the Party, the Trade Unions, the Farmers Council, the Youth Organisation on one hand and the Planning Commission on the other, we shall

find ourselves in the position in 1966 of looking forward to exciting perspectives but looking back to a story of only half fulfilled plans.

We can achieve our socialist aims. If we set about the plan in a vigorous, imaginative and creative way, our task will be relatively easy. If we fail to fulfil our task this year the political problems arising from economic failure will face us with increasingly difficult problems in the construction of our socialist future. One thing we are certain of. It is idle for some people to think that bureaucracy, dilatoriness, half-heartedness will act as an effective brake on the construction of socialism for much longer.

We suggest, in the strongest possible terms, that planners set about transforming themselves into socialist planners in the real sense of the word; that some of the Civil Servants pull themselves out of the bureaucratic attitudes they have adopted; that managers shed their illusions about capitalism and study socialism and how to build it, and that Party activists and mass organisations make a new turn in giving leadership by example as well as exhortation. If we can get this change, the people of our country, whose energy, enthusiasm and strength won our independence, can tackle the titanic task of reconstruction with confidence. If those responsible do not give leadership which will bring success they will be swept aside by the demands of the people for the new socialist Ghana which is now on our agenda.

STATE ENTERPRISE

(Continued from page 7)

It does not necessarily suggest that any purely economic path is contemplated en route to socialism in Ghana.

These observations unquestionably can (perhaps should) be generalised to cover newly emerging countries where ever colonialism has been the background.

The moral of the story is that, for developing countries, innovation—collectively applied—far outweighs so-called "worker incentives" alone as a productivity stimulus:

1. It brings much faster results.
2. Wages rise visibly for all socially rather than for individuals or groups (improvements for whom, of course,

eventually react on all society, but more slowly).

3. It utilises the most fruitful experience of capitalism in its new socialist context, rather than reverting to that system's older methods. Even under capitalism, automation enormously accelerates the pace of technical improvement, causing havoc only because of the contradictory production relations within which it occurs.

4. Most of all, it starts from the premise that "the welfare of one depends on the welfare of all," which is the beginning of Kwame Nkrumah's man.

In advocating his new man, moreover, Kwame Nkrumah notes that centuries of colonialist ideology have buried Afri-

ca's tradition, which must now be exhumed and put into the service of socialism. Writers like S. G. Ikoku, expanding on Kwame Nkrumah's works have called attention to the ideological compatibility of communalism and socialism, entraining no need to scrap old patterns and begin from scratch. So, socialist education in Africa can and does enlist tradition as an ally in accelerating development pace.

From all the foregoing, tentative conclusions suggest themselves:

Whatever the more advanced USSR may decide to do within its own context developing countries, including those of Africa, are more likely to employ monetary incentives mainly at first where

mixed economies demand "ignition" devices.

But on the whole, specifically in Africa, tradition and actual conditions favour innovation on a collective basis as the probable eventual method, along with consciously stimulated, simultaneous cultural, educational and moral advancement, all emphasising collective man.

The letter postulate has now received emphatic confirmation in the following sentence from Kwame Nkrumah's speech at the opening of Parliament in Accra on January 12, 1965:

"Complete decolonisation, when linked with the development of automation to its highest possible limits, could well lead to a period of great progress and prosperity for mankind."

H. M. Edwards, Kumasi

Letter to the Editor

GHANA AND TADJIK

WHILE the October Socialist Revolution in Russia took place in 1917, the development of socialism in Central Asia, in the former colonial territories of Tsarist Russia, came considerably later. Last year, for example, the Tadjik Soviet Republic celebrated its 40th anniversary. Some recently published figures of the progress in education achieved in Tadjikistan since the achievement of socialism may be of some interest, and some inspiration, to the people of Ghana.

First, in an article dealing with the position of Central Asia during the Tsarist regime, a certain Russian weekly, the *EDUCATIONAL HERALD*, wrote: "In order to put an end to illiteracy in Central Asia at the present rate of education, we shall need more than 2,600 years."

That was in 1906. It should not be thought that it was easy even for Soviet socialism, to bring leading as well as helpful, but

literacy to Tadjikistan even after 1924. The new educational drive faced opposition from religious bigots, who in Tadjikistan were almost entirely Muslim. There was opposition from feudal elements among the Tadjiks, the patriarchal tradition militated against schools, especially against the giving of girls an equal education with boys. And, above all, the country suffered desperately from a lack of teachers.

In the words of Lenin, that vast area which had been the Tsarist Russian Empire "had to make up, in a few years or in one decade, the cultural deficit of many centuries."

Here some comparative figures may be useful as an indication of the progress that has been made:

In the 1924-25 school year, the first year of the Tadjik Soviet Republic, there were 64 primary schools, one seven-year school, and one secondary school. To draw a parallel, Ghana in 1957 already had a total of 38 public secondary schools and an enrolment of 10,000. As compared with Tadjikistan, Ghana on liberation was an "advanced country" as regards its secondary education.

Comparisons can be mis-

for what they are worth the following figures of the rates of growth may be useful:

In its first ten years the Tadjik Soviet Republic increased the number of primary schools from the original 64 to 336, its seven-year schools from one to four, and its secondary schools from one to three. The total pupil body reached about 14,000 by 1934.

In Ghana, where my figures are for the first seven years, public secondary schools have risen from 38 with 10,000 students to 85 with an enrolment of nearly 30,000. It is interesting to note that in both countries, Tadjikistan and Ghana, secondary education makes a three-fold increase in the first ten years of Tadjik socialism and in the first seven years of Ghanaian independence.

Since then, of course Tadjik developments have forged ahead. By 1939 the Republic had 2,628 schools with 303,500 pupils, while last year the total number of pupils in schools had risen to 464,000 (as against 14,000 in 1934).

It is also interesting to note how Tadjikistan suffered from the shortage of teachers. In the year of 1924-25 there was not a single teacher in Tadjikistan with a higher education,

and only ten teachers with a complete elementary or incomplete secondary education (which shows how low was the standard even in the schools which there were). But last year Tadjikistan had 28,500 teachers, of whom more than 10,000 had a higher education.

Here, too, a parallel with Ghana is interesting, for in Ghana the number of Teacher Training Colleges has risen from 8 to 32 in under ten years.

One of the problems facing a backward country like Tadjikistan was the ending of adult illiteracy. In this work the teachers were recruited into a nation-wide campaign to organise literacy classes for the adult population. Young students as well as teachers, voluntarily took part in this campaign. Today it is claimed that more than half a million adults are studying in some way or another, and illiteracy has been eliminated. Among the Republic's 28,500 teachers about 3,000 are women, almost all of these having achieved a higher education.

In 1924 Tadjikistan had no institution of higher education whatsoever. Now it has seven institutions of higher education.

The figures for last year show that Tadjikistan had in operation 1905 primary schools, 992 eight-year schools (ages 7 to 15) and 412 eleven-year schools (ages 7 to 18); 28,500 teachers; and a total pupil population of 464,000.

Pat Sloan, London