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EDITORIAL

SOCIALIST PARTIES IN AFRICA (8)

IN the struggle for political freedom in Africa the role of parliament is to resist, obstruct and defeat colonial administrations with the sole purpose of securing constitutions that confer more and more power on the people. On the attainment of independence, parliament serves the useful purpose of focussing the national debate on which path of development the nation should follow. And once the nation has chosen the path of socialist development, the role of parliament again undergoes a change. Its over-riding consideration is how to accelerate and smoothen the advance towards a socialist society.

In this march to socialism, a new type of parliamentarianism is needed. He must be a convinced socialist ever on the alert to detect any moves or measures that will defeat or delay our socialist goals. He must be absolutely loyal to the socialist party and at all times an enthusiastic champion and exponent of its programme. He must serve the people by understanding them.

The M.P. who lives apart from the people, practises social arrogance, resorts to the issuing of threats and commands, and exploits the ignorance of the masses to enrich himself is decidedly a drawback to the socialist cause. And socialism is best served by removing such a person from parliament.

Three sets of problems beset the life and work of the socialist M.P. First, there is the issue of loyalty to the party. Here the rule is simple and clear cut. The M.P. must be transparently loyal to his party even to the extent of suffering temporary hardships and inconvenience. And to make sure that this loyalty is real and continuous, the nation's constitution should uphold the right of recall. Under this, a parliamentarian can be recalled by his constituency orga-

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THE IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE IN AFRICA

by Julius Sago

AN ideological war is now raging in Africa. It is a war the outcome of which will have far-reaching effects on the young nations of Africa for many decades to come. It is a battle not only for the mind of the individual African but also for the acceptance of a given way of life (rather, a system of society) by the new governments of the emergent nations of Africa.

Though several variations are to be found within each camp the basic conflict is between capitalism on the one hand and socialism on the other.

During the struggle for freedom, Africa's liberation movements were devoted principally to winning freedom from alien control. Ideological movements, however, existed in some of these national liberation movements. But everywhere they were submerged to the basic demand for political freedom. They were regarded as so secondary that many national liberation movements could and did contain conflicting ideologies.

Now 32 African states have attained political independence and more are on the threshold. These new nations have got to be organised and every one of them talks about national reconstruction. Thus the problem of the path of development has become both urgent and of paramount importance. Viewpoints differ as to the appropriate path of development. And each view point hedges itself around with arguments meant to convince the people in their generality that it is the only real road forward. This is how the many ideologies now fighting for supremacy in Africa have come into existence.

FOREIGN ELEMENT

There is an important foreign element in this ideological battle. The former imperial masters, anxious to protect their interests in Africa, have a vested interest in creating social systems which will compel free Africa to discharge the obligations of colonial Africa towards imperialism. Concretely, the new social systems in independent Africa should make room for the unflinching operation of private foreign investment. Therefore, to imperialism, Africa must follow that path of development that gives pride of place to foreign private capital.

Put in another way, Africa is breaking down the chains of colonialism. But imperialism is fighting hard to save its interests under a regime of neo-colonialism in which political independence and economic, military and administrative dependence co-exist. This new system — neo-colonialism — must be given a rationale. And this is the sole objective of imperialist countries in their frantic efforts to invent an ideology for Africa.

What, then, are the ideologies of neo-colonialism now current in Africa?



KWAME NKUMAH: "Ghana has taken to the road of scientific socialism."

First, the welfare state. This concept is based on the capitalist system in which, through fiscal measures, some of the fruits of private industry are utilised by the state in providing social services for the entire people. Under this system, a few big enterprises could be nationalised but the bulk of production remains in private hands and its organisation is clearly capitalist in character.

FOREIGN ENTERPRISE

The major obstacles to the welfare state in Africa are the low level of industrial development and the fact that the few profit-making private enterprises are largely in foreign hands. Under these conditions taxation for the purpose of sustaining free social services for the entire people will mean economic stagnation, for capital formation will be crippled and foreign private capital will tend to withdraw when profit rates fall. The state will thus be compelled to fall back on nationalisation to save itself. It is a recognition of this fact that has led the imperialist powers to continue a system of "aid" to African countries for the sustenance of the

limited social services that existed before independence.

Secondly, African socialism. Satisfied that the indigenous bases of capitalism are extremely weak in Africa, and conscious of the fact that socialism has made a deep appeal to the peoples of Africa, the capitalist nations are anxious to lend a socialist colour to their neo-colonialist designs. Hence African socialism.

NEGATION OF SOCIALISM

The term 'African' is used to cover up the fact that the "Socialism" advocated is in reality a negation of socialism. It is used to flatter African intellectuals into believing that the new ideology is of their own creation.

This manoeuvre was exhibited last December when the conference on "African Ways to Socialism" was held in Dakar. The conference was organised jointly by the government of Senegal and the Congress Mediterranean de la Culture. President Leopold Senghor is already famous for his strong pro-French views; and the Congress Mediterranean de la Culture is a non-African organisation with strong right-wing connections.

Delegates from twenty African states were expected to attend. There were mostly the French-speaking African states but included Nigeria whose principal delegate was Dr. Biobaku, a vice-principal of the university of Ife who is not even remotely associated with the socialist movement inside Nigeria.

Attention should be drawn to other principal delegates in order to emphasise the neo-colonialist character of the gathering. These included:

1. Lord Listowel and Mr. James Callaghan from Britain. The former was one time Governor of Ghana (1957-1960), the latter official spokesman of the British Labour Party on colonial affairs.
2. M. Guy Mollet and M. Pierre Mendes-France from France. The former is secretary-general of French Socialist Party, a supporter of the colonial wars in Viet Nam and in Algeria

and one of the architects of the European Common Market. The latter is a leader of the French Radical Party which collaborates with General de Gaulle.

1. Mr. Moshe Sharett from Israel. He was once Prime Minister of Israel. Now Foreign Minister.
4. Mr. Harris Wofford from U.S.A. Mr. Wofford is a special adviser to President Kennedy.
5. Observers came from West Germany and Italy.

SPURIOUS SOCIALISM

What sort of socialism can such a motley gathering of the spokesmen of imperialism evolve?

One of the organisers of the conference, Mr. Lemine Kiakhate, head of the office of President Senghor, told a press conference that "the (Dakar) Conference is expected to provide an inventory of modern African concepts — a stocktaking for the African nations themselves and an encyclopaedia of African thought for the world in general." But the "encyclopaedia of African thought" is being assembled by the men who run the affairs of the western world!

The cat is out of the bag. Leaders of the Western world have decided to pass on to their African intellectual links a conglomeration of capitalist and pro-imperialist ideas which should be disseminated throughout Africa under the deceitful label of "African socialism."

What precisely is "African socialism"? Writing about the Dakar conference in 'Africa Report' of February 1963 a correspondent reports that "African socialism" proved an elusive concept. No single definition of 'African socialism' emerged from the conference, but there was general agreement that it was that form of social, political and economic organisation, based on a humanistic conception of man, which could provide the maximum economic progress and reassert the traditional collectivist values of African life. "No single definition of African socialism emerged", yet "there was general agreement" as to what it is. What a conference!

IMPERIALIST GAME

The lack of precise definition is part of the game of imperialism, for it makes room for every African country to practise whatever it likes and still call it 'African socialism'.

It is amusing that these same imperialist thinkers

and writers who justified colonialism on the grounds that they are bringing civilisation to Africa should now gather in Dakar and invent 'African socialism' which "reasserts the traditional collectivist values of African life."

How can the organisers of the slave trade, forced labour, reckless exploitation of Africa's resources, colonial wars and apartheid now talk of a "humanistic conception of man" except with the expressed intent to deceive the unwary?

The historic mission of 'African socialism' is to combat and, if possible, defeat scientific socialism firstly by introducing elements alien to socialist thought, and secondly by denying some of the foundations of socialist ideology.

The alien elements introduced are religion and a return to the traditional collectivist way of African life. Socialism accepts ethical values in human relations but does not use the religious platform. It always insists that state and church are two institutions apart. Furthermore, it holds that the church must not interfere in the sphere of state activity. It is important to note that this view is not peculiar to socialism. The right-wing in France accepts it. President Kennedy upheld this principle during his election campaign in 1960. And in Africa, where most new states have two or more religions existing side by side, wisdom dictates a secular state.

COLLECTIVIST "AFRICAN SOCIALISM"

The traditional collectivist way of African life is a mere illusion. African society must evolve; it cannot go back to two or three centuries ago.

What is the old collectivist way of life in Africa? It wasn't a classless society. Nor were relations in it harmonious. It was a feudal system based on the hegemony of a few big families larding it over less privileged ones and even serfs. Human rights were non-existent and industrialisation was absent.

The logic of industrial development to which Africa is committed means development along lines which can never "reassert the traditional collectivist way of African life." Or does African socialism reject the need for industrialisation?

A foundation of socialist ideology strongly denied by

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'African socialism' is the existence of classes in African society. The lack of reality in this view is brought home by a brief reference to the 1960 Population Census of Ghana which reveals a pattern typical of all Africa. According to these figures, 21.2 per cent of Ghana's working population are wage earners. Another 13.4 per cent work in family enterprises and "may or may not be paid." Sociologically these persons may stand in special relation to the owners of the enterprises, but economically they earn



LEOPOLD SENGHOR: "African socialism could no longer be that of Marx and Engels."

their living (in cash or kind) by offering their labour. Thus the labouring class in Ghana could be put at 34.6 per cent.

The capitalist structure of Ghana's economy is revealed by a study of the cocoa industry. This industry creates approximately 60 per cent of the export wealth of Ghana. It contains absentee landlords, tenant farmers who employ labour and live on profits of their output ('Abusa' and 'abunu'), and self-employed farmers. Ghana's agriculture has a labour force put at 471,100 (including family workers), that is 29.8 per cent of total employed in agriculture and self-employed numbering some 1,007,000 or 63.8 per cent. This leaves some 6.4 per cent of all engaged in agriculture as a class of employers.

Thus the foundation of 'African socialism' are seen to be either false or unrealistic. Its practical objective is the creation of a social system in independent Africa which accommodates imperialist interests.

Under present conditions on our continent, "African socialism" is the ideal ideology of neo-colonialism.

"African Socialism" A Neo-colonialist Ruse

by A Ghana University Lecturer.

DURING these initial stages of the socialist revolution in Africa we have to be on our guard against the intrusion of spurious theories and doctrines on the subject of socialism.

We must view with critical judgement any new socialist philosophy and be suspicious of the intentions behind any theory that seeks to compromise the accepted principles of scientific socialism, because at these early stages when the masses are yet to find their proper bearing in the revolution, obstructionist, reformist and revisionist tactics will be adopted in various quarters either to sabotage the revolution or at least to modify it into a form that is compatible with certain interests.

It is in the light of this that we have to examine the doctrine of "African socialism" that appears to be running current these days.

About the origin of this term there is very little information, but it has come to be associated with the socialist revolution that is currently taking place in Africa. In some quarters "African socialism" is identified with Nkrumaism and the two terms are used as interchangeable synonyms. Perhaps when we have examined the content of this doctrine we shall be in a position to locate its origin.

MODIFIED SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

According to protagonists of this doctrine "when we talk of African socialism we mean scientific socialism adapted and moulded to suit conditions in Africa. We will concede that the principles of scientific socialism are international but at the same time we will submit that these principles can only operate successfully in Africa if they are modified to suit the special conditions of Africa."

It would appear from the foregoing that what the advocates of this doctrine mean by "African socialism" is modified scientific socialism but when they say

that "traditionally African socialism was not a creed" it is apparent that the term has a new connotation in that context since "traditional African socialism" could not possibly mean "modified scientific socialism." Be that what it may, the gist of the argument is whether there is any such thing as "African socialism" at all.

The special conditions and circumstances of Africa which, according to advocates of this doctrine, necessitate a modification of the principles of scientific socialism are:

1. that there are no antagonistic classes in "traditional African society". "Class structure in traditional African society", they say, "is not vertical but horizontal; no class sits upon the neck of another. Classes do not carry implications of function, power or authority. Precedence here is limited to pegeantry and ceremony"
2. that no African is an atheist. Deep down in him are the spiritual stirrings which move him to worship the gods of his ancestors of the departed, to pour libation and above all to pray for guidance and protection of the great one, or God the Almighty."

The foregoing is, in essence, the theoretical basis of the doctrine of "African socialism."

MARXIST SOCIALISM

In the first place, it must be pointed out that Marxist socialism is described as scientific because its principles have been formulated as the result of research and observation on the historical development of the human society. The principles are not just abstract philosophical enunciations which can be modified to suit the sentiments of anybody or the circumstances of any country.

As a science, the principles of socialism can be challenged, but only on grounds of validity, not on grounds of regional or local peculiarities or personal convenience. If the principles are scientifically valid, then they constitute the truth, and the truth cannot be modified to meet the peculiarity of any given situation.

A distinction should, however, be drawn between the principles of a science and the practical application of that science. While the principles of a science cannot be "modified and moulded" to suit any set of conditions, the practical application of those principles will vary according to

the conditions to which they are applied.

But the application of principles to different sets of conditions does not affect the content of the principles. For example the principles of Mechanics remain the same whether they are applied to solve the problems of space flight or to construct a bridge across the Volta.

Thus the mere application of the principles of scientific socialism to the "conditions and circumstances of Africa" should not necessitate a modification of those principles to create an "African socialism." On the other hand, the method of application of socialist principles in Africa will largely be determined by the existing conditions.

In actual fact, the type of society which the advocates of this doctrine describe as "traditional African society" and consider to be so different as to call for a modification of the principles of scientific socialism is not even unique to Africa.

A small communistic society which is not yet differentiated into antagonistic classes, in which "private property in the strict sense of the word" does not exist, which is deeply steeped in superstition, and the level of productivity of which is barely sufficient to meet its own needs, is only a primitive stage in the historical development of society. This fact cannot escape anybody that has read Engel's book on "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State."

The African society has already passed through that stage and a return to it is completely out of the question. Human society is not

static; it is always changing in response to the interplay of social and economic forces from both internal and external sources. The African society has undergone considerable change from that described as traditional by the advocates of this concept.

New forces have been generated and classes and class interests have come into being. These classes have not disappeared with the advent of independence; the internal frictions in Ghana today are the result of class interests. It has to be noted that classes in Africa represent both foreign and indigenous interests.

CONFLICT WITH RELIGION

The problem with many people when it comes to the question of accepting scientific socialism is that they discover to their chagrin that it conflicts with either their religious beliefs or with their economic or political interests. And they set about finding a solution by compromising the principles of scientific socialism in order to reconcile them to ideas with which they are basically incompatible. This kind of conflict between personal feelings or interests and the principles of scientific socialism has given rise in several socialist countries to the ideas of reformism or revisionism, and to the setting-up of quasi-socialist parties in many capitalist countries.

It is not surprising therefore that this doctrine of "African socialism" should materialise in the formation of a capitalist welfare state instead of a socialist state. For say the advocates: "If a state taxes those who have plenty in order to provide social amenities for all while at

the same time encouraging free and private enterprise (emphasis mine), it may create what has been described as a welfare state... It is this type of society which Nkrumaism preaches."

But the mistakes these people make is to equate a welfare state to a socialist state. The two can never be the same. The one is the product of the capitalist economic system and the other the product of scientific socialism. A lot of confusion has been created by the doctrine of "African socialism" with regards to what constitutes a socialist state.

NATIONALISATION

The mere nationalisation and "state ownership of the main means of production" do not constitute a socialist state. The class of people in power, the presence or absence of private enterprise and private property, the presence or absence of freedom to exploit the labours of others, are all important factors in determining whether a state is a capitalist one or a socialist one, state ownership of the means of production can result in state capitalism when it is not within the orbit of scientific socialism.

For example in France in 1957, according to official statistics, there were 648 state enterprises either nationally owned or owned in partnership with private companies. These included the coal industry, the aeronautic industry, electric power industry, gas industry, aviation transport, railroad transport, municipal transport, shipping lines, oil refining industries, metal industries, plastics industry and armament industry.

Apart from these there were more than 180 French companies that were subsidiaries of state enterprises. But this extensive state ownership of the means of production does not alter

the position of France as one of the leading capitalist countries in the world today.

If we have decided to follow the path of scientific socialism then the type of state we want is not a welfare state but a true socialist state. This fact must be accepted and there should be no confusion about it. If on the other hand we want a welfare state then the surest road to it is capitalism and we should not camouflage our intention by dressing it in a socialist coat.

A welfare state is the product of what has variously been termed "regulated capitalism", "enlightened capitalism" or "polished capitalism". It is a contrivance capitalists to mitigate the effects of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist economic system.

NKRUMAISM

After the foregoing analysis of the content of the doctrine of "African socialism" one is strongly tempted to identify its origin with neo-colonialist sources. A socialist doctrine that does not recognise the class struggle, and does not subscribe to philosophical materialism but believes in mysticism, and which has as its ultimate aim the creation of a welfare state that encourages free and private enterprise, fits in too well with neo-colonialist interests for the possible connection to be ignored.

It is most unfortunate that "African socialism" has unwittingly been identified with "Nkrumaism". There is nothing in the doctrine of "African socialism" that reflects the ideas, works or teachings of Nkrumah for it to be associated with his name. Nkrumah, as we know him, is too much of a mature socialist to subscribe to a bankrupt doctrine like "African socialism."

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

IN AFRICA (2)

The progressive elements in Africa are aware of the danger inherent in the development of private land ownership of any kind. They demand that radical agrarian reforms should be carried out and production co-operatives set-up, independent of merchant and money-lending capital.

They strive to make use of the opportunities provided by the communes so as to skip the painful capitalist way of development and establish new forms of production relations based on real equality and comradeship.

It is clear that the final analysis success or failure of the co-operative movement depends on the policy carried out by the government in the given country and on the aims pursued by it: the building of a society founded on a private capitalist order, or a society where the sway of capital would be eliminated and the economy would be governed by the people.

Some African states have embarked upon another path which ensures a rapid up-swing of agricultural production. Of considerable interest is the experience of such countries as Guinea, Mali and Ghana which have taken energetic measures to

set up co-operatives and to safeguard them from merchant and money-lending capital.

RURAL BOURGEOISIE

As stated in the report to the National Conference of the Democratic Party of Guinea, held in April 1960 (Kankan), the production co-operatives set up in the country should not be unions of the richest producers, aimed at protecting their professional interests.

They should unite all the peasants of the given village and ensure the formation of collective bodies producing diverse commodities, applying mechanisation on an increasing scale, disposing of a reliable system of marketing, promoting improved well-being and social and cultural progress of the village and ruling out any possible emergence of rural bourgeoisie.

The Guinea co-operatives are being built on the basis of free membership, extensive development, genuine democracy and uniform distribution of duties among all the members. It is envisaged that later on, with greater opportunities, members of the co-operatives will work jointly in large

co-operative fields. In this case the incomes should be distributed, depending on the quality and amount of the labour invested.

The development of the country's agriculture should be favourably affected by the transfer of functions, carried out in 1962, of directing agriculture from central government bodies to district authorities. Such an "administrative decentralisation" will permit to take better account of local conditions.

The government of the Republic renders assistance to the co-operatives through model state farms (CMR) which are supposed to spread advanced knowledge among the peasants. The machine station of the CMR is to do various kinds of work for the co-operatives of its district for a certain payment.

Of considerable importance is the decision of the Guinea Government to supply the co-operatives with ploughs and draught animals at the expense of the

state. This will be helpful in extending the area of arable land.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHIEFS

A network of co-operative farms has been set up in the Republic of Mali. They are at once production credit and consumer co-operatives. In stressing the significance of co-operatives for the African countryside, Seydou Badian Konyate, Minister of Economy and Planning of the Republic of Mali, noted that no up-swing of agriculture in a country with backward economy is conceivable without collective efforts and collective discipline. By setting up co-operative farms, the young republic plans to increase the output of agricultural produce by 70 per cent in the five-year period (1961-1965).

Considerable attention to the co-operative sector is being given in Ghana. Through the co-operatives the government of Ghana intends to expand the production of food crops and to diversify the list of exports.

Agricultural production co-operatives have begun to emerge in Ghana since 1960. By the middle of 1962, they numbered 85 (including 70 engaged in the production of rubber).

The organisational structure of the co-operatives has not yet taken a definite shape. The council of Ghana farmers is studying the the experience of other countries, so as to find the best solution of the problem.

The programme of agricultural development, adopted at the ninth annual conference of farmers of Ghana in March 1962, envisages organisation of 1,000 co-operatives by 1967, including 200 model co-operatives on long-fallow land. The area of land cultivated by the co-operatives will reach six million acres by 1967. A plan has been compiled, specifying what crops are to be grown and on which areas.

The Ghana government renders every possible help to the co-operatives. It grants them credits for pur-

chasing agricultural machinery, clearing forests the acquisition of prefabricated houses, etc. Machine and tractor stations are being set up to serve the needs of the co-operatives.

ELIMINATION OF CHIEFS

As borne out by the experience of Guinea, Mali and of some other countries, elimination of the institute of chiefs, who make use of the community for personal enrichment, is an indispensable condition for an extensive development of the co-operative movement. In Camerons, for instance, the chiefs not infrequently set up their own coffee and cocoa plantations on community land, making rank-and-file villagers cultivate them almost without any pay.

On analysing the conditions in her country, Sita Bella (Camerons), a participant of the International Colloquium studying the role of private and semi-government bodies in international technical collaboration, held in Paris early in 1962, dwelled on the necessity of the state taking measures "to prevent the transfer of the national economy to private persons. Otherwise, said Sita Bella, there

will be no progress, no rise in labour productivity; there will be stagnation"

For the co-operative movement to succeed, it is also important to oust private companies and monopolies from trade where they fleece the co-operative farms directly or indirectly. This is precisely the way chosen by the governments of Guinea, Ghana and Mali which have set up or are setting up a state system of marketing agricultural produce.

Such are some aspects of the transformation of agriculture in Tropical African countries. It should be emphasised in conclusion that comprehensive advancement of agriculture in these countries is inconceivable without the development of a national industry which should constitute the foundation of rising agricultural production.

V.I. LENIN

MONDAY, April 22 of this year is the 93rd anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilych (Ulyanov) LENIN. He was born in the town of Simbirsk (now Ulyanousk) which stands on the banks of the great Russia river, the Volga. His parents did their best to give him a liberal education.

As a youth an important place in Lenin's reading was occupied by the works of the revolutionary democrats—Belinsky, Harzen, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev including those which were officially prescribed at that time.

His revolutionary sentiments manifested themselves while he was still at school. On one occasion, the headmaster, returning an essay he had written, said in a threatening tone: "What are these oppressed classes you have written about here; what are they doing here?"

Lenin was greatly influenced by his elder brother, Alexander, to whom he was deeply attached. Alexander was a student of the St. Petersburg University. He dedicated his life to revolutionary struggle against tsarist autocracy in the hope of winning a better life for the people. It was from Alexander that Lenin first learnt about Marxist literature.

DEATH OF ALEXANDER

In 1886, he was still very young when his father died suddenly, and before the family had recovered from that blow, disaster struck again. In March 1887 Alexander was arrested in Petersburg for implication in the attempt to assassinate Alexander III and in May of the same year he was executed in the Schlusselburg Fortress.

Alexander's execution was a severe shock to Lenin and served to confirm him in his resolve to dedicate his life to the revolutionary struggle.

In August 1887, after graduating from grammar school with a gold medal, he enrolled in the law school of Kazan University.

At the University he established contact with the most advanced and revolutionary-minded students. In the beginning of December 1887 he was expelled from the university and arrested for participating in a student movement.

He was exiled to the village of Kokushkino, in Kazan Gubernia. He occupied his time in this remote village with reading and diligent self-education. A year later he was permitted to return to Kazan.

At that time several illegal Marxist study circles existed in Kazan. They had been organised by one of the first Russian revolutionary Marxists, N. E. Fedoseyev. Lenin made the acquaintance of some of the members and joined one of the groups.

He began to make a serious study of Marxism.

YEARS OF WORK

In the autumn of 1889 Vladimir Lenin moved to Samara (now Kuibyshev) where he lived for four and a half years. These were years of persistent work and study. He continued his profound study of the writings of Marx and Engels. Since only a few had been translated into Russian, Lenin began to study foreign languages, especially German, and soon began to read Marx and Engels in the original. In those years he translated into Russian one of the most important programme works of Marxism—the Communist Manifesto.

The years spent in Samara were highly important landmarks in Lenin's poli-

tical development. It was here that his Marxist Communist convictions crystallised. In August 1893, he left Samara for St. Petersburg.

In St. Petersburg, Lenin continued to fight the Narodniks, who had begun to attack Marxism violently in their books and periodicals.

In the summer of 1894 Lenin wrote a book entitled *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats.*

WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Lenin was the first Russian Marxist to advance the idea of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. He declared it that the primary task of the Russian Marxists was to weld the isolated Marxist circles and build up a united revolutionary party to direct the labour movement.

In 1894 Lenin made the acquaintance of Nadezhda Krubskaya, who worked as a teacher at an evening Sunday School for workers beyond the Nevsky Gate. Many of her pupils attended the study circles Lenin led.

In the spring of 1895, on the instructions of the St. Petersburg Marxists, Lenin went abroad to contact the Emancipation of Labour Group and learnt more about the labour movement in Western Europe.

In Switzerland he met G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod. In Paris he met Paul Lafargue, son-in-law of Karl Marx and a prominent leader of the French and international labour movement. Lenin had looked forward to meeting Frederick Engels, but the Great leader and teacher of the international proletariat was seriously ill at the time.

Early in September 1895 Lenin returned to the St. Petersburg and organised the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the working class. Early in December 1895 most of its leaders, including Lenin, were arrested. Lenin spent more than 14 months in solitary confinement in a St. Petersburg prison. While in prison, Lenin wrote the book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

THE SPARK

On February 13, 1897, Lenin was sentenced to three years exile in Eastern Siberia.

On July 16, 1900 Lenin went abroad. Thus began the first of his periods of emigration. It lasted for more than five years.

Whilst abroad Lenin launched "THE SPARK" (*Iskra*) in Munich, Germany. The first issue came out in December 1900. "The Spark will Kindle a Flame," was its motto. *Iskra* began to appear at a time when the revolutionary movement in Russia was gaining momentum. A strong, well-organised Marxist party was needed to lead the growing movement, and it was towards this object that the efforts of the *Iskra* were directed.

It was a rare issue of *Iskra* that appeared without at least one article by Lenin. The newspaper carried

articles on how to organise a party, how it should function and how to draw the masses into the revolutionary struggle.

In the latter part of 1902, Vladimir Lenin published his book *What is to be Done?* setting forth the plan for the building of a workers party. Lenin believed that the party must be a revolutionary, militant party. The party must be armed with advanced revolutionary theory, the theory of Marxism. Lenin emphasized the tremendous importance of Marxist theory for the working class and its party.

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no

revolution was to develop and expand.

In April 1905 Lenin left Geneva for London to attend the Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. After the Congress Lenin returned to Geneva. In July 1905 his book *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* appeared in which he stressed the significance of the Congress and its decisions, and showed that the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks held different views on the revolution and its reotive forces.

LENIN ON REVOLUTION

Lenin believed that the revolution that had begun in Russia was bourgeois-democratic, its aim being to put an end to the remnants of feudalism, overthrow tsarism and win democratic freedom.

It was in the interests of

struggle it organises its forces, carries the poor peasantry along with it and strikes at capitalism. Thus, the bourgeois-democratic revolution passes over into a socialist revolution. This was a new outlook on the victory of the socialist revolution.

In his book *Two Tactics* Lenin laid the foundations those communist party tactics which enabled the Russian proletariat to win its victory over capitalism in October 1917. In the spring and summer of 1905 big strikes took place in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Lodz, Baku, and Odessa. The peasant movement spread, involving one fifth of all the districts of Russia. The military mainstay of tsarism—the army—was also shaken.

1905

In June 1905 a mutiny occurred on the battle-ship

early in November arrived in St. Petersburg. Lenin directed the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Movaya Zhizn* (New Life) and regularly contributed articles that served as a guide to the party organisations in their day to day work.

Towards the end of April 1907, Lenin went to London to attend the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. Lenin directed the work of the Congress and delivered a report on the main point on the agenda—the attitude to bourgeois parties.

In the beginning of June 1907 Lenin returned to Russia. By now it was clear that the revolution had failed. The tsarist government had launched a decisive counter-offensive. A period of dark reaction set in.

In January 1908 Lenin went to Geneva. From there he published the famous Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*.

The question then arose: *how was the party to function in the grave situation, how was the revolutionary party to be preserved?* Lenin believed that it was necessary to strengthen the underground party organisations, and at the same time work in legal workers' organisations. He published his book *One step backward, Two Steps Forward*, in which he taught the party to be able to retreat in full order, preserving its ranks.

1912

In the spring of 1912, at the initiative of the St. Petersburg workers a legal Bolshevik daily newspaper, *Pravda* (the Truth) was founded. Its first issue, compiled by J. V. Stalin, appeared on April 22. This was the time when the whole country seethed with wrath at the shooting by the tsarist troops of the workers of the Lena Goldfields in the Siberian tundra. A wave of protest strikes swept the country.

In order to be closer to Russia where the tide of revolution was rising, Lenin moved from Paris to Cracow, Poland. He lived there far more than two years up to the beginning of the First World War. From here Lenin wrote for *Pravda* almost daily.

The organisation of *Pravda* by Lenin and Stalin and its use as an instrument of party revolutionary policy and the political education of the masses under the vigorous conditions of tsarism, constitute an edifying example for the entire international labour movement.

In the autumn of 1912 elections to the fourth Duma was held. Lenin believed that participation in the election campaign would help to strengthen the party's ties with the masses and animate the work of party organisations.

Lenin carefully followed the progress of the election campaign, giving concrete instructions to *Pravda* on how to increase the workers' participation in the elections. Lenin had reason to be satisfied with the results of the Bolsheviks' work in the campaign. Bolshevik deputies were elected in all of the six principal industrial constituencies where four-fifths of the Russian proletariat were concentrated.

Lenin supervised the work of the Bolshevik deputies to the Duma. He drafted speeches on important political questions, taught them to use the Duma as a revolutionary platform. He drew up detailed theses for

the maiden speeches of the workers deputies in the Duma. These theses formed the bases of the discussion of the social democratic faction in the Duma.

1917

On the night of April 3, 1917 Lenin arrived in Petrograd after ten years of exile. Revolutionary Russia met its great leader. Lenin plunged into work immediately.

On April 4, at a meeting of the Bolsheviks he read the famous "April Theses" in which he outlined his plan for effecting the transition from bourgeois-democratic revolution which had given the power to the bourgeoisie to socialist revolution, which should place the power in the hands of the working class and the poor peasantry. Lenin showed that the Provisional Government protected the interests of the capitalists and landlords, and the war continued to be a predatory imperialist war. He advanced the slogans "No support for the Provisional Government"; "All power to the Soviets."

Lenin personally directed the central committee of the party, the editorial board of *Pravda*, and the work of the Petrograd Bolshevik organisation.

On July 3, there was mass demonstration through the streets of Petrograd demanding the transfer of the whole power to the Soviets. On Lenin's instructions the Bolsheviks led the demonstration and tried to tend it a peaceful and organised character.

The streets of Petrograd ran with blood. Brutal reprisals were taken against the Bolshevik party and the workers organisations. Many Bolsheviks were thrown into prison. On the night of July 4 military cadets in tsarist Russia-raided the editorial offices of *Pravda*. Lenin, who had dropped into the offices half an hour earlier, narrowly escaped with his life. The whole power passed into the hands of the bourgeois Provisional Government.

From a place of hiding Lenin directed the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik party, which met at the end of July 1917 in Petrograd. Preparation for the socialist revolution brought to the fore the question of the attitude of the working-class party to the bourgeois state and what type of state should be set up when the proletariat came to power. Lenin replied to these questions in his book *The State and Revolution*. He revived the Marxist theory of state, and showed how the opportunists had distorted it.

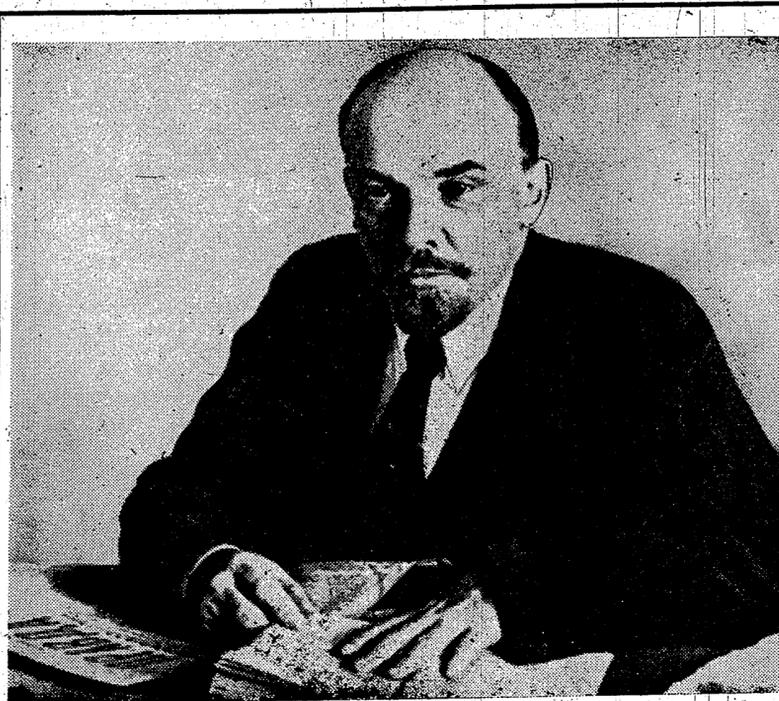
At Lenin's proposal an uprising began on November 6, 1917. Late that night Lenin arrived at the Samolny, the headquarters of the revolution. Orders to begin the uprising were dispatched to the factories, to the districts and the army units.

By the morning of November 7 the telephone station, telegraph office, radio station, the bridges over the Neva, the railway stations and the principal offices of the capital were occupied by the insurgent workers, soldiers and sailors.

NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

The November revolution was victorious. The power of the landlords and capitalists were overthrown. The revolutionaries stormed the Winter Palace and arrested the members of the Provisional Government.

Continued on page 4



V. I. LENIN—Founder of the world's first socialist state.

KWAME NKRUMAH ON VLADIMIR LENIN

VLADIMIR Ilych Lenin—is one of the most outstanding personalities of this century. Indeed his like is rare among men. He grew up with the conviction that revolution and ethics, theory and practice, are inter-related. Revolution was always for him a moral issue for the realisation of social justice. He believed that a society founded on the exploitation of man by man was immoral and must be changed. Lenin was a man who devoted himself to the cause not only of the Russian people but indeed of humanity. In this pursuit he succeeded in establishing a new social system that has made a remarkable impact on the course of world history.

Throughout his life Lenin strongly believed that the surest way of securing enduring peace was by the abolition of all injustice and social inequalities. Lenin was deeply loved by the Russian people and today thousands from all over the world file past his embalmed body in the Mausoleum at the Red Square in affection and reverence to this great man who made Socialism a reality. To him "man's dearest possession is life, and since it is given him to live but once, he must so live as not to be besmeared with the shame of a cowardly existence and trivial past, so live that dying he might say, all my life and my strength were given to the finest cause in the world—the liberation of mankind."

revolutionary movement," he wrote.

IN GENEVA

In the spring of 1903, Lenin moved from London to Geneva where *Iskra* was now being printed.

On January 9, 1905 the tsarist troops fired on the workers of St. Petersburg who were going peacefully to the tsar with a petition setting forth their needs.

Lenin's thoughts were focussed on Russia. He personally directed the party committees, sent them letters, and gave them detailed and concrete instructions. He foresaw that the revolu-

the proletariat to carry the bourgeois revolution to its completion in order to hasten and facilitate the struggle for socialism.

In his book Lenin elaborated the principal tenets of Marxist teaching concerning the tactics of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the conditions under which it passes over into a socialist revolution.

Lenin taught that after achieving victory in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in alliance with the whole of the peasantry, the proletariat cannot stop at that. In the course of the

Potemkin of the Black Sea fleet. Lenin attached tremendous importance to this mutiny. In order to help the mutineers he sent M. T. Vasilyev-Yuzhin to Odessa with instructions on the course of action to be taken to ensure victory but by the time the latter reached Odessa the battleship had already left port.

In the autumn of 1905 the revolutionary movement assumed unprecedented scope. A general political strike broke out in October. But the result was not to the liking of Lenin.

At the end of October, 1905 Lenin left Geneva and

When Neo-Colonialists Unmask Themselves

WHEN the old colonialism was still flourishing, the working class vanguard in the imperialist countries expressed its point of view through a striking formula: "Those who are exploiting them (i.e. the colonized peoples) are the same who are exploiting us."

In fact, that motto has, by no means, ceased to be the right one to apply to neo-colonialist capitalists. It is, perhaps, a little less obvious, since endeavours to conceal the real facts, are the one basic difference between old and new colonialism. Nevertheless, sooner or later, the truth must come out to light, and this is precisely what has happened in the course of the latest French strikes.

The Resolution

The first, and highly significant event in that respect, has been a resolution passed by the Marseille sailors who went on strike, on the 7th March. That resolution stated:

"While the sailors recognise the right of the new independent nations to set up their own navy, they consider as their duty to expose the shipowners (i.e. the French ones) who intend

to make the best of the circumstances by setting up new shipping companies under marine rights... And, further, the resolution gives precise examples of such companies established in new African independent countries, hoisting the flag of these countries, but actually owned by the same French shipowners against whom the Marseille sailors had to go on strike for their salaries and living conditions.

The companies quoted are "Union Africaine Maritime" and "la Societe Woirienne d'amortissement et d'armement in Ivory Coast". The resolution discloses also that these French shipowners, supported by the French government are considering the setting up of an "Algerian" company.

A few days later, came another, and even more striking, disclosure — and that time from a conservative newspaper: *Le Monde*. Commenting on the French iron miners strike, the paper, in its issue dated of the 14th March, explained why the iron mines bosses were trying to reduce their activities in France—and consequently, to throw on the dole many workers.

The reason is that, since

1958, new iron deposits have been discovered in many places, like Venezuela, Brazil, India, and also, which is from the French point of view the decisive fact, in Mauritania. The ore is very good, with high iron content. But *Le Monde* adds, as a matter of fact:

"There is no need to say, that the costs of production in such countries are very low, all the more, the workers there are very badly paid."

The Maximum Dividends

Therefore it means starvation wages on one hand for the African miner in Mauritania, unemployment for the French miner on the other hand, both facts are strictly connected, both for the maximum dividends earned by neo-colonialists, at home and abroad.

These facts demonstrate once more the well-known truth that a people oppressing another one can never be free. They show once more that the struggle for freedom is one, and that the African liberation struggle represents Africa's contribution to the freedom of the world as a whole.

NKRUMAH IS TRANSPARENTLY HONEST—Balogun

A FORMER Nigerian High Commissioner to Ghana was quoted today in Lagos High Court as saying President Nkrumah was transparently honest on the question of African Unity.

A defence witness for Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Action Group leader and one of 21 on trial on charges of treasonable felony and conspiracy, told the court of conversations with Mr. Kola Balogun, the former High Commissioner in September, 1961.

Mr. Ayo Fasanmi, Awolowo's fourth witness said Mr. Balogun had told him that after two years as High Commissioner in Accra, he had become convinced the time had come when all progressive elements in Nigeria should come together in order to take over the

LAGOS, APRIL 18: government of the Federation.

Mr. Balogun had given two reasons for thinking this, the witness said.

The first was that he was particularly disturbed at the strained relations between Ghana and Nigeria.

Besides this, the witness went on, Mr. Balogun was convinced as a result of two years in Ghana as High Commissioner that President Nkrumah was transparently honest on the question of African Unity and it was only unfortunate that some Nigerian leaders, owing to a lack of progressive outlook, did not see eye to eye with Dr. Nkrumah.

Mr. Fasanmi said Mr. Balogun's second reason was that Nigeria was not going to exchange British imperialism for black imperialism and feudalism.

The witness also quoted Balogun as having told him that he and other progressive elements in the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.) were not at all happy with the present setup in Nigeria. This was because under it the most colourful Nigerian Nationalist and one of the greatest freedom fighters of our time had become a glorified prisoner in a gilded cage.

Chief Awolowo, who is defending himself, asked the court to ask whom Mr. Balogun meant.

The witness replied he was referring to our most respected Governor-General, Doctor Nnamdi Azikiwe.

V.I. LENIN

Continued from page 3

At 10 a.m. of November 7, the Revolutionary military committee of the Petrograd Soviet of workers and soldiers deputies issued a manifesto drawn up by Lenin "To the Citizens of Russia", announcing that the Provisional Government had been overthrown and that government power had passed into the hands of the Soviets.

Thus Lenin became the founder of the world's first socialist state.

Lenin devoted much attention to strengthening the ties of friendship among the peoples. He had always vigorously opposed national oppression and inequality as being of advantage only to the exploiter.

Lenin maintained that socialism could not be built without a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Lenin believed that the building of socialism must be closely linked with the cultural revolution. He urged that no funds should be

grudged for public education.

The proletarian state, he taught, is the basic instrument for building socialism.

Lenin tirelessly taught the masses to govern the state, to master the technique of management. He resolutely fought against bureaucracy, against a heartless attitude to the needs and interests of the working people, against a formal approach to work.

He particularly valued and encouraged collective work. He was opposed to decisions on important questions being taken anyhow.

Lenin demanded that all government and party functionaries displayed initiative and a high sense of personal responsibility for their work. He himself was a model of that strict self-discipline he demanded of party and administrative workers. He taught people perseverance and persistence in work, pointing out that one must learn to do a job ten times over, if need be, but to complete it at all costs.

Lenin fought revisionists

in the Soviet party and destroyed left-wing communists in the leadership of the party.

On January 21, 1924 at 6.50 a.m. V. I. Lenin died of a brain haemorrhage.

On the night of January 21 the central committee of the communist party of the Soviet Union met in a plenary session and drew up an appeal to the people: "The man is dead under whose militant leadership our party amid the smoke of battle hoisted with firm hand the red banner of October, throughout the land swept away the resistance of the enemies and firmly established the supremacy of the working people in former tsarist Russia."

Gone is the founder of the Communist International, the leader of world communism, the love and pride of the International proletariat, the standard-bearer of the oppressed East and head of the workers dictatorship in Russia."

The funeral took place at 4 o'clock on January 27. The coffin was installed in Mausoleum specially built for the purpose near the Kremlin wall.

19 Africans Suffocate In South African Mine

NINETEEN Africans died of heat and asphyxiation when a cage was trapped for 3 1/2 hours in a goldmine shaft at Hartebeestfontein, about 110 miles South-west of Johannesburg, South Africa.

The company announcement said that as the day-shift was being lowered down the mine, a fully loaded cage was held up between stations near the bottom of the shaft by a fault in the braking mechanism of the hoist.

Occupants of the Cage

When the service cage was lowered to transfer the occupants from the cage, it was found that 19 were dead.

None of the other occupants of the cage including those on the upper deck, suffered any injury.

About 70 men were in the cage and 14 are being treated for shock.

A big South African finance house controls the mining company.

LONDON

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Ghana

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YOUR TIME-TABLE

ACCRA	Dep.	GH.804 Mon. 2200	GH.800 Fri. 2200
		Non-Stop Night Express	Non-Stop Night Express
LONDON	Arr.	Tues. 0720	Sat. 0720

The changing of the Guard at Horse Guards Parade in Whitehall, London can be seen at 11.30 a.m. on every weekday and 10.00 a.m. on Sunday.

GHANA AIRWAYS—YOUR LINK WITH EUROPE

After the Colonial Revolution

by Michael Harmel

THE spectacular fiasco of British and French imperialism in Egypt may be taken as marking a historical turning-point. The Suez Canal was the last ditch for the West-European colonial system.

The great silent revolution of the mid-Twentieth Century, the emancipation of hundreds of millions of non-European peoples from their alien European overlords, has passed the point of no return.

True, in accordance with their nature, the imperialists will doubtless attempt to retain what is left of their empire. They will continue expending their resources and spilling blood in order to hold what they have in Africa. They will attempt to secure, through economic penetration and financial control, what their tanks, planes and troops are unable to conquer.

The United States of America has fairly openly announced its intention of entering to occupy the "vacuum" left by the departure of its NATO allies from their former colonies.

But these attempts are certain to be frustrated. The process which began in China and India after the Second World War has gone too far and too fast to be stopped. Anti-imperialist solidarity among the victims of colonialism is strong—as witnessed the historic conference of Bandung.

The achievement of self-government by the peoples of the rest of Africa, Asia, and other dependencies, colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be delayed for any length of time.

THE ARGUMENT

So long as foreign rule remains in a country, its people and their leaders are naturally obsessed by a single problem: how to get rid of it. It has been truly said that "A man suffering from national oppression is like a man suffering from cancer—he can think of nothing else."

It follows that nearly all the political energy, organising skill, devotion, courage and sacrifice of the colonial peoples has been absorbed by the struggle for national independence. There seemed to be little purpose in elaborating detailed plans and policies for the morrow of independence, so long as independence itself was at issue.

Indeed, there may well have appeared to be dangers in the formulation of detailed plans. A movement for national liberation naturally seeks to gather groups and classes with divergent long-term interests for the common struggle against outside rule.

"We have capitalist, working class and peasant elements among us," the argument runs. "Each may have its own conception of the ideal way to run the country after emancipation. But all of us stand to gain from the expulsion of imperialism. Let us attend to that matter first."

"Afterwards we can argue about new political and economic foundations. Before we can settle how to run our country, we must first have the power to run it."

There is a measure of truth in this argument. But it is by no means the whole truth. The process of win-

ning national independence is not completed by the formal handing-over of a country's government to a democratically-elected parliament or national assembly.

A thousand strings, economic, political, traditional, still tie the former colony to its former masters. Poverty, illiteracy, a servile mentality, outworn tribal and feudal institutions, a deformed and backward economy—all of them the heritage of imperialist rule—drag down the country, prevent its people tasting the fruits of freedom, and endanger its new-won political independence.

BOLD AND RADICAL PROGRAMME

Liberation leaders cannot afford to ignore such problems. Unless they have worked out a realistic and clearly formulated programme of action for the day after self-government they stand in peril of betraying the glowing hopes and aspirations of the masses who fight for freedom, and throwing away the struggles and sacrifices of generations of patriots.

The measure in which the new ly-independent countries strike out along a bold and radical programme of social and economic reform will be the measure in which their independence is real and not merely formal and fictitious.

The experience of countries such as Pakistan and the Philippines shows that failure to institute and effect rapid, planned economic development, to raise living and cultural standards of workers and peasants, is accompanied by renewed imperialist control and penetration in the form of conditional "aid" and subjection to unequal military "treaties" in which colonialism is perpetuated in a new guise.

Moreover, the process of winning liberation itself is no simple process. The desire for freedom and independence is one thing; its accomplishment another.

Experience has proved that victory in the difficult, arduous and complicated struggle for national emancipation demands from the leaders of that struggle a thorough study and knowledge of advanced modern political theory, of the experiences, successes and failures of movements for the emancipation of oppressed nations and classes in other countries.

SOCIALIST THEORY

It is natural that their struggles, studies and hard experiences should influence modern leaders of oppressed nationalities to become strongly attracted towards socialism.

Socialist theory, in its essence, is vigorously and radically opposed to imperialism, national oppression or racial ideology in any shape or form. Internationalist and revolutionary in its nature, it holds that the working class in emancipating itself must at the same time emancipate all other subject groups and classes.

It would be difficult to overestimate the profound impact of the Russian socialist revolution, with its outspoken anti-imperialist content, upon the awakening millions throughout the colonial world.

DYNAMIC SLOGANS

The consistently anti-colonialist stand of the socialist countries at UNO and similar bodies has of course made a deep impression wherever people fight for emancipation and self-government.

The trend towards socialist theory also springs out of the practical expe-

riences of movements for national freedom in many colonial countries. Such movements were often founded many years ago by middle-class intellectuals and professional people.

Usually constituted more or less as debating chambers along Western "parliamentary" lines, they confined themselves to dignified protests, memoranda and deputations. They had little conception of mass struggle and action, and no intentions of leading any such thing.

They believed that an appeal to reason and humanitarian feelings of the imperial powers would be effective in securing reforms, or they neither demanded nor believed in the possibility of self-government. Such methods proved entirely ineffective.

It was only when new usually socialist-inclined young leaders, entered these organisations, strongly stressing the need to arouse and mobilise the masses of workers and peasants, and advancing dynamic slogans of independence and self-government, that the national movements advanced towards their striking successes of the post-war years.

TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX AND LENIN

In their irresistible advance towards independence, which weakened imperialism has been unable to check, the colonial countries of Asia and Africa which have achieved political independence over the past decade have followed two main paths of advance.

In the case of China, Viet Nam, and Korea the anti-imperialist movement was led by Communist and Workers' Parties which drew their inspiration from the teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, adapted of course to the special historical and local factors of each country.

In the case of India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries, the movement was headed by predominantly nationalist and middle-class organisations, though Marxist and workers' leaders played important roles.

These differences have been carried forward in the differing internal policies carried out in these two groups of countries in the period since their gaining of political independence.

Full information is lacking to make any sort of detailed examination of these various differences, which would indeed be highly instructive. Despite this lack of full information, however, it is possible to discern certain main patterns and tendencies.

ONENESS OF PURPOSE

Before examining their differences, however, it would be well to emphasise certain striking similarities of all the emergent countries of Asia and Africa, a common outlook so strikingly revealed at the histo-

Every modern Government has, through the logic of events, had to transfer certain services to public ownership. Only in the United States of America, with its fanatical devotion to "private enterprise" (where as a matter of fact the big monopolies practically own and control the State) do we find such vital services as light and power and telephones still run by private concerns. And even in America the Government runs the Post Office. These publicly-owned services by no means constitute socialism, or even steps in that direction.

INNER CONFLICT

Modern scientific socialism as explained by all its leading thinkers, does not consist of a single dogma about "nationalisation" or anything else. It is rather a broadly conceived approach to the problems of social development and change, seeing in history as in nature, inner conflicts as the key to growth; finding in the contradiction between historically-evolved classes (which in turn derive from the different relationships of each class to the principal means of production) the key to human progress.

It is particularly futile to attempt to seek the differences between socialists and non-socialists in colonial countries by their approach to this question of

are bound to be ineffective, illusory and unthinkable, so long as the keys to the country's economy remain in the hands of the present gold and land-monopolists who, in their hunger for cheap labour and through their commanding influence, are responsible for all the ills which beset our land and which the Charter seeks to cure.

It is therefore not merely in nationalisation but in question of general approach that we must examine the differences between the two paths of development in the newly-independent countries.

China is a fully socialist country. Capitalism is prohibited. It is plain to any unbiased observer that the path of development differs not only in degree but also in its nature from that followed, say, in India.

In China, unlike India, all the principal big industrial enterprises—and all banks and financial institutions—are State-owned. A far-reaching programme of land-reforms has been carried out in the countryside, and the vast parasitic landlordism, typical of colonial Asia has been eliminated.

The country is consciously moving towards socialism, through a sweeping programme of reforms, of great and imaginative construction projects, which have won the enthusiastic co-operation of the masses of the people.

NKRUMAH'S ADHERENCE TO MARXIST SOCIALISM

We cannot account for these differences merely by pointing to divergencies of outlook among the various individuals who head the newly-liberated countries. Socialism, as pointed out above, has exerted a tremendous influence over two generations of colonial people, both the leading intelligentsia and the masses.

Kwame Nkrumah, as is well known, has proclaimed on a number of occasions his adherence to Marxist socialism.

"Capitalism is too complicated a system for a newly-independent nation," he writes in his autobiography "Ghana," "hence the need for socialism."

In India today plans for economic progress are steadily blocked by the powerful local vested interests which have grown up in the country, which have financial ties with foreign imperialism and whose leaders enjoy an important role in the counsels of the dominant Congress Party. Liberation has not brought about a marked improvement in the condition of India's millions of workers and peasants.

I do not wish to give the impression that India's emancipation has meant nothing to the common people. Emancipation from alien imperialism has opened the door to undreamt of advances for the nation. But these glorious prospects must await a far more radical and dynamic Government policy if they are to be realised.

An older generation of socialists would reply that socialism is impractical in countries which have not passed through the fire of capitalist development; that semi-feudal and pre-feudal societies afford neither the productive nor the social base for so huge a leap forward.

Modern theorists would deny that so dogmatic an assertion has any validity, in an historical era when a third of mankind has already adopted the socialist way of life and is willing and able to offer powerful

assistance in overcoming the consequences of colonial backwardness.

PROBLEMS OF EMERGING STATES

While conceding that the emerging colonies have special problems, and that transitional forms are necessary, they would claim that peaceful transitions and swift and purposeful progress in a socialist direction can be made—provided certain conditions are present.

But such conditions imply far more than a formal acceptance of socialist principles by individual leaders of organisations which themselves are not of a socialist nature. They imply the replacement of the imperialist governing and administrative apparatus not by a new bureaucracy which, though preserving the outward appearance of democracy, leaves effective control in the hands of local vested interests; but by a popular democracy, both local and national, which places power firmly in the hands of the common people, particularly those who, employed for wages or salaries, have no special axe to grind.

Leadership in such a transition would have to be exercised by a political organisation which, not merely in its upper levels but throughout its membership, is trained in and dedicated to scientific principles; is alive to and vigilant against the inevitable attempts of socially unprogressive classes to retard or set back development; is ceaselessly active to overcome the inertia and survivals of outworn habits and methods of thinking, and to arouse the enthusiasm and understanding of the masses without whose conscious participation so radical a transformation could never be carried through to success.

VICIOUS ENEMY

From the socialist point of view this lack of confidence in the common people—strangely reminiscent of the Church of the Middle Ages who would not let the people have the scriptures, but only the priests' interpretation of them—is incompatible with the spirit of collective discussion leadership and mass participation in politics which is necessary for the great effort of transforming society.

It is a profoundly significant sign of our times that in practically every colonial country, it is the socialist leaders—whether brilliant individuals like Keita and Nkrumah, or entire new-type organisations built on socialist foundations from the start—who have come to the fore.

The truth of the matter is that the age of nationalism, which was intimately bound up with the rise of capitalism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, is over. Nationalism, which was a liberating and fruitful fount of democratic and progressive thought in its day has turned into reactionary imperialism and vicious racialism.

The patriotic liberationist nationalism of oppressed peoples has many of the splendid features of the early democratic upsurge of the past uprising against feudalism in Europe two centuries ago. But life is teaching us that, faced with the vicious enemy of imperialism, simple nationalism is no longer enough.

We live in the era of Socialism, the era of the common man. And the future belongs to those leaders and movements who are bold and flexible enough to grasp that central truth of our times.



AFRICAN DIARY

9TH APRIL TO 10 APRIL

TUESDAY 9th APRIL.

GAMBIA: The ruling Party has officially presented a request to U.K., asking for independence within the present year.

SO-CALLED PORTUGUESE GUINEA: Engaged in bloody repression against the African patriots, Portuguese air force has crossed the Senegalese boundary and drop its bombs unto a Senegalese village. The Senegalese government launches an appeal to U.N.O. Security Council.

IVORY COAST: A mission from the International Monetary Fund (based in U.S.A.) is in Abidjan. Meanwhile, the Ivorian Finance Minister, Saller, is in Paris for talks with the French Premier.

TOGO: Official statements confirm the discovery of the C.U.T. plot and made known some particulars.

NIGERIA: It is reported from England that the Macmillan government is ready to deny asylum right to Chief Enahoro.

SOUTH AFRICA: It is learnt that during the last days, 70 more African patriots have been arrested; new police swoops are in progress throughout the country, in a frantic attempt to suppress nationalist movement.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The U.N.O. Committee on colonialism has accepted the British proposal for talks on the future of Southern Rhodesia to be held in London on the 22nd April, between U.N.O. and U.K. representatives. In London, the conservative newspaper 'Times' itself advocates a NO answer to the request for independence put forward by the racist (white) Field government.

EGYPT: With the appointment of a French Charge d'affaires, diplomatic relations between France and Egypt, broken in 1956, are officially renewed.

President Nasser receives an extraordinary envoy from President Kennedy, Mr. Bunker.

ALGERIA: After the closing of F.L.N. cadres conference, and while the students congress is sitting, the National Assembly meets for discussing the current budget—Estate belonging to the big tobacco monopoly Bastos has been seized—It is learnt that President Nasser is expected in Algier on the 3rd May.

MOROCCO: The opposition newspaper 'Al Tahrir', which has been suspended, reappears. The U.S. delegate to U.N.O., A. Stevenson, is received by King Hassan II.

WEDNESDAY 10th APRIL: SENEGAL: England is to grant a £450,000 loan to the Senegalese government. Negotiations are in progress about future Senegal-Gambia relations.

MALI: It is officially announced that trade and finance agreements with Mauritania have been signed.

IVORY COAST: The verdict in the trial of 85 officials charged with "subversive activities" is given after secret proceedings. 13 are sentenced to death, including the former Health Minister and the former Information Director, another former Minister is sentenced to 20 years hard labour, the third one to 15 years hard labour.

TOGO: President Grunitzky in a broadcast to the nation explains the whereabouts of the plot; arrested plotters are to be tried, according to the present laws.

DAHOMY: President Maga has talks in Lagos with Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa, (about Togo?)

NIGERIA: It is revealed that deficit on current accounts balance reaches £50 millions for 1962. In London, House of Commons gives approval to the Tory Government decision to extradite Chief Enahoro.

Why Africa Freedom Day?

by A.K. Barden

The decision to celebrate the 15th of April every year as Africa Freedom Day was taken at the First Conference of Independent States which took place here in Accra from April 15th to April 22nd, 1958. It is embodied in Resolution No. 2 on the "Future of the Dependent Territories in Africa"

All the independent African States at the time, with the exception of the apartheid regime of South Africa, took part in the conference. These were Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Morocco and Ghana. And despite their differing social and economic orientations, their decisions were unanimous and have provided a dynamic force whose effects have been felt in all the corners of the world.

This historic conference saw freedom as the key to the rebirth of the entire African continent. Accordingly it laid down, in this regard, a few principles of far-reaching significance. The key principles are:

* The existence of colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independence of African States;

* Colonialism is a threat to world peace;

* It is the duty of the United Nations and of all independent African States to fight for the freedom of all African territories still under colonial rule.

Accordingly, the 1958 First Conference of Independent African States recommend that the independent African States should give all possible assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence.

IMPACT OF THE ACCRA DECISION

Since these epoch-making decisions were taken in April 1958, the face of Africa has undergone a profound transformation. By 1960, that is, only two years after the conference, the number of independent African States had risen from eight to thirty-two.

This was due largely to the impact of the Accra decisions and to the setting up of the All-African Peoples' Conference in December 1958 on which platform freedom fighters from all over Africa were brought together, and assisted in the struggle against colonialism.

The common enemy—imperialism and colonialism

—has continued to fight for the preservation of its privileges. It has used various methods—some open and direct, others covert and outflanking. It has granted conditional independence to several countries and thus retained its control over these countries' economy, defence and hence foreign policy.

In the colonial territories, it has fanned the flames of sectionalism, used arms against defenceless populations and generally subjected freedom fighters to torture, victimisation, imprisonment and even death.

MILITANT AFRICAN NATIONALISTS

It has organised and financed the assassination of militant African nationalists. It has created discriminatory economic blocs to which some African States are tied had and foot. It has spared no effort in its drive to obstruct and defeat any moves towards African Unity. To this end it has unleashed a campaign of character, assassination and makes unscrupulous appeal to national sentiment.

Despite all this, the African revolution grinds on inexorably. Huge gaps have been blasted in the defence system of colonialism in Kenya and the Central African Federation which soon will be no more. The enemy has suffered severe losses in Zanzibar, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The mounting pressure of the nationalists in South Africa is now temporarily contained through a resort to increased state expenditure on arms and the armed forces.

Africa Freedom Day is an occasion for re-dedication, an occasion for renewed resolve on the part of Africa's heroic soldiers not to lay down their arms until the last square inch of African soil is free of colonial rule.

We must show even greater patriotism, loyalty, and devotion than hitherto. We must know that victimisation is the necessary concomitant of our struggle to be free. We must increase the tempo of our onward march by getting rid of those failings that retard our progress.

above the masses and dictating to them. This frame of mind is strengthened when parliamentarians can secure their re-election by making use of financial power.

In the attempt to tackle this problem, some suggest that M.P.s should not be salaried but rather should earn allowances whenever they attend meetings of parliament. The kernel of this view is that no privileged class will arise if M.P.s (except ministers who work full-time) do not earn fabulous salaries totally unrelated to the salary structure in the country.

Others argue that nominations for elections should be done by the party headquarters in order to stop the corrupting influence of money. This could merely alter the venue for exerting financial power.

Yet others hold the view that as soon as a one party system is adopted, as many candidates as care could contest a seat since the winner in every case will be a party man. The weakness of this view lies in this that if stringent measures are not taken to control election expenses the man with the bigger purse enjoys a great advan-

PASSIVENESS IS TANTAMOUNT TO SUICIDE

IT has become known from sources close to African representatives in the UN that rumours have recently been circulating in New York about a secret report submitted by a number of prominent American scientists late in 1962 to the State Department and the Atomic Energy Commission. Competent sources assert that the report makes a detailed analysis of the consequences of nuclear tests in Africa.

The authors of the report amongst other things refer to certain statements contained in the book published in the U.S. under the title "The Effects of Nuclear Weapons".

The data quoted in the book are of great interest for African peoples, especially in the light of the recent events in the Haggard Mountains. Since the fourth officially announced blast of French nuclear device as an underground one, it is advisable to consider the effect of such explosions.

Why do some people insist that underground nuclear tests are "safe"? Simply because atmospheric nuclear blasts contaminate the air, the atoms and molecules of which become radioactive and are then spread by winds all over the globe. Official statistical materials testify to the fact that the level of radioactive carbohydrate has gone up an average 30 per cent as compared with 1950.

This is quite a big figure which has caused concern even to the most brazen atom-mongers. If a nuclear device is exploded deep under the earth, the thermal and shock waves are reduced almost to nought.

Ionizing radiation is also diminished. As a result, the gases which compose the air contain less radioactive atoms. It should be taken into consideration, however, that under-ground explosion produces a huge blast-pit, hundreds of feet in diameter.

This goes to show that an avalanche of microscopic particles and vapours are ejected into the air which becomes radioactive under the action of neutrons which

evolve great amounts during the blast. Suffice it to quote just one figure so as to realise the tremendous hazard of under-ground explosions.

A nuclear blast in the megaton range conducted in the state of Nevada back in 1951 hurled into the air some 10 million tons of earth and rock! So as to be able to fully understand this figure, let us point out that the radius of the blast-pit was 1,400 feet wide and 300 feet deep.

RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT

The particles of radioactive dust settle relatively close to the Earth's surface, and only a limited area of the explosion is thus contaminated with radioactive fallout, while after an atmospheric explosion, radioactive atoms sooner or later spread all over the Earth.

It is thus clear that on the whole under-ground nuclear tests are less hazardous to human beings compared to the atmospheric ones, although it should be pointed out that for the population of the areas close to the site of the explosion, the former are much more dangerous than the latter.

These basic trust are well known to the French government. And this should be realised by the peoples of Africa whose lands are being bestrewn with the deadly dust.

The above-mentioned book makes a very casual reference to the territory which is subjected to the immediate effects of radioactive fallout which has a well-pronounced radiation sickness hazard. To quote: "It should be understood that the fallout is a gradual phenomenon extending over a period of time."

"In the BRAVO explosion, for example, about 10 hours elapsed before the contaminated particles began to fall at the extremities of 7,000 square miles area. By that time, the radioactive cloud had thinned out to such an extent, that it was no longer visible. This brings up the important fact that fallout can occur even when the cloud cannot be seen."

Thus, human beings can be affected with radioactive fallout even if they know nothing about it. It should be said that the above quotation does not by far provide the full picture of the process involved in radioactive fallout.

The cited figures are premeditatedly lower. They pertain to the so-called "early" fallout which occurs within 24 hours after the blast and is sometimes called local fallout. Apart from that, however, there is also the so-called "delayed" fallout the spreading area of which depends wholly on atmospheric conditions prevailing within the first few hours following the explosion of a nuclear device.

This relates partly to the "early" fallout, since the shape of a radioactive cloud resembles a cigar within the first 10-20 hours after the blast. This cigar-shaped

cloud extends in the direction of the winds and is hundreds of miles long and tens of miles wide.

Later on, due to changes in the direction of the winds, the cloud becomes formless and extends over vast territories. It should be noted here that depending on the power of the blast, the cloud may be 20-30 miles high. Since winds blow in different directions at different altitudes, it is practically impossible to forecast the shape of the cloud.

One can only speak of its tendency to spread in some particular direction. The size of the contaminated area and intensity of radioactive fallout are strongly affected by atmospheric conditions (rains, snow, etc.): the earlier they occur after the blast, the heavier the contamination.

Thus, radioactive dust which is of immediate danger to the population is carried over hundreds and even thousands of miles from the site of the blast. This means that nowhere in Northern or Central Africa can one feel safe if nuclear devices are exploded in the Sahara desert.

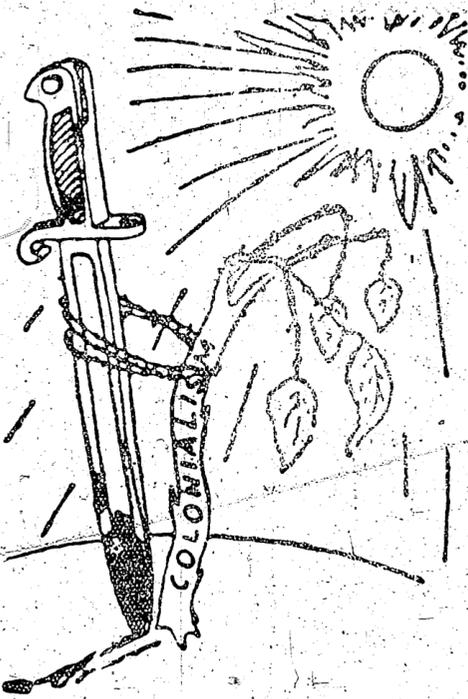
HAZARDS OF RADIATION

Hundreds of articles, monographs and books have been written on the biological hazards of radiation. However, all of these publications, including the quoted one (The Effects of Nuclear Weapons) are incomplete and contain specially belittled figures and facts.

This is easily understandable, since most of them are put out by the countries which have nuclear weapons the testing of which subject their own people to the hazards of radiation in a varying degree. A revelation of full truth would have caused outbursts of indignation and protests amongst the population of nuclear powers. However, even these incomplete data make it possible to assess the scope of a catastrophe facing Africa today. The general and carcinogenic properties of radioactive substances have been sufficiently fully analysed.

It is common knowledge that even a small amount of radioactive substances (especially such as Strontium 90, Cesium 137 and Carbon 14) may be instrumental in inducing serious disorders and mutations of hereditary factors which according to animals experiments, may become manifest even over the lifespan of 40-50 generations. In higher animals these symptoms may manifest themselves much earlier, even within a generation once removed.

Unless we pool our efforts in fighting nuclear tests, many of us will be victims of terrible diseases such as cancer, leukemia and radiation sickness. The fate of our children will be even more appalling. Many of them will be born cripples. That is why every African must realize that passiveness is tantamount to the murder of our future generations.



Editorial

nisation at any time during his term of office.

Secondly, there is the matter of serving the people. The socialist M.P. does his work by keeping the ministers constantly on their toes. It is his duty to spot out and criticise administrative failings in the ministries, boards and corporations. He must make absolutely sure that party policies are not defeated by either civil service red tape or inept handling. He

must constantly bring home to the ministers the views and criticisms of his constituents. He must faithfully reflect the demands of his constituents in their order of priority. He must teach the people by leading a life of devotion, simplicity and honesty. He must be an active member of his party branch.

Thirdly, there is the matter of how to prevent members of parliament constituting themselves into a privileged class. There is the very real danger that M.P.s. will tend to see themselves as a special class of men placed high