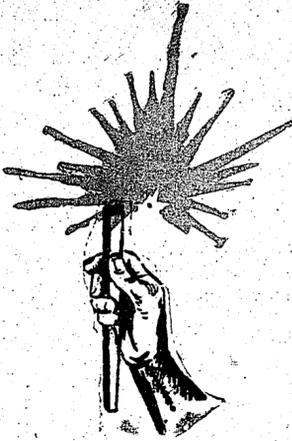


# THE SPARK



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## Africa and the October

# Revolution

by  
Julius Sago

### EDITORIAL

## THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

WE GREET the people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the 47th Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Millions throughout Africa and the rest of the world, in newly liberated countries, in the industrialised countries, in those countries where the people are still striving for their political freedom, will be joining in the celebrations of that great revolution which once and for all took one sixth of the world out of the capitalist system.

In October 1917 (November, New Calendar) when the workers and soldiers of autocratic and capitalist Russia successfully stormed the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) and rose in arms against the Czars, it was the first time in history that a revolution took place which ended for ever an exploiting system.

The peoples of the Soviet Union were liberated from the exploitation of Russian and foreign capital. The peasantry was freed from feudal relationships in the countryside and the double exploitation of the peoples of the former Tsarist empire was brought to an end.

This great breakthrough in the front of imperialism inspired the working people of the whole world, because it demonstrated that given correct leadership, oppressors could be overthrown—ordinary people could rule the state.

In face of foreign invasion and the devastation of civil war, the yearning for a new way of life, for an end to poverty and oppression inspired the Soviet people and they won through. After the shameful foreign intervention failed, the capitalist class on an international scale, still persisted in trying to smash the Soviet Union by encouraging sabotage, by economic sanctions and by diplomatic isolation. They

encouraged the Nazis of Germany to look to the East for their conquests in the hope that what their armies of intervention had failed to do the Nazi hordes might achieve.

An old and dying class can never face the logic of history and an exploiting class can never believe that the people it exploits can rule and manage their lives better, freed from their exploitation. The age old dreams of the common people were coming true.

Throughout the world popular support for the Soviet Union was expressed in actions to stop intervention and to demand an end to sabotage and hostility. Of course capitalism has never wanted to come to terms with the Soviet Union and the rest of the Socialist world which has grown since 1917. The growing strength of Socialism and the growth of the working class movements in the capitalist countries and the spectacular growth of the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America form a strong alliance against the attempts of imperialism to launch war and to turn back the clock. This is why today the unity of the three is so vital and basic to the world wide struggle to bring the imperialist system to an end.

From a backward country, burdened with terrible poverty, illiteracy, disease, superstition, the Soviet Union has grown to the stature of a major world power. It has pioneered the development of social services, education, and cultural advances which have had their influence even in capitalist countries and which are the inspiration of many countries of Africa. Above all by the tremendous development of science and its application to industry and agriculture it has de-

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FORTY seven years ago, the first socialist state in the history of mankind, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), came into being. This feat was carried through by the Bolshevik Party (later renamed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) under the guiding genius of Vladimir Ilych Lenin.

After a month's intensive preparation, the armed insurrection broke out on the night of October 24, under the direction of the Revolutionary Military Committee with headquarters at Smolny Institute, Leningrad. Red guards sieged the factories and blocked the roads; soldiers surrounded and stormed the Winter Palace, the seat of the outgoing government; units of the Navy, led by the cruiser Aurora opened fire on the Winter Palace. By the morning of October 25 (November 7 in the new calendar) the old government had been overthrown. At 10 o'clock that morning the following proclamation was issued to the people of Russia under Lenin's signature:

"The Provisional Government has been deposed. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies—the Revolutionary Military Committee, which heads the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

"The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landlord ownership of land, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power—this cause has been secured.

"Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"

### NEW CHAPTER

Thus history was made. The revolutionary initiative of the common people triumphed. And a new and glorious chapter opened in the annals of man.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has changed the face of the earth. It brought freedom to nearly 100 million Russians and to an even larger number of people who groaned under the iron heels of the despotic Czars.

Outside the borders of the Soviet Union, the October Revolution opened new vistas for all oppressed peoples in general and brought renewed hope to the toiling people in particular. The lessons of the October Revolution have helped to build socialist states in China and in Eastern Europe. They have inspired powerful revolutionary working class movements in the capitalist and imperialist countries. They have lived the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today mankind is confidently looking forward to a global triumph of socialism.

This year's celebrations of the October Socialist Revolu-

tion are being marked by a high degree of enthusiasm. This infectious mood of optimism and confidence comes from five main sources:

1. the more realistic appraisal of the strategy for attaining world peace;
2. the growing realisation of the bankruptcy of the doctrine of peaceful transition in the march to socialism the world over;
3. the trend towards normalisation of relations between Moscow and Peking;
4. the great upsurge of revolutionary ideas in the national liberation movements;
5. the great achievement of socialist construction not only in the well-established socialist states but also in the newer nations—North Korea, North Vietnam, Ghana, Algeria, U.A.R., Cuba, etc.

The cumulative effect of all these factors has been a strengthening of solidarity between all anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces of the world. In short, we are all moving towards greater unity in the camp of world socialism.

### ETERNAL TEACHINGS

However, it is important to emphasise the point that such unity will grow and deepen only to the extent that basic agreement on fundamental points of theory (i.e. ideology) becomes general.

It is therefore necessary to draw attention yet again to what constitutes the eternal teachings of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The pages of history are replete with socialist experiments and popular revolts that failed. Why did the 1917 revolution in Russia succeed?

First and foremost, it was led by the working class, the only absolutely revolutionary

class in capitalist society. This means that even though several economic classes and social strata took part in the revolution, the leading role went to the working class. This arrangement saved the revolution, because the workers alone had a vested interest in the revolution going through to the end. It avoided the dangers first of the revolution stopping short of its ultimate goal and secondly of it being diverted into other channels.

Secondly, the driving force behind the October Revolution was the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. The lesson here is that the workers in industry, in the mines, in transport, in the docks, etc. must rally around themselves all the oppressed and exploited elements in society. It is this force—an alliance of all oppressed strata in the colonial or neo-colonial society—that "Consciencism" refers to as "positive action"

### NKRUMAISM

The third condition of success is that political leadership of all anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces must be vested in a political party which possesses revolutionary experience and is armed with a revolutionary ideology. It is this idea that gives life to the Convention People's Party here in Ghana with its revolutionary ideology of Nkrumaism which is scientific socialism applied to the historical conditions and aspirations of Africa. It is around such a revolutionary ideology that a monolithic party can be built. And monolithic unity in the party is vital to correct and effective leadership.

The corollary from this is an uncompromising struggle against all wrong ideas in the party—ideas that are wrong because they are either capitalist and retrogressive or revisionist and defeatist in effect.

Fourthly, the October Revolution triumphed because its leaders set about consciously to destroy the old state apparatus and put a new one in its place. The lesson here is that a true revolution cannot rely on the state machinery of the old regime. Even where the outward forms are retained, the inner mechanism must change radically in keeping with the fundamental change in the structure of political power which is the hallmark of every true revolution. This precept exposes the utter futi-

lity of a newly emerged nation embarking upon national reconstruction with the state apparatus of colonialism and with the constitution handed over by imperialism on the attainment of political independence. If political independence is to blossom into a full-scale economic and social revolution, a new constitution and a new state administrative machinery are called for.

The external conditions for the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution were two. First, imperialism, hard pressed by the world war which had then raged for four years, was not in the position to send massive aid to the ruling classes of Russia. This does not mean that the socialist movements in the emergent nations must expect a world war in order to create an external condition favourable to the defeat of capitalism in these countries. The pressure on imperialism could be exerted, and has in fact been exerted, by a powerful socialist camp strong enough to deter imperialist aggression and stop the export of counter-revolution. It follows from this that the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America need a strong world socialist camp—strong, that is, in its economic power, in its military power and in its unity.

The other external condition for the success of the socialist revolution is the support of the working class of all lands. This condition is self-explanatory. The nature of the support given will be largely political and diplomatic.

### FUNDAMENTAL POINTS

It is, however, important to emphasise the organic relationship existing between the external conditions just mentioned. International proletarianism is a two-way traffic. While, on the one hand the vigilance and strength of a united socialist camp deters imperialist aggression and defeats the export of counter-revolution thus creating world conditions favourable to the development of the socialist movements in the newly emergent nations; on the other hand, support given the socialist states by the proletariat of the world, enables these states to accelerate their advance towards the greater satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of man.

As mankind enters the 48th year of the socialist era, an accelerated tempo in our

advance will owe a good deal to the clarity of our ideas on a few fundamental points. These issues are peaceful co-existence and peaceful transition.

The Second Conference of Non-Aligned States held in Cairo last month has completely rejected the view of peaceful co-existence which accommodates imperialist oppression and exploitation. The correct socialist view is the peaceful co-existence of states, not the appeasement of imperialism.

### SOCIALIST VIEW

Concretely, the socialist view of peaceful co-existence has the following characteristics:

- a. it is limited to relations between states but does not relate to the conflict of ideologies which must go on "as long as these are exploiting classes" left in the world;
- b. it sees revolution as something that depends primarily on the relation of socio-economic forces within a given country;
- c. it actively opposes the export of counter-revolution;
- d. it makes room for the support of socialist and liberation movements everywhere by the international proletariat in view of the reality of imperialist support for reactionary regimes everywhere.

There are some who think that peaceful co-existence must necessarily renounce the idea of socialism winning the whole world. This static concept of peaceful co-existence is wrong. It is not the socialist view of this principle. Further, it is unscientific, since no theoretically formulated concept can stop the dialectical evolution of the material world. The correct standpoint of scientific socialism on this vital question of peaceful co-existence and the socialist revolution is admirably summarised in the following passage:

"When we say that the socialist system will win in the competition between the two systems—the capitalist and the socialist—this by no means signifies that its victory will be achieved through armed interference by the socialist countries in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries. Our cer-

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# Zambia Still Being Robbed

ALMOST to the last minute before Zambia's independence the British South Africa Company held out desperately to extract the maximum sum as compensation for being deprived of its copper royalties. The determination of President Kaunda and the Zambia Cabinet, together with the election defeat of the Tories in Britain, made it difficult for the company to stick to its original demands.

The company's demands for £20 million compensation were gradually forced downwards—first to £18 million, then to £15 million, then to £12 million. The latest estimate was £5 million.

Zambia offered a token payment of £2 million to buy out the company's alleged claim to royalties and declared that it was the responsibility of the British Government to find the remainder. The Tory Government refused to pay anything, but promised "to help to secure an agreement with the company for the transfer of mineral royalties before Independence Day".

Lord Dilhorne, the Lord Chancellor, put the Tory views in blunt terms in his talks with Mr. A. N. L. Wina, Zambia's Finance Minister, early in October:

*"The British Government strongly repudiated the allegation of misconduct on the part of former British Governments, and rejected the suggestion that it was their responsibility to provide compensation for the company."*

On the eve of Independence Day the Labour Government entirely changed the situation by agreeing to pay £2 million, thus making a total of £4 million as "compensation" for the B.S.A.C.'s, alleged mineral rights in Zambia. Thus ends one aspect of a process of robbery which has enabled the B.S.A.C. to grab £130 million in mineral royalties, and was expecting to receive over £200 million more up to 1986.

## HOW THE ROBBERY STARTED

The origin and record of the B.S.A.C., is one which needs to be known and understood by all Africans. For although its mineral royalty "rights" in Zambia are ended, the B.S.A.C. still goes on with its exploitation, in Zambia, Rhodesia, Congo, South Africa and elsewhere. When white settler minority rule is ended in Rhodesia and it becomes Zimbabwe, under African majority rule, the battle to end its domination will be even sharper.

For 75 years the B.S.A.C. has been an instrument of British imperialism in Southern Africa. Created by Cecil Rhodes, the great Empire builder (from whom Rhodesia derived its name), it acquired its royal charter from Queen Victoria in October, 1889, and has since been commonly known as the Charter. It virtually ruled Nyasaland (now Malawi), until it became a British "protectorate" in 1891. It was the governing body in Southern Rhodesia until the formation of the first Legislative Council in 1903, and was still the main political influence until it became a "self-governing" colony in 1923. It ruled Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) for 34 years, until it became a British "protectorate" in 1924. British official history has always done its utmost to hide its shameful origin behind a curtain of glamour and adventure. Charter's insignia depicting African animals and ships sailing the ocean, has the motto: "Justice, Freedom, Commerce". Recent Charter illustrated advertisements in British journals depict Rudd's first meeting with Lobengula and tells the story in these words.

**BULAWAYO:** The year is 1888. The leading figures in what is to prove a memorable meeting are face to face. On an old brandy case sits Lobengula, King of the Matabels, opposite him is Charles Bullard Rudd who has come to persuade

the King to sign a concession allowing an English company to work 'all the metals and materials' in his kingdom. After a suitable display of regal intransigence, Lobengula duly signed and the way is open for Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company to develop the territory which today forms Southern Rhodesia."

## SORDID HISTORY

The real story is the most sordid episode in imperialist expansion. The Rev. J. S. Moffat, a British missionary in whom Lobengula had great trust, advised him to put his mark on a letter, in which he agreed not to cede any of his territory without the consent of the British Government. Lobengula had no intention of signing any part of his territory to anyone, and therefore saw no harm in the letter. But this became the original document used by Cecil Rhodes to establish claim to the territory!

That was in February 1888. In October, three agents of Cecil Rhodes (Charles Durnell Rudd, F. R. Thompson and R. Maguire—a British M.P.), persuaded Lobengula to sign another document, in return for which Cecil Rhodes would provide him with 1,000 rifles, 100 rounds of ammunition, a steamboat to sail on the Zambesi, and a pension of £100 a month. The moment it was signed Charles Rudd dashed off with it to Cecil Rhodes in Capetown and Cecil Rhodes rushed off with it to Queen Victoria at Balmoral House in London.

In Matabeland, the territory ruled by Lobengula, there was consternation, for the rumour spread that the King had ceded his peoples right to the land, which he had no power to do without the agreement of his counsellors. Lobengula sent a letter to Queen Victoria in which he explained:

*"Some time ago a party of men came into my country, the principal one appearing to be a man called Rudd. They asked me for a place to dig for gold and they said they would give me certain things for the right to do so. I told them to bring what they would give me and I would show them what I would give. A document was written and presented to me for signature. I asked what it contained, and was told that in it were my words and the words of those men. I put my hand to it. About three months afterwards I heard from other sources that I had given by that document the right to all the minerals of my country." (April 23, 1889).*

Faced with King Lobengula's repudiation, Cecil Rhodes sent the first batch of white settlers to occupy part of the king's land. The British Government of the day sent in troops, and within three months (September 1890) Salisbury, the present capital of Southern Rhodesia was founded. When Lobengula was told that British troops had crossed the border, it is no wonder that he made the bitter comment that "All white men are liars".

For the next three years a ruthless war of extermination was waged against the people of Matabeland and the

neighbouring territory of Mashonaland. Lobengula was killed at the end of 1893, but the looting of his land and cattle, and the murder of his people went on.

## LAND ROBBERY

From the outset the Charter Company made gigantic profits from lies and deceit. Its ill-gotten gains were won by the extermination of thousands of Africans, forced labour, land robbery and racketeering. True, the Company discovered little gold, but in its first five years its £1 shares went up from £1 in 1890 to £9. 10s. in 1895. Every soldier engaged in a new expedition against the Africans in 1893 was promised nine square miles of land and 20 gold claims. The loot acquired was divided equally between the soldiers and the Company. By the end of January, 1895, more than 900 "farm rights" were issued, and nearly 10,000 gold claims registered.

True, there were long legal battles against this robbery. As early as 1908, the white settlers, contested the claims of the Company. The Legislative Council in Southern Rhodesia (which had come into being in 1903) decided in 1914 that the ownership of "unalienated" land was not vested in the Company as its private property, but as a "trust" held by the Company, which was the only governing body before setting up the Legislative Council. It was not until 1920 that the British Government settled the matter (to the advantage of the Europeans) when an Order-in-Council set aside 22 million acres as "native reserves", 31 million acres under European ownership, and 43 millions for "future allocation".

Even today the situation is little different. New legislation between 1950 and 1953 allocated 48,700,000 acres of land (more than half the total of 96,600,000 acres) to European ownership, though the Europeans are less than ten per cent of the African population. Only 36,600,000 acres are assigned to the Africans, more than half of which are in the "native reserves".

## NEW TREACHERY

Within two weeks of the Company getting its royal charter it had extended northwards in its search for "concessions". It sent Frank Lochner, a captain in the Bechuanaland Police, as its representative for talks with Lewanika, Paramount Chief of Barotseland. Lewanika had already given a concession to a Mr. Harry Ware, who represented a Kimberley (South Africa) syndicate. Cecil Rhodes easily solved this problem by buying out the syndicate!

So Lewanika was persuaded to sign a new concession in June, 1890. This gave the Company absolute exclusive and perpetual right to search for and extract minerals over the whole territory of the Barotse nation, and this was presented at a "treaty between the Barotse Nation and Queen Victoria". In return Charter was pledged to finance education and industry, maintain a British Resident, and pay the Paramount Chief £2,000 a year.

Charter was in no hurry to fulfil its pledges. It did not appoint a Resident until 1897, the first school was not opened until 1907, and apart from copper there is hardly any developed industry today. The concession was revised in 1900 when the then British Govern-

ment was directly involved for the first time—though the Queen's authority had been invoked ten years earlier. This revision also cut the annual payment to the Paramount Chief from £2,000 to £850 a year!

Meanwhile, after the deal with Lewanika, more agents were sent out by Cecil Rhodes. Before the end of 1890 they had got 14 more treaties signed (some without witnesses and others without interpreters present!), and in all cases it seems clear that local chiefs had signed away privileges to land and monopoly rights outside their jurisdiction. Still, they were sanctioned by the British Government in 1894.

The recent White Paper issued before Independence Day entitled "The British South Africa's Company's Claims to Mineral Royalties in Northern Rhodesia", traces this early history in detail and describes the efforts which have been made since 1920 to solve this problem. It proves conclusively that the Lewanika concession was extracted by false pretences, and that his territory did not in any case extend to what is now known as the Copper Belt. Moreover, even if the treaty were genuine, it had been ratified by the British Government, but did not bind the new state of Zambia. However, the £4 million compensation paid jointly by Zambia and the new British Government has now ended this long process of exploitation, and frees Zambia from paying in the future royalties of £40 for every ton of copper mined. The White Paper declares bluntly: "It is very questionable in the circumstances whether they should be paid anything at all. It may well be rather that those who have been paying the royalty over the years have a valid claim for compensation against the company."

## CHARTER STILL ROBS

While this new step is extremely welcome, it makes no basic change in the ability of Charter to carry on its exploitation in southern Africa. It was the big copper monopoly which paid the royalties to Charter, but Charter itself has big investments in these copper firms. This means that a large proportion of what it has lost comes back in another way!

Charter is a huge monopoly extending far beyond the extraction of royalty payments. It has investments of over £70 million, including those in De Beers Investment Trust Limited, Rand Selection Corporation, and the Union Corporation Limited—all of whom are in the Republic of South Africa. It has mineral rights extending over 16,000 square miles in Malawi, 134,000 acres of citrus and other estates in Rhodesia, and owns 99 per cent of the shares in the Rhodesia Railway Trust.

Charter's royalty income was on a comparatively low scale before the second world war, amounting to £301,000 in 1937. Even at that time its authority to collect royalties was seriously challenged. In January, 1938, Ormsby-Gore, the British Colonial Secretary who was related by marriage and a personal friend of Douglas Malcolm, chairman of Charter, wrote to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia refusing to re-open the question of the company's title.

After the war Charter's royalty income rose steadily to £2,628,000 in 1949. Again the royalty rights of Charter were hotly disputed and at that time even Sir Roy Welensky challenged its right to levy royalties, but later caved in. After further talks in 1950, the late Mr. A. Creech Jones

(Labour Colonial Secretary at that time) signed an agreement with the Governor and the Company that Charter would continue to receive royalties until October 1st, 1986. In return Charter agreed to pay 20 per cent of its revenue to the Government of Northern Rhodesia. No African had a voice in the matter!

Zambia has now ended this infamous agreement, but Charter will go on making huge profits. Between 1956 and 1963 after paying all taxes its income amounted to £80 million. Its present chairman, Mr. P. V. Emrys Evans, recently reported that "the consolidated profit for the year under review is £14,423,000" (London TIMES, April 3, 1964). Dividends to its shareholders totalled over £8 million last year, compared with just over £1 million in 1948.

Among Charter's directors are Lord Robins, Lord Malvern and many other Tory big business tycoons are linked with it through De Beers, Anglo-American Corporation, Union Corporation, Barclays Bank and other big trusts. Lord Salisbury was a director until 1961 and still retains his financial interest. No wonder the big Tory magnates fought to the last breath to prevent Zambia from putting an end to the payment of royalties to Charter.

**But the battle is not yet over. Zambia's economy is still mainly dependent on copper. This is completely in the ownership and control of two**

by Idris Cox

huge copper trusts—the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, and the Rhodesian Selection Trust. The former owns three copper mines and operates through its subsidiaries—the Rhodesian Anglo-American, and the Rhokana Corporation. The latter owns the Mufilira, Roan Antelope and Chibuluma Mines. Between them the gross profits from copper last year were over £54 million.

## CUTTING CLAWS

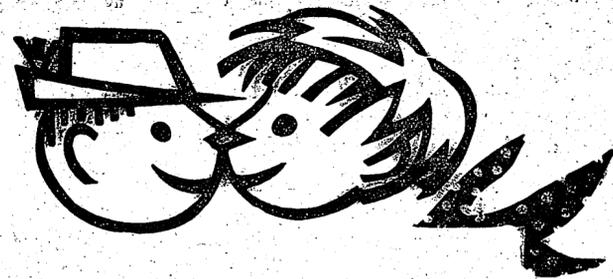
The Anglo-American Corporation has no less than 145 subsidiaries and associates. Last year its mines produced 345,000 tons of copper, worth £80 million. In 1962 its shareholders received 100 per cent dividends. With its headquarters in Johannesburg, South Africa, it is headed by Harry Oppenheimer, the giant mineral magnate, who is also a director of Charter, and also of Tanganyika Concessions—which in turn is linked with Union Miniere, the big copper trust in the Congo.

All that has happened so far is that Zambia has cut off ONE of the claws of Charter's giant monopoly. It may be too soon to take action to cut off any more claws, but it seems clear that serious steps must already be considered to have some kind of control over the operations of the remaining activities of Charter and all the big monopoly firms which remain.

This will also involve giving more encouragement to the African copper miners to raise their level of wages and working conditions. In recent years their own efforts have won big improvements, but 5,000 European miners still get double the total wages of 37,000 African miners. African advancement in the copper mines has been at a snail's pace, and many African miners are capable of skilled jobs equal to those of European miners.

The winning of political independence in itself will not solve Zambia's big problems. But it does put a powerful weapon in the hands of President Kaunda and the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the trade unions, and people of Zambia to press forward for more basic changes in the economy, for the raising of living standards, and the scope and level of education.

Zambia is more fortunate than most African countries in having the economic resources which will enable it to make far more rapid economic progress. British imperialism and the big monopoly firms will still try to hold it back and squeeze the maximum profits. These efforts can be defeated. If Independence Day is followed by united opposition against neo-colonialism and solidarity with the struggle in Rhodesia and South Africa, there are good prospects that Zambia will set the pace in the all-African struggle for freedom.



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# What Has Soviet Power Given Youth?

AN account of the benefits accruing to youth thanks to Soviet power would occupy many pages. Among them may be listed—confidence in the future, absence of unemployment, availability of education to broad sections of the population and the right to actively participate in state and public affairs. We shall deal here only with the life of college students, which is perhaps the best way to form a judgement about a nation's future.

There are 3.3 million college students in the USSR, some 317,000 more than last year. Out of the 332,500 who graduated in 1963, more than 105,000 were trained for work in industry and construction, 119,000 in education, 32,000 in agriculture, 17,000 in transport and communication etc.

The Soviet Union has more students than Britain, France, Italy and the FRG combined.

Women make up a third part of all those who got college diplomas in the USSR.

Anatoly Trofimov is a first-year student at the I. Gubkin Institute of Petrochemical and Gas Industry. Though he is only 22, Anatoly has already had practical oil field experience.

What is the life story of this young man from the Stavropol Territory (in the south of Russia)?

## OIL ENGINEER

When Anatoly's father was 22, he died defending his son's future from the Nazi invaders. Yekaterina Trofimova, Anatoly's mother, worked on a collective farm and had to bring up her two children on her own. At first Anatoly studied in a rural school, then worked in one of the farm's field brigades. After graduating from the 10-year school, and later, a vocational training school for oil workers, he became an assembly man on a derrick. It was at this time

that he decided to become an oil engineer.

In 1961, Anatoly was called up. While serving in the Army he finished a 7-month college prep correspondence course. According to Soviet law servicemen demobilised from the Soviet Army enjoy a priority right for enrolment in colleges. However, Anatoly was so well trained that he did not use this privilege, and passed all the exams with flying colours.

Everything was new and interesting at college for this first-year student. He was never at any stage plagued by that source of constant anxiety to college students in the West—having to pay his way through college. Education is completely free in the USSR. Even in the special study room for drawing, everything was placed at the disposal of the students free of charge, including a case of drawing instruments. The college library also provided the students with the necessary textbooks, as well as any special literature needed for self-improvement in the profession selected.

Moreover, as a first-year student, Anatoly in the same way as all his fellow students who made good progress would receive a stipend of 35 roubles, which would later be increased to 40-45 roubles. He would have to pay a very small sum for his hostel accommodations,

including the utility services and bed linen.

The student scientific society at the Institute, headed by Prof. Medzhid Husein-zade, prominent Soviet oil specialist would prepare Anatoly for research work on his own. At present the society unites about 500 students. The institute also has a student designing shop.

The bulk of sport fans are college students. The athletes at this particular institute belong to the voluntary sport society "Nauka". Anatoly Trofimov, who already has a second category rating in volleyball and a 3rd category rating in swimming, can use all sporting equipment and uniforms free of charge. In summer time the Institute has health improvement and sport camps on the Volga, which are also used by the students free of charge.

## THE FUTURE

The life in the capital offers a Muscovite a great variety of cultural entertainments. Anatoly likes to go to drama theatres, though he usually sits in the cheapest seats. Incidentally, theatre tickets cost less in the USSR than in many countries of the world.

Students can buy tickets to museums and exhibitions at cut rates.

Free medical service is a privilege which all Soviet citizens enjoy including, naturally, our friend Anatoly.

The Institute trade union committee also shows concern for the health of the students. Whenever medical treatment or leave are necessary, the committee pays the fares to rest homes or sanatoria or provides them at cut rates. (10-30 per cent of the actual price).

As to public life students have here a broad field of activity. They often read lectures to, and have talks with the population. Apart from their summer vacations they spent working on construction sites or helping to harvest crops on the virgin lands, they also head the amateur groups of youthful technicians in schools, etc.

What lies ahead for Anatoly? Will he get a job after graduating from the Institute? Here is what Iraida Belousova, deputy rector of the Petrochemical Institute, had to say on this score:

"All our graduates find application for their knowledge in production. There are particularly great vistas opening now for them in connection with the construction of many large scale chemical enterprises in West Siberia, the regions along the Volga and in Kazakhstan. This year most of the graduates will receive appointments to these areas.

First-year students of today will also take part in the implementation of the stupendous plan for the chemicalisation of the national economy in the USSR."

Anatoly Trofimov certainly has a bright road before him and excellent prospects.



The Kremlin where Soviet power is concentrated

# What Has Soviet Power Brought to Women?

The reply is very short: Full equality with the men.

It should be mentioned that Soviet women so skillfully used the provided rights that in some fields they even surpassed the men. In what precisely? Let's imagine a meticulous Western newsman who is interested only in facts. He asks and we answer:

What is the number of women per hundred Soviet workers engaged in industry?

Forty-six. What about education and culture?

Sixty two per one hundred. And in the public health system?

Eighty-six.

And in the sphere of state administration? What is the percentage in relation to the

"strong sex" held by women? Forty per cent of deputies to the Supreme and local Soviets are women.

Well, let's take science. In this field too the times are long gone when scientists put on airs before the "weak sex". Today more than 30,000 women in the Soviet Union have the scientific degrees of doctors and candidates of sciences. Almost 800 women are members or corresponding members of the academies and professors in the higher educational establishments.

Formerly scientists were called "men" of science. But what must we call them today when not all scientists are male? Perhaps the philologists will have to crack their brains building a new combination of words!

In general all kinds of intellectual work in the Soviet

Union are within the capacity of women. There are 26,000 women writers, editors, journalists and reporters in the Soviet Union.

Let's go a little bit deeper into history. In tsarist Russia only 138 women out of 1,000 (up to the age of 50) could read and write. Today illiteracy is out of the question. Out of every ten specialists with higher and secondary specialised education, six are women. Every third engineer in the Soviet Union is a woman. Every other chief, head or chairman is a woman. Is it bad? Not at all. Inborn delicacy and tenderness—called femininity—help them to cope with their responsibilities sometimes even better

than men. Today there are practically no "non-female" professions in the USSR. Women hold the posts of ministers and presidents of Union republics. Among them are skippers and polar explorers, film directresses and judges, officers and diplomats and surgeons. And as a culmination of all there are women-cosmonauts, Yostok-6 spaceship was piloted by the world's first woman cosmonaut, Valentina Tereshkova, now a happy wife and mother.

Despite all this women remain the beautiful half of the society—charming sweethearts, tender and solicitous mothers and kind housewives in the family.

# MANUAL AND MENTAL WORK UNDER SOCIALISM

Under socialism the distinction between manual and mental work is steadily being eliminated. That is one of the outstanding features of the socialist society. It is also a tangible feature of communism that is making itself felt more and more in our life.

IN primitive times, when men used primitive tools and human knowledge was extremely limited, there was naturally no problem of manual and mental labour. The problem arose with the transition to an exploiter system. In a society divided into exploiters and exploited, increased knowledge and the rise of sciences and engineering techniques produced a gap between the manual work performed by the exploited masses and the mental work that became the privilege of the ruling minority. Capitalism widened the gap to a fantastic degree. There were reasons for that.

A worker has neither the money nor the time to spend in obtaining a higher education. The overwhelming majority of the students at colleges and universities in the capitalist countries come from well-to-do families. They are the children of the bourgeoisie, well-paid experts, officials, and the higher category of office personnel.

However, a monopoly of knowledge, part and parcel of an exploiter system, is only one aspect of the distinction between manual and mental work that is characteristic of capitalism. Another, no less important, aspect is the functions which brain workers perform in bourgeois society. Although this category of workers is itself exploited to a considerable extent by the capitalists and the bourgeoisie state that protects their inter-

ests, as a whole its function is either to protect bourgeois relationships or to organize the process of capitalist production, which is at the same time the process by which capital exploits wage labour.

While capitalism reduces the rank-and-file brain workers to a proletarian position it raises the upper group in this category until it is closely interwoven with the bourgeoisie. In this way the intelligentsia in capitalist society is bour-

geois not only as regards origin but as regards its role in society, although the finest intellectuals break away from the bourgeoisie more and more often and with greater resolution, either to join the working class in its struggle or at least to maintain a sympathizing attitude to the masses of working people.

From the very beginning the socialist revolution resolutely attacked the roots of the antagonism between manual and mental labour, opening the way to its complete eradication and, in future, to elimination of the distinctions between the two types of work. Complete eradication of all the consequences of this heritage of a centuries-old exploiter system is far from easy, however, and will need great effort and far-reaching changes in the conditions of life of millions of people.

Elimination of the antagonism between manual and mental work opened in the USSR the way for the two types of work gradually but steadily to come closer together. By 1936, between 80 and 90 per cent of the Soviet intelligentsia was of working class or peasant origin or came from other sections of the working people. They had received their education under the Soviet system. The remaining old intelligentsia had completely merged with the new intelligentsia which had grown up

By L. Leontiev, Corresponding Member, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

in the socialist state.

The far-reaching cultural revolution brought about changes in the entire mass of manual workers and at the same time increased to a significant degree the number of brain workers. Half of the 107 million people employed in the Soviet Union today have a secondary or higher education.

ges, a great number of adults study at the evening and correspondence departments of secondary schools and colleges, all kinds of general and specialised courses, and at refresher and advanced training courses.

## SOCIAL EQUALITY

In the socialist society manual and brain workers have thus achieved complete social equality. Both groups are equally free from exploitation; they enjoy equal rights at the factories and mills where they

will be attained only at the higher phase of communism. Any attempt to skip the necessary stages in development will only do harm. At the same time, socialism already provides broad opportunities for the gradual, but steady elimination of distinctions between them. This guarantees that the differences between them will be completely wiped out in future.

## WORKERS AND TECHNOLOGY

It is not surprising to find the workers in our country heartily supporting technical progress and making every effort to contribute to it. The inventions and efficiency proposals made by workers are an important factor in improvement of machinery and production technology. The role of the worker in accelerating technical progress naturally increases with the rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class and the growth of communist awareness among the broad masses of the population. Creative collaboration among workers, engineers and scientists to solve complex production and technical problems has become common at many industrial establishments and in entire industries.

The rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class is giving the manual worker more and more opportunity to obtain engineering knowledge. Spare-time study at technical colleges has become widespread. The number of engineers at factories and mills who were only recently workers is steadily growing.

All this shows conclusively that the distinctions between physical and mental work are being eliminated by raising the technical and cultural level of the broad masses of the working class, giving them greater general and technical knowledge, and making production more efficient.

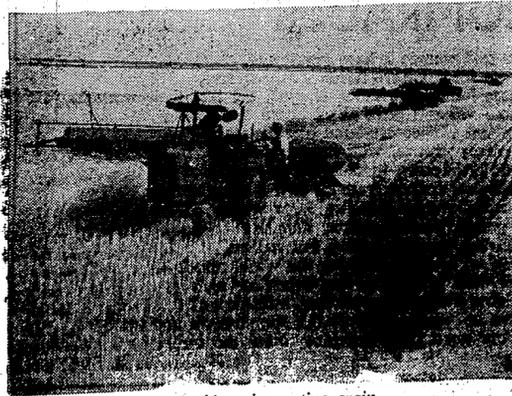


The great leader, Lenin, speaking to the proletariat whose heroism made the Socialist Revolution a success.

At many industrial establishments all or almost all the people employed have a secondary education. The craving for knowledge has grown enormously. Every third person in our country engages in some form of study. Besides the children and young people, who attend schools and colle-

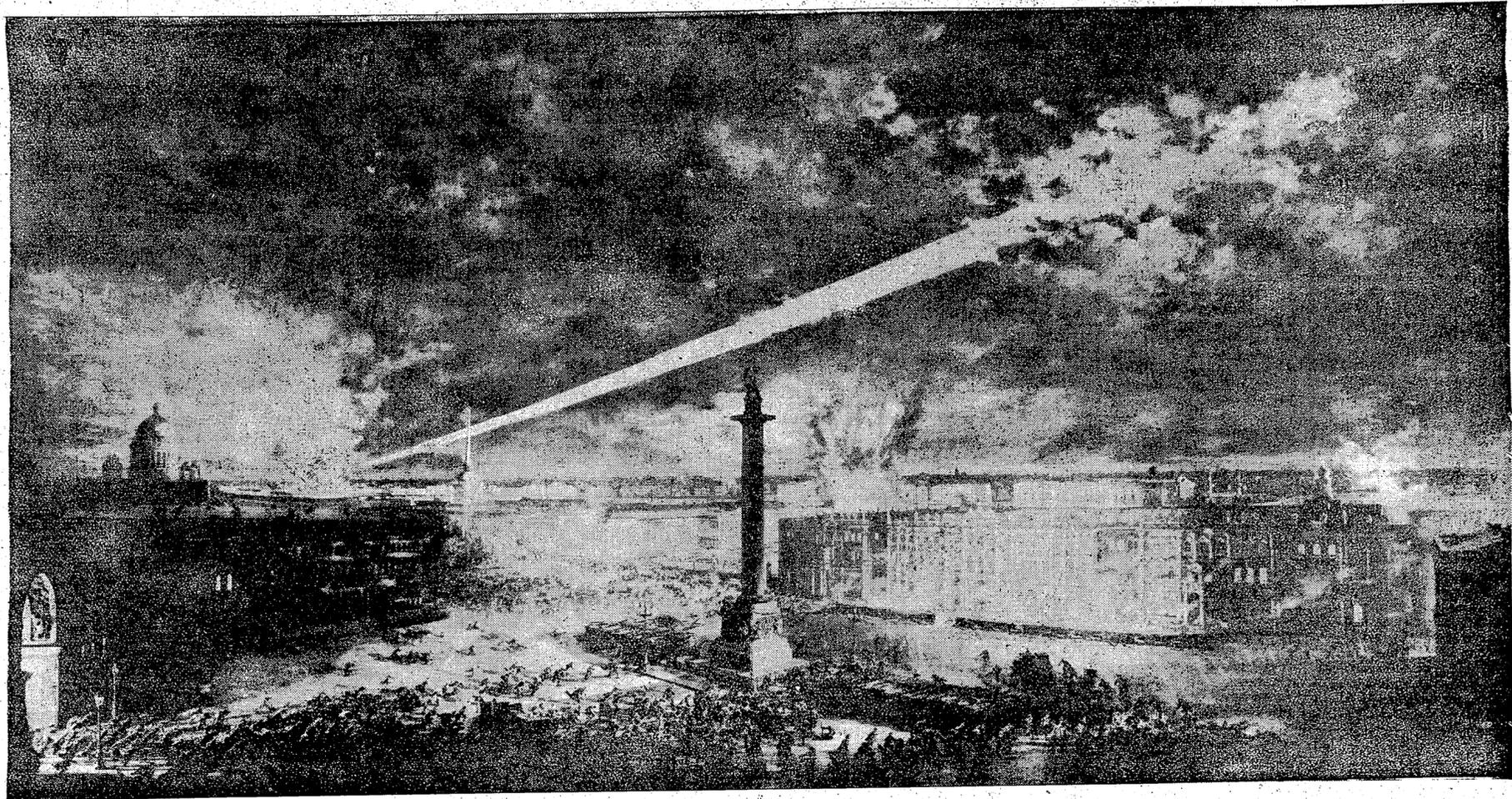
are employed and which belong to the whole people, which is to say, are the property of the citizens of all groups to an equal degree. All groups have an equal right to work and to payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality. Nevertheless, throughout the

and measuring consumption. These are objective facts. They cannot be eliminated either by decrees or by good intentions. It will take a long time and much effort to create conditions under which the complete merging of manual and mental work can be carried out. This noble objective



Machines harvesting grain

imperfect in original



"The storming of the Winter Palace" diorama in the Revolution Museum, Moscow.

# Are there Privileged Classes in the U.S.S.R.?

WHEN this question was asked of the prominent fighter for peace Hewlett Johnson after his tour of the Soviet Union, he replied:

Yes, there are. They are children.

As is known, privileged sections of the population usually have important material advantages. This is also true of children in the U.S.S.R. Everything that is best is given to children. The state spends lavishly on children's institutions: the 1964 budget envisages the expenditure of 4,300 million roubles for schools and boarding schools, and 1,700 million roubles for crèches and kindergartens now accommodating 7 million children.

Members of privileged classes possess, as a rule, their own palaces and mansions, parks and estates for rest and recreation. "Common people" appear in them only to serve their masters or as guests. The Soviet "privileged class" has at its disposal about 3,000 Young Pioneers' palaces and almost the same number of children's technical stations and young naturalists' stations. Besides the large libraries existing at every school, children have 5,000 special libraries and reading-rooms. Children

have their own theatres, cinema halls and stadiums. The greatest number of children's books in the world are published for them in 57 languages of the peoples of the USSR. Incidentally, half a century ago 20 of these peoples did not have even their own written language.

As is customary with members of the privileged classes, children have their own doctors. There is a paediatrician in each crèche, each kindergarten and each school. He not only

treats sick children, but also looks after the health of his charges. Special sanatoria and holiday homes have been established for children. And, of course, the little "aristocrats" spend their summer in the best spots of the country.

Last year, 6 million children spent their summer in Young Pioneer camps, with the bulk of expenses paid by the state and the trade unions, and the parents paying only a small part.

In comparison with the pri-

ileged classes of other countries. Soviet children have something not always accessible to the elite in the capitalist world. For instance, children have their own railway lines served and used only by citizens under 15 or 16. On the ordinary railways, children are assigned special carriages, and rooms at the railway stations. Tens of research institutes, special scientific institutions and a whole Academy of Pedagogical Sciences study the problems of education and training of children.

Having read this, sceptics will say: "They've got off with a joke. But what about privileged classes? Do they exist or not?"

Yes, they do exist. They are His Majesty the Working Class, the owner of all the wealth of the country.

They are the farmers, the proprietors of the incalculable riches of the generous Soviet land.

They are the intellectuals, the richest heirs and creators of the treasures of science and art.



24th OCTOBER, SATURDAY:  
GHANA: In a congratulatory message to Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, whose country attained independence this morning, Kwame Nkrumah said:

"This occasion is yet another important milestone in our forward march to the total liberation and unity of our continent. Africa will be completely free in spite of the brutal oppression and repression of white settler minority governments."

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Northern Rhodesia becomes the Republic of Zambia today after 75 years of British colonial domination.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Southern Rhodesian minority settler leader, Ian Smith, has said in Salisbury that his Government had a sacred course towards independence.

The course he claimed, was the maintenance of independence and whether Britain sent observers to the Chiefs' independence consultation or not he would proceed with his illegal plans.

26th OCTOBER, MONDAY:  
SUDAN: Three people were killed and hundreds were arrested in new demonstrations in Khartoum, Sudan. Tanks and army units were patrolling the streets of the capital.

The demonstrations were held despite an appeal by President Ibrahim Abboud to the people to return to work and help the security forces to maintain law and order.

ETHIOPIA: Ethiopian Airlines employees have returned to work after a five-day strike in support of wage demands.

ALGERIA: A former Algerian Women Parliamentarian, Mary-

em Belmihoup, has been arrested with the recent capture of the Opposition leader, Mr. Hocine Ait Ahmed. She was reported arrested for associating with Mr. Hocine Ait Ahmed this summer.

MOZAMBIQUE: More than 20 Portuguese troops have been killed and several wounded since the beginning of an armed offensive by African nationalists in Mozambique a month ago. This was announced by the Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika.

KENYA: Speaking at a big political rally at Kericho, 200 miles from Nairobi, Mr. Tom Mboya, Kenya's Justice and Constitutional Minister, accused Asians living in the country of showing "only Party lip service" by befriending African leaders, but actually despising the ordinary African.

Mr. Mboya said, Ministers and other leaders had decided that they would no longer accept invitations to tea given by Indians.

SOUTH AFRICA: The International Court of Justice at the Hague has given South Africa one month within which to reply to accusations by Ethiopia and Liberia, over her mandate in South West Africa.

Ethiopia and Liberia sued South Africa before the International Court in December 1960, accusing her of violating the mandate given her by the United Nations over South

West Africa  
27th OCTOBER, TUESDAY:  
SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The British Government has warned the white minority settler "Government" of Ian Smith to de-

sist from declaring unilateral independence.

An official statement issued in London said that a declaration of independence by Rhodesia would be an open act of

defiance and rebellion "and it would be treasonable to take steps to give effect to it."

Continued on page 5

## POETS' CORNER

### NO TIME

NO time to face the mighty vicious world,  
What stance be mine, what mask shall we adorn?  
Shall I take on pretence of things, and laud  
That here another waits, thou being born  
In poverty accused, in this great age  
Of classless truths, where handshakes and a word  
Open more doors to Hamlet's play backstage;  
What stance shall I assume?  
Give me my sword.

### The Song of the Marxist

I sing of a Universe of motion,  
of beginnings and of ends,  
of the soft infant and the aging mother  
of the father proceeding to an old man,  
and the relaxation coming in the twilight,  
where having done is of account.  
I sing birth by chance,  
of continuity product of fragments  
broken yet always continuation,  
broken yet never broken.

I tell how all enters into being  
into the flux of being  
within the changes giving much to being  
then ceases.  
Subordinate to the end,  
creating beginnings,  
subordinate to beginnings of creativity  
yet looking to the end,  
such is my song.

KEVIN JAMES KEWELL

### COMRADES

Men and women I have never met,  
Whose faces I have never seen, yet love,  
Whose hands I've never clasped, yet feel their warmth,  
Whose voices I have never heard, nor shall;  
Men and women scattered o'er the world,  
In places strange, with manners strange, to me,  
Of different races, to different cultures bred—  
Their lives remote from all that I have known:  
Men and women working for a world  
Of greater justice, greater happiness,  
Believing, trusting, loving humankind,  
Building, creating, making the world afresh—  
With intellectual grip and moral strength  
Holding their faith, suffering, struggle still:  
These are my comrades: this the strength and bond  
Of our great party reaching round the earth.

ELFRIDA B. SMITH

# The Philosophy of Planning

A PROBLEM that has been given earnest attention by the world press lately is that of planning. In Western countries many newspapers and magazines have taken the view that planning in the interests of industrial development and for the benefit of the masses is possible only under the capitalist system. France is cited with particular insistence as a country where the Fourth Plan is allegedly being implemented.

This universal interest in planning may be attributed to the fact that the problem is invariably associated with the socialist economic system. Countries undergoing the process of economic development are interested in it inasmuch as they have been brought face to face with the problem of benefiting from the advantages offered by a planned economy.

## CAPITALIST PLANNING

Let us see, then, what conclusions may be drawn from the experience of planning under capitalism.

In France, the introduction of planning was obviously prompted by the achievements of the socialist lands in the field of economy. First to experiment with planned capital investment in France were the concerns of *Electricite de France*, which had been nationalized under pressure from the democratic forces of the country after the second world war. Planning may thus be said to be associated with direct fighting action by the people in the field of economy.

We know that at a certain level of development of state-

monopoly capitalism and concentration of production, management of the economy inevitably requires the introduction of certain elements of planning and forecasting. It is obvious, however, that in a capitalist country, where private ownership of the means of production and private appropriation are the rule, industrial tycoons resort to planning exclusively for the advancement of their personal interests.

State planning agencies in a capitalist country are content to take into consideration the monopolists' intentions, that is, they are ready to conform to these intentions.

One finds confirmation of this in the French planning procedure and in the very fate that overtakes the French plans. Thus, the membership of the commissions responsible for drafting the Fourth Plan numbered 1,280 heads of enterprises as against only 280 trade union representatives. Moreover, leading French businessmen readily admit that the trade union representatives, who, by the way, are carefully screened, are permitted to join definitely not in order to take part in making

decisions but rather to dispel any impression, as the well-known French economist Bloch-Laine phrased it, that they are "barred from the decision-making bodies which draw up and then carry out production and investment programmes". There is a vast difference, of course, between such a procedure and the wide discussion of economic plans practised in the socialist countries, with the participation of practically all the citizens.

## MERE INDICATOR

Further comparison brings out yet other differences. Thus, in socialist countries, a plan, once it has been adopted, carries the force of a law for every enterprise or industry. In France, on the contrary, a plan is "indicatory", rather than compulsory. Heads of enterprises, especially the larger ones, are quite free to refuse to comply with any plan provisions on the grounds of business secrecy if these run counter to the personal interests of the business man or group of business men concerned. Decisions in this respect are made by the business man individually, without any reference to the workers. Such instances have been numerous. Towards the close of 1963, to cite one of them, the French Cabinet decided, in line with its "stabilization" policy, to scale down credits to enterprises producing consumer goods. Going even farther, the government declared its intention to put aid to enterprises and industries on a selective basis, which could only mean that the lion's

share of the credits would go to those groups which have connections within the administration.

Robert Marjolaine, who is one of the leading French planning specialists and Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Common Market, has flatly stated that the most rational rate of economic development should be put at four per cent. It will be recalled, however, that this rate has been exceeded time and again over the past ten years in France.

We are thus led to conclude that French planning is a tool used by the capitalists to put a brake on production and to exercise pressure on wages. Even leading political figures admit that this kind of planning leaves "the capitalist structure or our economy practically intact", to quote the U.N.R. leader Dussaud.

## FORECASTING

The peoples of the capitalist countries have no intention of putting up with such a prospect, not when they see the inspiring record of the socialist countries and the vast possibilities implicit in the creation of a communist society, as outlined in the C.P.S.U. Programme. They are becoming increasingly determined to make the government answer such questions as "Whither are we heading?" and "What are the aims of economic development?"

The leadership of the capitalist countries is now obliged

By A Special Correspondent

to try its hand at forecasting. In France, much has been written in recent years on the probable state of the country 20, 40 and even more years from now. But even such forecasts and prospects fail to satisfy the people, who are quick to see in them merely a manoeuvre designed to divert their attention from the crucial problems of the day. "When we ask 'Whither should we head?' rather than 'Whither are we heading?'," writes Pierre Drouin in *Le Monde*, "the only possible answer is a reference to some scale of values, some definite conception of existence", i.e., to a definite philosophy of life. "The economist", continues Drouin, "must at this point

give the floor to the philosopher who might light the path ahead".

## UNCERTAINTY

Since employment of some of the techniques of planning can by no means cancel the capitalist character of production, the philosopher is equally incapable of lighting the path ahead" or giving a candid explanation of the "meaning of history". "Historiology and sociology", states Raymond Aron, "are generally applicable, but their applicability is hypothetical". The difficulty of the task which faces bourgeois philosophy, according to Aron, lies in the un-

certainty as to its ability to convince the peoples that "Western civilization" is worth "defending."

Pondering on the prospects of planning thus leads the French specialists to pondering on the "meaning of existence", which in turn prompts them, to outright attempts to justify capitalism. That, however, has nothing to do with science or objective reality. The theoretical and practical difficulties encountered by planners in capitalist countries reflect the truth that real planning is incompatible with the continuing existence of the capitalist system of economy and ownership. Real planning implies socialist ownership of the means of production and the participation of the people in drawing up the plans.

## Africa and the October Revolution

Continued from page 1

tainty of the victory of socialism is based on the fact that the socialist mode of production possesses decisive advantages over the capitalist mode of production. Precisely because of this, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are more and more capturing the minds of the broad masses of the working people in the capitalist countries, just as they have captured the minds of millions of men and women in our country and the Peoples Democracies. We believe that all working men in the world, once they have

become convinced of the advantages socialism brings, will sooner or later take the road of struggle for the construction of socialist society".

(Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the 20th Party Congress, February 14, 1956).

## TRANSITION

On the question of transition to socialism within each country, it will be tantamount to self-deceit and the sowing of the seeds of illusion even for a brief moment to think that the transition to socialism could be peaceful by making use of a parliamentary process. Even if a parliamentary

majority is won by the working class Party, the reconstitution of political power and of the economy can be achieved only by the massive direct intervention of the people.

In any case, our experience in Africa has shown that the revolutionary path is the only road open to us. As Kwame Nkrumah put it when he addressed the Second Conference of Non-Aligned States in Cairo last month:

"As we sit here, neo-colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle."

The chauvinistic advocacy of peaceful transition has emerged as a result of the divorce of the two parts that make up the C.P.S.U. statement on transition to socialism. After pointing out that historical experience and the character of capitalism and imperialism both support the view that the working people must prepare for revolutionary struggle, the peaceful transition to socialism was put out as a possibility. This view was not made a law of social evolution. And considering this possibility of peaceful transition, the statement went on:

"The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes." (Report of the Central Committee to the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Feb. 1956).

## VITAL ELEMENT

It is clear from this passage that the parliamentary approach has to be backed up by a revolutionary movement. It is not a strategy standing on its own. To separate the two parts—a parliamentary approach and mass revolutionary movement—is to lose sight of the vital element in the thesis.

Even in this restricted advocacy of peaceful transition, parliamentarism is seen as a tactical supplement to, not a substitute for, revolutionary transition.

As these theoretical points become better understood among the masses everywhere more especially among the working class, the ideological unity of the world socialist movement will be reinforced. For it is upon such ideological unity that the unbreakable solidarity of the socialist forces of the world could be built.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

allowed near a room where Mrs. Meir gave a press conference.

29th OCTOBER, THURSDAY: KENYA: Nine members of Kenya's National Assembly have called on the Prime Minister, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, to dissolve the Kenya Federation of Labour.

They also asked Mr. Kenyatta to expel officials of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) from the country.

\* The East African Common Services Organisation has announced that Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar are considering introducing the metric system of weights and measures.

A commission will be set up to investigate the cost and feasibility of making the change from British standard measures.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): The U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, Mr. William Atwood has said in Mombasa that American aid to the Congolese Government amounted to £52,587,500.

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE): The Congo-Brazzaville President, Alphonse Massamba-Debat, has announced over the radio the dismissal of two of his Cabinet Ministers.

The dismissed Ministers were Mr. Pascal Okiamba, Justice Minister and Mr. Paul Kaya, National Economy Minister.

Continue on page 6

## African Diary

Continued from page 4

SUDAN: President Ibrahim Abboud of Sudan has announced that he had decided to dissolve the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and the Council of Ministers, created in 1958.

In a speech over the radio the President again appealed for an end to rioting and destruction and that he had taken steps to establish a Government "that the nation chooses".

U.A.R.: The Government of the United Arab Republic has cancelled all import permits issued to private firms and directed that the Government becomes the country's sole importer.

The Government also decided to introduce within three months a new system for using hard currency.

These latest decisions follow earlier steps to cut government expenditure at home and abroad, including the closing of a large number of government offices overseas and recalling of staff.

NIGERIA: An appeal filed by Chief Anthony Enahoro against his conviction and 15-year prison sentences arising from charges of treasonable felony and plot to overthrow the Nigerian Government has officially been listed for hearing at Nigeria's Supreme Court on November 17.

28th OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY,



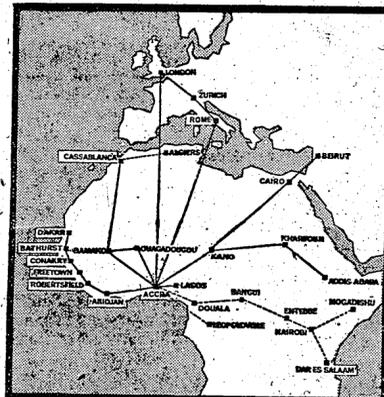
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# FORTY SEVEN YEARS

By  
PAT SLOAN

EVERY year on November 7th, the peoples of the USSR and all progressive people's in the rest of the world celebrate the Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in which the workers of Russia led by their Bolshevik Party were the first in the world to challenge capitalism and imperialism and set up the world's first Socialist State.

Prior to 1917 Russia under the Tsars had been a complex combination of imperialist state on the one hand (still with dominant features of Feudalism) and a semi-colonial nation or nations on the other, whose average standard of life for the masses was literally at a colonial level. The exploitation of the people went to enrich foreign imperialists (mainly French and British) as well as the internal capitalist class and feudal landowners.

It was this basically contradictory system of Tsarist Russia, combining feudal landownership, a feudal system of government, and a rising capitalism financed mainly by Britain and France, that caused "imperial" Russia at the same time to be a semi-colonial country, so that, when the first World War brought out all the inner-contradictions of the world imperialist system, Russia proved to be imperialism's "weakest link" as Lenin described it, and it was there that the working class first broke through in the struggle for power and the creation of a Socialist State.

The Russian working people had one great advantage: for many years, even at the end of the last century, a conscious working-class struggle had begun. Because this was mainly illegal, the leadership had to take the form of an underground revolutionary Party of the working class, basing itself on Marxism, on scientific socialism, so that in 1917 the Soviet Government was the creation of this Party of the workers, who had already a clear and widespread understanding of Marxism.

## MAIN TASK

In the process of the Revolution this Party of the workers placed itself at the head of all exploited people, and in 1917 the Soviet State was firmly founded on the democratically elected Soviets (delegate councils) of workers, peasants and soldiers and complete equal rights for all nationalities. From the very beginning, the Communist Party saw the transformation of Russia into the world's first socialist state as their main task, whether or not the workers of other countries immediately followed their example.

In fact, the workers of Germany set up Workers' Councils, but these were overthrown by the combined forces of German militarism in alliance with Right-wing Social Democrats (hence one of the reasons for the bitter split in Europe between Communists, supporters of the Soviets and Socialism, and the Right-wing Social Democrats who not only allied themselves openly with the forces of reaction in Germany and other places, but in many cases pursued an anti-Soviet policy except where the rank-and-file forced them to do otherwise.

In Hungary in 1919 a Soviet Republic lasted for a few months, till overcome by foreign armed intervention. In Britain in 1921 the rank-and-file of the working class movement forced the leaders, even the Right-wing ones, to launch a "Hands off Russia Campaign" to prevent the British Government of the day from continuing with its policy of armed intervention against Soviet Russia. And again, in the British General Strike of 1926, when Trades Councils (the local representative bodies which unite all unions in each locality in Britain) for a few days did, in fact, become the effective local authorities throughout Britain, and Lenin, who was still alive at that time, commented that these, indeed, were a British form of Soviets.

So the Russian Revolution had its effect in Europe, stimulating the workers of many

countries. In Asia, Africa and South America, despite colonialism and internal forms of oppression, the great news of Lenin spread, and, from October 1917 stems the process which has now achieved wide proportions, in which the spread of Socialist Governments on the one hand and anti-colonialist governments on the other merge in a common struggle for the complete ending of imperialism and a united development towards socialism on a world scale.

## GHANA'S ROLE

In this process in Africa, Ghana is playing a leading role, tackling many new problems on a Marxist basis, the most important of which is to convert a broad mass Party based on a long struggle against imperialism into a consciously Marxist Party applying the principles of scientific socialism to the problems of a newly awakened Africa. Not only does this mean the building of a socialist Ghana, but the uniting of Africa as a whole, so that in place of the imperialists' tradition of "divide and rule" is substituted the policy of a genuinely anti-imperialist Africa: "liberate and unite". Unity in Africa not only can put an end to those artificial frontiers imposed on the peoples for the convenience of, and to set the internal quarrels between, imperialists; but, economically, only a united Africa can plan its future on an equal footing with such gigantic states as the USSR and the USA.

It is now 47 years since the Russian Revolution. In Western Europe it is customary for the capitalist press, even though admitting the progress that has been achieved, to belittle this progress by referring to it as the achievement of 47 years. But this is a distortion of reality.

To judge the rate of progress of the Soviet Union, we must consider only the period of peaceful progress beyond the level of Tsarist Russia, and a brief calculation shows that this period is not in fact 47 years but 27. From 1918 to 1922 the young Soviet Republic, just emerged from the "womb of capitalism"—to use a phrase of Karl Marx—was plunged into unwanted war when fourteen foreign states, led by the imperialists of all countries without exception, invaded Soviet soil and tried hard to restore capitalism. It was against this intervention that Britain's "Hands off Russia movement" in 1921 was very successful. From 1922 to 1928 the Soviet Republics were, in fact, primarily occupied in restoring the average level of production, both in industry and agriculture, of that of 1913! Which means that we must rule out the first ten years when we are considering the achievements of peaceful progress beyond the level of Tsarist Production.

From 1928 to 1941 a genuine period of peaceful economic advance did take place, but this was a period full of internal problems, connected with the introduction, for the first time in human history, of a comprehensive economic plan for industry, with the converting of a primarily agricultural country into an industrial one, and in agriculture itself the mass introduction of co-operative ("collec-

tive") farming to take the place of traditional small scale production coupled with a class division in the countryside which perpetuated the survival of small capitalists.

In 1933 the USSR had a record harvest. Collective farming had won its first great national success.

From then till 1941 peaceful progress continued, in both town and country, but from the start of war in Europe in 1939 it was more necessary than ever to devote adequate resources to defence.

In 1941 came the Nazi invasion.

Between 1941 and 1945 the toll was terrible, in lives, in resources, in homes (25 million people were rendered homeless), and in farms and factories. Again, as from 1922 to 1928, the period from 1945 to 1951, at the very least, was devoted to restoring the position that had been reached by 1940.

So that, out of the 47 years 1917-1964, two periods of peaceful development were missing: 1918-1928, ten years occupied by foreign imperialist invasion and restoring the damage created by this, 1941-51, ten more years occupied by the Nazi-led invasion and repairing the damage again this time. Out of 47 years, at least 20 were "lost years" as far as peaceful progress is concerned. The 47th Anniversary shows what can be done by Socialism in 27, not 47, years of peaceful progress above the starting point.

## MIRACULOUS PROGRESS

And what has that progress been?

An illiterate nation has become literate.

A country desperate for doctors has now got one of the highest ratios of doctors to population of any country.

While in 1913-1947 Russia ranked with the colonial countries in death rate, infantile mortality and average length of life; today the USSR ranks close to Britain in such figures. It has, in fact, in its 27 years of socialist planning, risen from "colonial" level to the level of the most advanced countries of imperialism.

In agriculture, while the number employed is now only about half the working population of the USSR, as against 80 per cent under Tsarism, the five-year average of harvests is today about twice what it was under Tsarism (despite fluctuations from year to year due to the weather), and the livestock holdings of the USSR, from being small compared with the USA, are now surpassing the USA in one field after another.

Moreover when, in 1963, bad weather in Europe and Asia caused a poor harvest, the Soviet Union was economically powerful enough to import the necessary grain. In contrast, in Tsarist Russia, grain was regularly exported to Europe even in years when famine raged at home.

In Britain today, though traditionally the rulers have always opposed to Soviet system because they recognised the threat which its example constituted to colonialism and capitalism, there is a growing recognition of Soviet economic progress.

At first, for very many years, it was only delegations of trade unionists who were ready to recognise openly the progress that the USSR was achieving. Today despite the

vitriolic attitude of the ICFU to the Soviet trade unions, an attitude which the British TUC still upholds, more and more national trade unions in Britain have sent official delegations to the USSR and their reports have been published. In the main, these reports have had to recognise the essential facts.

But what is now really new in the situation in Britain is the fact that in the past two or three years a number of organisations of the capitalist and imperialist ruling class have had delegations in the USSR, and their various Reports have recognised the progress that has been made.

The Federation of British Industries, one of the most powerful organisations of capitalists in the world, recently published a Report on Soviet developments which was impressive. The British Institute of Bankers has done the same. So has the Institute of Directors. Not to mention the large number of Chambers of Commerce (whose main interest, of course, is trade) who have all paid tribute to the economic progress of socialism in recent years in the USSR.

## EXPLANATION

How explain this sudden beginning, in the 1960s, of recognition by "top people" of the British capitalist class of the concrete progress achieved by the Soviet State?

First, while—in general—capitalists have always very naturally opposed socialism, just as they have opposed anti-colonialism, capitalism is a system based on internal competition, contradiction, and conflicting interests. Therefore, ever since 1917, while the class interests of capitalists has always been in principle anti-Soviet, the trading interests of certain capitalists have been drawn to the USSR as a potential market for their goods, even though they hated the socialist system politically (just as, one might say, certain capitalist trading interests are attracted to collaborate with the government in Ghana today, to the common benefit both of those capitalist interests and of socialist Ghana).

While, up to the 1950s, the British businessmen attracted by Soviet trade were a small minority; in the past ten years this has changed, and today even dominant interests in the British capitalist world see their future bound up with Soviet trade to an ever increasing degree (and, of course, with other socialist countries at the same time.)

As a result of this change of attitude among the capitalists themselves, there has come about the changed attitude to Soviet achievement mentioned in the type of report referred to above.

Whereas, in the past, we could speak of imperialism (despite its internal contradictions) as being as a whole united against socialism, today we have to recognise that, with the growing strength of the USSR, and the growing movement for national independence and socialism in the rest of the world, many capitalist interests that supported anti-socialism and imperialism in the past are now prompted, by their own economic trading interests, to see socialism as a field for profitable trade. This thus strengthens the economic basis for "peaceful co-existence" between the two social systems.

The world of 1964 is not the world of 1917, or even of 1941. Today the forces of peace and socialism are winning recognition everywhere, and that section of the capitalists of all countries who see trade with socialism and the newly independent countries as more profitable than war with socialism and or attempts to restore imperialist oppression, is now

working, in the interest of capitalist world itself, for an improvement of trading relations, and for the strengthening of peace.

The 47th Soviet Anniversary comes at a time when the Socialist system is spreading in the world. Ghana has now chosen the path to socialism too, but this is a long social process, not a miracle to be performed instantaneously.

## LESSONS

In this development in Ghana experiences from all already existing socialist countries may be useful. The Russians were the first, they have had the longest experience, and much can be learned from them, and some of their own past mistakes need not be repeated by other countries. But

today socialist countries exist from Cuba to North Korea.

For a newly emerging socialist country like Ghana, lessons must be selected from all these countries, some of which are far nearer to Ghana in size than the USSR, others of which are closer to Ghana in climate, and all of which, in tackling their own problems, have had to solve various problems each in its own way.

Ghana has one tremendous advantage over the USSR. It has not, since liberation had its territory devastated by two imperialist invasions, such as the USSR has suffered. Long may this peace continue.

But Ghana also has a problem which had no parallel in the USSR: The problem of converting a mass party of

national liberation into a Marxist Party applying the principles of scientific socialism. This is a completely new road. Ghana and other African countries have got to work out their own ways of elaborating this policy: the masses must be aroused, drawn into active and creative participation in ruling the country, and the Party membership have to study and work out their ideas on the basis of scientific socialism. Whereas in Russia this work was conducted for many years before the Revolution, in Ghana it has had to be begun afterwards. This, in my view, is the main problem of Ghana when we try to assess its problems today and use the USSR as a standard of comparison.

## Editorial

Continued from page 1

monstrated that real prosperity and economic security and the fullest advance of the productive forces of society can only be achieved under conditions of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The course of international events has been fundamentally changed by the presence of a workers' and peasants' state at the Conference tables of the world. Before 1939 the Soviet Union repeatedly warned the world about the dangers of fascism but its power combined with those of the anti-Fascist forces in other countries was not at that time strong enough to prevent the devastating war launched on the world. Now the Soviet Union with its tremendous prestige, its powerful industrial and scientific base has been able to act as a bastion of peace; its warnings on Suez, on Cuba, on the American landings in the Middle East and on Cyprus have been the main signs of the power of this great country.

The Americans hoped to smash the Soviet Union's power by the monopoly of the bomb; the Soviet Union faced with the hostility of the capitalist powers and the constant threats against her and the new countries of Socialism, developed the bomb but consistently at the same time took active steps to bring about the ending of tests and still takes the initiative in proposals for general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union is one of the strongest influences for peace in the world and the material and political power which lies behind this influence strengthens all the other peaceful and anti-imperialist forces.

The stand of the Soviet Union on colonial problems, her refusal to be embroiled through her relations with the United Nations in the Congo, her advocacy and fight for the U.N. resolution on the ending of the colonial system, above all her active support to all newly independent Governments which helps them to break free from the economic and social domination which remains after independence has been won, demonstrates the powerful sense of solidarity of the Soviet people with the national liberation movements. We recognise that the Soviet people themselves in affording aid to developing liberated states are making conscious sacrifices.

The political Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, was created in struggle as a Party of scientific socialism and organised on the principles of Democratic Centralism. The campaign needed to create such a Party, 'of a new type' as Lenin its architect described it, was fierce and bitter, but it was necessary. Without such a Party the victory of socialism would never have been won. In over 90 other countries of the world this basic lesson of Lenin, reinforced by the achievements of the Soviet people and the Party he helped to create, has been learned and throughout the world similar parties have been founded, over this 47-year period.

For a considerable part of its existence the Soviet Union has been engaged in actively struggling for its

survival and yet in spite of this enormous advances have been made. The Soviet Union like all other states has problems and difficulties, it is not a mythical paradise but a country where the people as a whole have overcome herculean tasks and confidently face the future knowing that they can solve their problems.

This 47th Anniversary sees changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union; we wish the new leaders well.

At present the divisions in the International Socialist Movement hang like a cloud over the progressive forces of the world and we sincerely hope that the 47th Anniversary will see active steps being taken on all sides to heal the breach on the principled basis of the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism. The breach only warms the hearts of the enemies of socialism and while it is inevitable that at various stages of development differences will arise between socialist countries and parties they have to be tackled in an objective and fraternal spirit and brought to an end quickly.

In 47 years after the first heroic stand of the Soviet peoples for a new world and a new life, Socialism has become a world system, embracing many lands. The sacrifices and endurance of millions of humble people in this sixth of the earth's surface are now being crowned with success.

Long live the forces of progress!

Long live the Great October Revolution!

Long live the forces of progress!

Long live the Great October Revolution!

## African Dairy

(Continued from page 5)

30th OCTOBER, FRIDAY:

GHANA: In a congratulatory message to President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria on the tenth anniversary of the Algerian Revolution Kwame Nkrumah said: "We view with pride the strong ideological affinity existing between our two Parties, the C.P.P. and the F.L.N., and pledge ourselves to the socialist construction of Ghana and Algeria."

He expressed the hope that "succeeding anniversaries would see the growth of the brotherly relations which already exist between Ghana and Algeria" and

that in concert with other progressive independent African States, we might achieve real unity in Africa through the establishment of a Continental Union Government, in the interest and welfare of our people."

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Rhodesian African nationalist leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, now under restriction has won his High Court appeal against his conviction and sentence a year ago.

Mr. Justice Denny Young, who heard the appeal last August said the conviction and sentence were set aside by a majority verdict.

LIBERIA: Mr. Kamel Alsh

Jordanian Ambassador in Nigeria has said in Lagos that protest letters by the wives of Arab Mission in Nigeria against the visit of the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, could not amount to meddling in the internal affairs of Nigeria.

The Ambassador said in a statement that, as members of the National Council of Women's Societies in Nigeria, the Arab ladies "have a say in the policy and conduct of the organisation."

Nigeria had earlier warned the heads of seven Arab diplomatic missions, U.A.R., Lebanon, Jordan, Morocco, Sudan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia against interference in her internal affairs.