

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
OCT 4 1965

IN THIS ISSUE
President Nkrumah discusses cocoa price problem with Ghanaian Farmers
(See page 3)

THE SPARK

Notes of the Week	2
T.U.C.—The Eyes and Ears of the Workers	4
Marx and Colonialism	5
Socialism—the way Forward	6

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

No. 145 2p.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1965

BLUEPRINT of U.S. Intervention in Africa

Senator reveals role of 'Scholar Spies'

EDITORIAL

Break Monopoly Grip

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish the text of Kwame Nkrumah's address to the cocoa farmers in which he calls for the immediate fixing of a minimum price for cocoa. He also calls for agreement on an emergency international scheme which would keep cocoa surpluses off the world market. He demands the implementation of last year's Geneva trade and development conference decisions on the removal by the developed countries of all duties and excise charges on products imported from the developing countries. All who have the interests of our country at heart will welcome this forthright call for action, and the sense of urgency with which it is imbued. It will be welcome, too, by other developing countries. The story of the declining price of cocoa is paralleled by similar slumps in the prices of other primary products upon which other developing countries are similarly excessively dependent. The story of cocoa is a classic story of imperialist policy in action. Under colonialist rule, what is now Ghana was transformed into little more than a vast cocoa plantation, with the cultivation of other crops—even essential food crops—neglected or actively discouraged.

* * *

After independence there were those—not only abroad, but at home too—who preached continued dependence on cocoa, calling upon us to adhere to our "traditional" crops and dismissing the drive for diversification and industrialisation as folly. But events have demonstrated the correctness of the policy of ending excessive dependence on cocoa by diversifying our agriculture, growing new crops both for consumption at home and for export, and by building up our industries. Had we not taken the road of re-constructing our colonial, plantation-type economy, our situation today would indeed have been grave. As it is, our efforts to build up our economy and to lay the basis for a full, rich life for all have been seriously hindered by the slump in the price of cocoa, for it is upon our income from the sale of cocoa that we must still in the main depend for the money with which to buy the machinery and other items that we need to build the new Ghana. Thanks to the slump in the price of cocoa brought about by speculation on the capitalist-dominated world market, Ghana has lost millions of Cedis—and would have lost more had not Ghana's farmers, aided by the Government, succeeded in producing bumper crops which in part made up for the lower price. And while the developed countries have been paying us less for our products, they have been charging us more for the goods we must buy from them.

Continued on page 6

THE Pentagon is preparing for possible U.S. armed intervention in certain parts of Africa. On its instructions, a "Special Warfare Handbook" covering some African countries has been compiled for use by the "Special Forces"—the troops the U.S. is training for the suppression of the national liberation movement. The handbook has been drawn up by American "social science" research workers ostensibly engaged in bona fide academic studies, but in fact working for the Pentagon. Similar handbooks for action against the freedom movement have been prepared covering a number of other African countries, including Nigeria (where U.S. Big Business has a great and growing interest in the newly-discovered oil deposits), Sudan, Guinea, Liberia (one of the main centres for U.S. investment in Africa) and U.A.R.

A CLOAK

Some of the facts about how the Pentagon is using academic research as a cloak for espionage and preparations for armed intervention were brought to light by Democrat Wayne Morse in a recent speech to the U.S. Senate. He produced a copy of a 620-page **Special Warfare Area Handbook for Ethiopia** prepared "by the Foreign Areas Study Division, Special Operation Research Office, American University, Washington D.C., operated under contract with the U.S. Department of the Army." Senator Morse declared that he had been advised that the U.S. was interfering in some forty countries "under the guise of conducting



James BOMB
OO Sept

research projects in the field of social science." He said he "would not be surprised to be told that there were as many as forty or fifty, military sponsored research projects, any one of which could seriously damage our relations with these countries if they were to become public." Public attention was first focussed on the U.S. military's use of academic cover for espionage activities directed against the national liberation movement this summer, when Latin American political and intellectual leaders voiced concern about the implications of a scheme called "Project Camelot". Working through the American University in Washington (a body frequently used as a Pentagon cover) the U.S. Defence Department attempted to involve uni-

versities in Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela in a six-million-dollar "study programme". It was described as a study of the "potential for internal war" in Latin American countries, and was a thinly disguised attempt to use not only American scholars but also their Latin American colleagues as U.S. intelligence agents. The need for such a "study", according to an outline of the American University's paper on the project, was based on "the United States Army's role in the overall United States policy." The American University's paper on "Project Camelot" suggested that the purely military concept of "counter-insurgency" required a deeper understanding of the processes of social change and that

the U.S. Defence Department wanted an "independence" source of information to obtain more "scientific data" on the social problems of insurgency.

The real nature of these projects was exposed by Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

"Beneath the jargon of 'science' in which these studies abound there lies a reactionary, backward-looking policy opposed to change" he declared.

"Implicit in Camelot, as in the concept of 'counter-insurgency' is the assumption that revolutionary movements are dangerous to the interests of the United States, and that the United States must be prepared to assist, if not actually participate in, measures to repress them."

Details of how another U.S. Government agency uses the academic gown as a cover for its cloak-and-dagger activities are given by journalist David Wise and Thomas B. Ross in their recently-published account of the Central Intelligence Agency entitled **The Invisible Government**.

LENGTHS

The great lengths to which the C.I.A. went in its efforts to prevent the publication of the book—they even offered to buy up every single copy—testify to the accuracy of the startling facts it contains.

On the C.I.A. and the U.S. academic community they write: "The relationship between the C.I.A. and the universities is two-way—the C.I.A. secretly finances research programme and some universities; in turn the universities help recruit personnel. Perhaps even

more important, the universities provide a pool of expert knowledge about foreign countries upon which the intelligence agency can, and does, draw."

They continue: "Most universities and professors have shown little reluctance to work for the C.I.A. The agency has been able to obtain the services of almost all of the academic institutions and individuals it has approached." They add:

"In addition to its links with the academic community, there is evidence that the C.I.A. subsidizes some foundations, cultural groups and publishing houses as well."

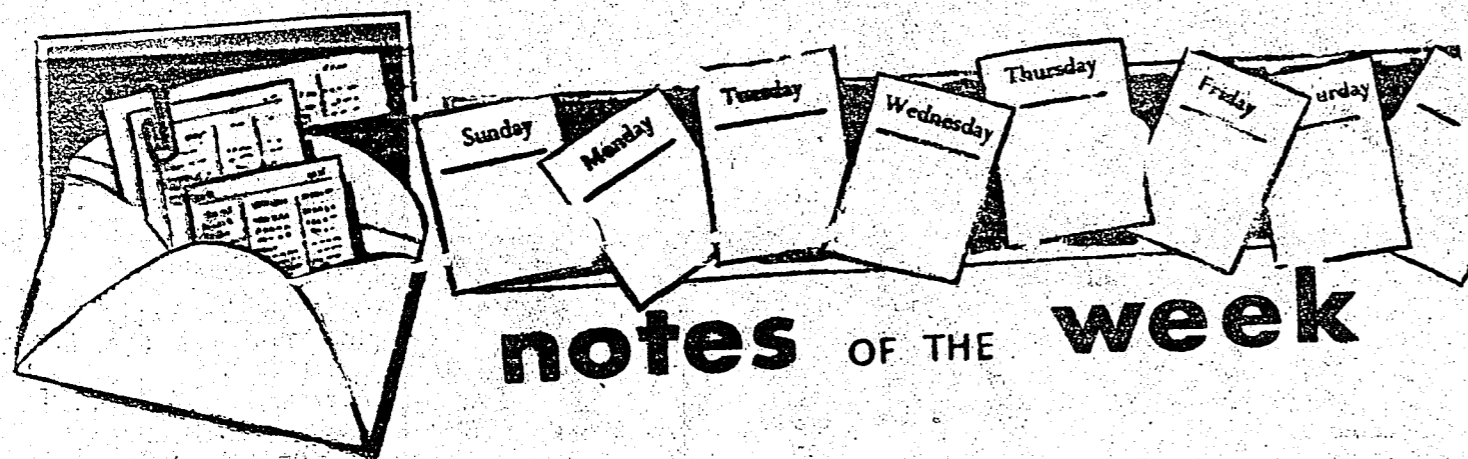
On C.I.A. relations with U.S. publishing houses, Wise and Ross note that:

"not long ago a C.I.A. man in Washington told all his friends he was quitting the agency to go to Switzerland for Praeger Books. Very possibly he was telling the truth and was really leaving the agency, but not all of his friends believed him."

Praeger is a U.S. publishing house which specialises in works of pseudo-social science attacking scientific socialism, the socialist countries and those newly-independent countries which seek genuine independence.

Its products are always available on the most favourable terms to libraries and bookshops in the newly-independent countries. It must be emphasized that in the vast majority of cases the targets for U.S. "academic espionage" of the "Project Camelot" type are countries with which the United States Government claims to desire friendly relations.

Perhaps even (Continued on page 4)



NO doubt Mr. Armah, Minister of External Trade, wishes to give more thought to the main features emerging from the meeting of the Trade Board of the United Nations Commission on Trade and Development, before making any policy statement involving this world body.

From immediate reports it seems we shall draw little comfort from its deliberations which have been described as sinking into a state of chaos, with delegates from the developing countries obviously fighting hard against those from the Western imperialist states.

The ostensible cause of the present row is the problem of where the headquarters of the Board should be located. This may seem quite trivial, but it is symptomatic of the deep frustration which the developing countries are feeling.

To anyone with the most elementary understanding of how the developing countries feel about their position, it should be quite clear that to suggest sitting the Headquarters in Geneva or London would be a suspect.

These two cities are among the financial capitals of the world through which the economies of the former colonial countries have been exploited and manipulated. They are hardly places which can inspire confidence in the Independent African states.

The proposal to have the centre in Addis Ababa or Lagos is much more in line with the aspirations of the developing countries. However, we do not regard this as the chief source of the tensions and quarrels that have developed.

The main problem is the atmosphere of dilatoriness, and leisurely academic investigation which seems to dominate the leading experts of the organisation.

While they talk, while they collate more and more masses of statistical material, while they project imaginary sums for trade gaps of developing countries by 1970, the Governments of the developing states, face acute problems here and now.

These problems are well known and have been publicised to saturation point. Even the United Nations

itself, which has published its reports for the half way mark of the Decade of Development, has confessed to comparative failure.

It is not the problem of statistics, or even the problems within the developing countries which are the most urgent.

The main task is to change the nature of the relationships between the developing countries and those Western capitalist states which have always exploited them and which continue to do so through trade.

While it was important for Mr. Armah to declare that he is working to ensure that Ghana's economy will not be dominated by any other countries, it would have been more useful to be specific and point out that the domination is from the West, from the capitalist states, from the monopoly capitalist firms like Rowntrees, Cadburys, United Africa Company and their counterparts in the United States and Western Europe.

It would also have been useful if he had taken steps to nail the lie that agreements with socialist countries are operating to our disadvantage. This is not true.

The barter agreements with the socialist states involve the exchange of our primary materials for foodstuffs, which every housewife who has bought them knows are of excellent quality and cheaper than those from the West.

The agreements exchange primary materials for machinery and vital equipment. The agreements provide financial adjustments at the end of a specified period. These repayments are at low rates of interest and, in practice, even in those rare cases where repayment in hard currency is provided for, this has not in fact been insisted on.

The present policies of the West at UNCTAD show that while we are correct to bring as much pressure on the Western countries as possible through the authority of the United Nations, we shall do well to look increasingly to the planned economies of the socialist states for trade on equal and mutually beneficial terms.

This development alone would force the capitalists to modify their present uncompromising stand.

THE REAL VOICE

"WHAT has happened to Harold Wilson's memory?" This is one of the mysteries of today's political scene in Britain. When the British Labour Party was Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, led by Mr. Wilson, they opposed the Immigration Act introduced by the Tory Government.

They attacked it as racist, which it is, and as an encouragement to fascist and hooligan elements in Britain, which it is. During the General Election one of Labour's great campaigning points was its repeated challenge to Home to repudiate his Tory candidate for Smethwick, the racist Griffiths.

It seems that when a man moves into 10 Downing Street, home of Britain's Prime Ministers, a miraculous conversion is effected. Election promises, speeches made as Leader of the Opposition are erased from Wilson's memory and his Government now proposes to administer the Act yet more ruthlessly.

The mantle of Home has become the robe of Wilson. The Labour Government, bowing to Tory propaganda and the threats of fascist racists, have published a White Paper on the Immigration Act which marks a surrender to prejudice and reaction.

In the midst of this shameful display by the two leading parties, Tory and Labour, and the usual

pusillanimous bleatings from the Liberals, it is encouraging to see that at least one party will speak out for all that is decent and humane in Britain.

Last week the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party published its resolution on the Labour Government's action.

It proves the discriminatory nature of the Act by quoting the actual statistical returns on its operation. "Most Australian, Canadian and New Zealand applicants for the vouchers obtained them. Most West India, Nigerian, India and Pakistani applications for vouchers had been refused."

Describing the new provisions incorporated in the White Paper, the resolution goes on to say "This means that a country like Australia could receive as many vouchers as India, which has a population 40 times greater."

Perhaps the provisions of the White Paper should not come as a shock to those of us who have followed the vacillations of the Labour Government as they put through their Bill making racialism a crime. Step by step they retreated under Tory pressure until the main provisions of the Bill were watered down.

It is not to be wondered at that many Labour Party Branches are expressing concern at Labour's

weakness and that some members are resigning leading positions in the Party in protest.

We are sure that the Communist Resolution will find an echo in their hearts and minds with its call "for the most urgent, united struggle to prevent the spread of racist poison and disruption in Britain".

Labour and the British people should know by now that evil policies and prejudices are not to be appeased by weakness and by craven concession, they must be fought with the utmost determination.

The resolution saves the honour of the British people when it says: "The immigrants come from countries long heavily exploited by British Imperialism, and they are heavily exploited here."

"They have responded to every call for solidarity in common action on the basis of trade unionism and common working class interests. Racialism is the weapon of reaction to divide the working class."

"We call for the immediate repeal of the Commonwealth Immigration Act because of its racist character."

This is the real voice of Britain which we hope will be able to speak out yet more clearly to shame the weaklings and the compromisers and to smash all traces of racism in Britain.

WHERE ARMS RACE LEADS

THOSE of us who are actively trying to prevent the outbreak of war anywhere in the world and who strive to put an end to existing conflicts, do so primarily because of the terrible suffering inflicted on innocent people.

A subsidiary argument against war has been the demonstration that the preparations for war are terribly costly and wasteful and that in modern times even advanced industrialised states cannot afford the drain on their economies.

In the case of a country like Britain, this has been evident for decades, but it seemed as if this did not apply to the United States which is the most technologically advanced economy in the capitalist world.

In our issue of last week we published, under the title "The War Business" statistics of United States "defence" contracts given to large firms. These vast sums could obviously be better utilised in the feeding, housing and educating of that half of the world's population which has never known a square meal.

Now the other effects of the arms race on the economy of the United States are beginning to emerge.

A growing adverse balance of payments deficit, the increasing numbers of unemployed (average 4 per

cent), the shortage of scientists and technologists, are symptomatic of the growing crisis which is being created by the apparently insatiable demands of the United States military machine.

The resources which can be mobilised by the United States Government are immense and a great proportion of them are directed towards research for military purposes and for war production.

While monopoly capitalist firms can secure big contracts such as those we quoted last week (one as high as \$57,700,708 for Army trucks alone), which ensure a high rate of profit on their investments, it is obvious that this is the field to which their capital will flow, using materials, the skill of research scientists and the labour of trained workers.

The effects on non-military production and the civilian markets have recently been described by Professor Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial and Management Engineering at Columbia University.

Addressing a seminar on "Technology and Economic Growth" at Liverpool University School of Business Management, he described the serious consequences of the militarisation of the United States economy.

The picture was indeed a grim one of the constant sapping of the strongest economy in the capitalist world. It is failing to keep up with necessary technological developments in those fields catering for civilian needs.

It appears that these U.S. industries can no longer compete with foreign firms even in the United States market itself, thus being unable to provide jobs or to re-equip themselves.

This is at a time when increasing numbers of young people are leaving schools and colleges looking for jobs. Two-thirds of America's technical researchers are employed on military research, while the United States is dropping back in many other fields of production.

In some industries no re-

search is being carried out at all, partly because high salaries and other inducements are being used to attract scientists to work on military projects.

Professor Melman recounted two examples of the effect of this emphasis on military developments on civilian industries.

A United States technical mission was sent to Japan to learn how to design and run a high-speed railway, and other experts were sent to the Soviet Union and Poland to learn about fishing technology.

Modern war is terrible in

its consequences, when the bombs start dropping, but preparation for war is terrible in its effects too; the sooner the American people take a closer look at these effects the sooner will they put a halt to the lunatics in the Pentagon, who threaten their lives in the immediate future and their economy here and now.

They should all be able to hear their countryman's question when he asks "How much second-rate industry is the United States prepared to suffer as the price of accumulating overkill without limit?"



SEPTEMBER 9:

ZAMBIA: The World Health Organisation regional committee meeting in Lusaka, Zambia has been suspended following a dispute over the attendance of Portugal.

UPPER VOLTA: President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta returned to Ouagadougou today. He was accompanied by President Hamani Diori. President Diori will spend two days in Ouagadougou for talks on co-operation between the two countries.

MOZAMBIQUE: Dr. Edward Mondlane, President of the Mozambique Liberation Movement has said in Oslo, Norway, today that Mozambique would be completely independent within three or four years' time.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Josian Gondo, an African in the white dominated Rhodesian Parliament today warned Ian Smith that his regime was contemplating the crime of treason by being prepared to take independence unilaterally.

CONGO (Leopoldville): More than 4,200 Congolese textile workers and elementary teachers today continued their strike action in support of wage and allowances demands despite Leopoldville union and government efforts to get them back to work.

SOUTH AFRICA: Sir de Villiers Graff, the so-called minority leader of the apartheid parliament has said that there are many people in South Africa who believe that apartheid has completely failed.

GHANA: The newly appointed Ambassador to Cuba, Mr. Patrick Ofei Henaku has left for Havana, capital of Cuba, with his wife to assume duty. Ghana's Ambassador to Rwanda and Burundi Mr. M. K. Ameko has flown home from Usumbura, Burundi for consultation with the government.

SEPTEMBER 10: NIGERIA: Mr. Dan Ibeke, Nigeria's Minister of State for External Affairs, in Onitsha, Eastern Nigeria, has called for limitation of powers of Nigeria's Regional Governments.

TANZANIA: Under the newly enacted one-Party State Constitution Mr. Rachidi Kawawa, and Vice-President, External Affairs Minister Mr. Oscar Kambona and three other Tanzanian Ministers are returned unopposed to the National Assembly with the final selection of candidates for Tanzania's September 21 National Assembly.

SEPTEMBER 13: GHANA: Delegates of the Co-ordinating Committee of African Unions in the field of Mass Communication Media meeting in Accra called on President Kwame Nkrumah at the Osu Castle, Accra, today.

U.A.R.: President Nasser of U.A.R. and King Frisal of Saudi Arabia have confirmed their adherence to the agreement they signed last month

aimed at bringing peace to the Yemen.

KENYA: Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Foreign Minister, has arrived in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, by air from London on a four-day official visit to Yugoslavia.

NIGERIA: In a call containing 18-point recommendations adopted after a six-day conference on commercial and rural poultry development in Africa, South of the Sahara, which ended in Lagos, today, the Organisation of African Unity has been called upon to study the possibilities of setting up an African Poultry Association embracing both co-operative and private poultry interests.

ALGERIA: The Algerian Ministry of Interior has warned that Algerians who fail by the end of this month to surrender any war materials, arms, ammunitions and explosives to the authorities face heavy prison terms and fines when he is caught.

IVORY COAST: A Pakistani mission consisting of the Pakistani High Commissioner in Nigeria, Mr. H. M. Anson, and a member of the Pakistani Embassy in Tunis have been received today by the Ivory Coast Minister of State, Mr. August Denise.

CAMEROUN: Cameroun will take part in the Organisation of African Unity Conference due on October 21 in Accra, and the Afro-Asian Summit Conference on November 5 in Algiers, Algeria, Mr. Simon Nkoo Etoungou, Foreign Minister has announced.

CONGO (Brazzaville): The Congo Brazzaville Government today issued a grave and last warning to Congo Leopoldville about the latter's incessant incursions across the frontier, into Brazzaville.

UGANDA: The youth wing of the Uganda People's Congress demonstrated in Kampala today against what they termed "imperialist spies".

SEPTEMBER 14

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah today at the Castle, received a goodwill Nigerian delegation who delivered a special message to him from Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Federal Premier of Nigeria. The delegation was led by Mr. Dan Ibeke, Minister of External Affairs. * Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey Ghanaian President of the U.N. General Assembly has stated that, in spite of ideological and political conflicts in the world the U.N. is a major instrument of peace, Reuter reported.

CONGO (Leopoldville) Mr. Emmanuel Sinda, Congolese Secretary of State for Ministry of Information answering reporters' questions has said in Leopoldville that two Ugandan soldiers captured on the Congo-Uganda border area in March, would accompany a special Congolese diplomatic mission going to Kampala, Uganda in a few days' time, Reuter reported. CONGO (Brazzaville): Congo Brazzaville and Federal Ger-

many have signed a treaty in Brazzaville to encourage and protect capital investment.

MALAGASY REPUBLIC: Malagasy Premier Hastings Banda who is on four-day official visit to the Malagasy Republic began talks in Tananarive today with President Philibert Tsiranana.

CONGO (Leopoldville) The President of the Congolese National Party (CONACO) Premier Moise Tshombe has convened an important National Congress of his Party to discuss matters concerning the opening of Parliament next Monday, CONACO Vice-President Mr. Isaac Kalondji has said.

NIGERIA: President Nnamdi Azikiwe has said in Nsuka, Eastern Nigeria, that it is only by cultivating the spirit of tolerance and universally identifying themselves with matters affecting Africa's destiny that African states can work together harmoniously towards achieving a continental concord.

GHANA: Ghana and Israel have signed an agreement for scientific co-operation. The agreement between the Ghana Academy of Sciences and Israel National Academy of Sciences is the first bilateral agreement ever made by the Israeli organisation.

CONGO: The Soviet Union has accused colonialists and neo-colonialists of trying to provoke and armed clash of the borders of the two Congos to have an excuse to attack the Congo-Brazzaville.

SEPTEMBER 15 SUDAN: The Sudanese Government has opened an inquiry into allegedly false reports by the Khartoum newspaper *Al Zomane* that there was a force of 2,000 Israeli, American and British mercenaries in the Congo near the Sudanese frontier.

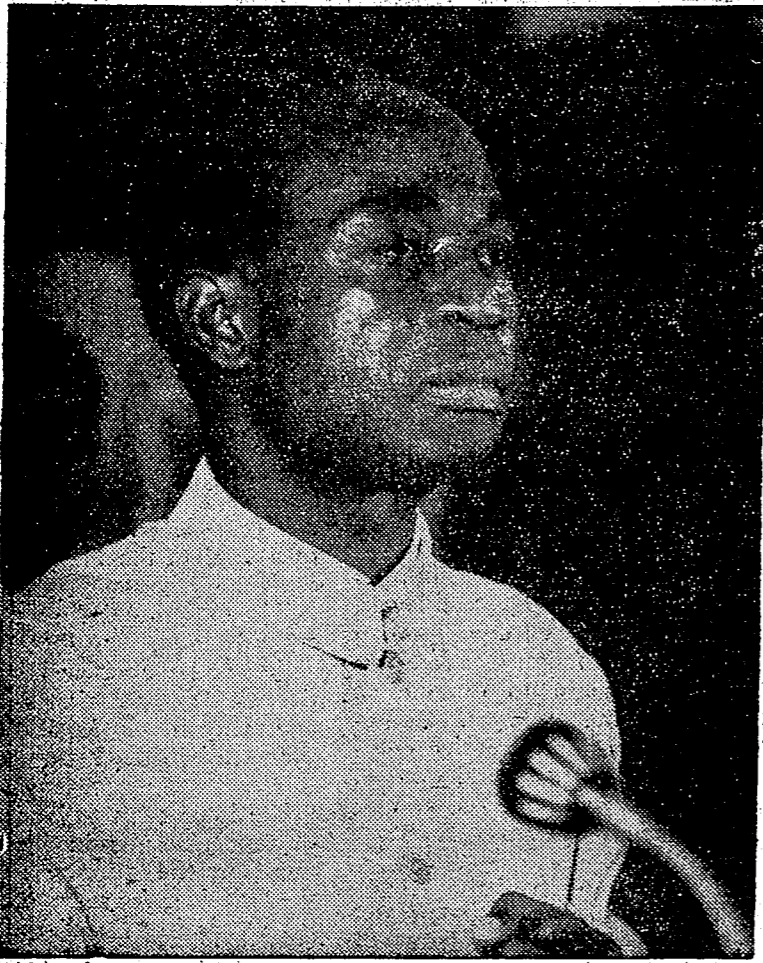
NIGER: President Hamani Diori of Niger, is the only candidate for Niger's Presidential elections to be held on September 30, the Interior Minister has announced in Niamey today.

GUINEA: Guinea and the People's Republic of China have signed two agreements, one on Postal Exchange and the other on the establishment of Telecommunications. U.A.R.: An industrial conference of African countries is to be held in Cairo, U.A.R. in January next year.

SOUTH AFRICA: The South African apartheid policy has been denounced in a resolution approved in Ottawa by the International Parliamentary Union conferences. The resolution described this policy as a grave crime against humanity.

UGANDA: The Uganda Government has denied reports from Leopoldville claiming that the Government of the Congo and Uganda had reached an agreement on the repatriation of 30,000 Congolese refugees who asked for asylum in Uganda. The Uganda Government pointed out that it had no direct contacts with the Congolese Government concerning the problem of refugees.

We demand a fair Price for our Cocoa



Kwame Nkrumah addresses Ghana's cocoa farmers at the Castle on Wednesday, September 22, 1965.

that the total supply of cocoa will be 152,000 tons in excess of the expected demand. This is the main reason for the present low price of cocoa.

Let me repeat that this figure of 152,000 tons is only an estimate. If this excess supply of cocoa can be removed from the market, we should be able to receive a fair or higher price for our cocoa.

In other words, if cocoa beans which could be used for chocolate during this year were reduced by about 150,000 tons, the world price of cocoa would go up. There are some indications that this excess supply of cocoa will be reduced, if it does not completely disappear.

NATURE

In the first place, nature is clearly taking a hand. It has always proved impossible to estimate the West African Cocoa crop with accuracy but generally speaking, if we have a large crop of cocoa in Ghana it is a fair indication that other West African producers will have large crops too. If our crop is small, it is almost certain that theirs will not be large.

What, then, is our crop likely to be? We can say one thing for certain. It will not be anything like as large as last year's. How much smaller it is difficult to predict, but there are some figures which can guide us in making an estimate.

Generally speaking, the size of the main crop is proportionate to the size of the mid-crop. If there is a large mid-crop, it generally means that there will be a large main crop, and with a small mid-crop there is a correspondingly small main crop.

Last year the mid-crop was over 50,000 tons. This year it is under 15,000 tons. We can therefore expect that the main crop this year will be relatively small.

Secondly, even at this early stage, it is possible to get some idea of what production will be by an inspection of the trees. Inspections that have already been carried out indicate that the crop will be smaller than last year, and may continue to get smaller.

HIGHER PRICE

We could certainly be wrong to rely on a production figure of over 500,000 tons this year, and we must be prepared for an even lower figure than this.

If the Ghana crop drops to the extent we now think likely, it is probable that other West African producers will suffer a similar decline in output. If this is so, nature will have redressed the balance, and without any external aid we should get a higher price for our cocoa.

However, we cannot leave the solution of all our problems to nature. Under our Seven-Year Development Plan, we have budgeted for overall earnings from cocoa rising from 206.4 million Cedis (£86 million) to 240 million Cedis (£100 million) in 1970.

If we are therefore to reach our target, we must secure over this period a minimum price well above the present level. That minimum price needs to be fixed at once.

As I have said, it is possible that the size of this year's crop will result in a higher price for us. But we cannot just sit back and wait for this to happen. Nature always requires the assistance of man to perform its so-called miracles.

For this reason, we are beginning a series of international talks aimed at securing an immediate rise in the cocoa price, irrespective of what the coming year's crop turns out to be.

It would not be in the public interest for me to disclose the details of what we are proposing but this much I can say: that we think that there should be an agreement on an emergency international scheme which would remove any surplus cocoa supplies from the world market. These surpluses would be diverted into non-traditional channels so that a fair minimum price for cocoa could be established.

For the first time for many years, the climate for achieving agreements on minimum prices for primary commodities seems favourable.

Last month, President Johnson of the United States of America, who is

when Mr. Mennon Williams, the United States Special Representative for Africa, visits Ghana next week, we shall be able to make a start with practical discussions on a minimum price suitable to West African and Latin American producers alike.

Later this week, the Commonwealth Finance Ministers will assemble in Jamaica. I trust that at their discussions the cocoa position will be reviewed.

The Commonwealth, and particularly the sterling area, are deeply concerned with cocoa. Commonwealth countries produce over 60 per cent of the world's total output. The sterling area consumes less than 10 per cent of the world's beans.

Therefore, cocoa earnings play an important part in providing the foreign exchange without which sterling, and other currencies which are based on it, could not maintain their value.

- Fix minimum price now
- Agree on scheme to remove surpluses from world market
- Action by Commonwealth
- Fulfil Geneva Conference decisions on import duties and excise charges

deeply concerned at the effect of the low price of cocoa and other commodities on the economy of the Latin American countries, said at the fourth anniversary of Alliance for Progress, and I will quote his actual words—

LIFE BLOOD

"It is not just enough to continue what we are doing. From the experience and the achievement of the first four years, we can now shape new directions... First, we must step up our efforts to prevent disastrous changes in the price of those basic commodities which are the life blood of so many of our economies. We will continue... to strengthen the operation of the coffee agreement and to search for ways to stabilise the price of cocoa."

It is, of course, impossible to secure for Latin America a stabilised cocoa price without also stabilising the price of West African cocoa. The total South American production for last year was scarcely more than one half of that of Ghana.

Nevertheless, for many South American countries cocoa is vital to their economy. Unlike us, they have been unable to increase their production and thus set off some of the loss in foreign exchange earnings caused by the disastrous fall in cocoa prices.

It is only right that we should take their particular problem into account and, in agreeing a minimum price, we may have to fix a higher figure than one which we would put forward if we had only our own interests to consider.

I have been in touch with President Johnson in this matter, and I hope that

developing countries.

Ghana now produces a considerable amount of cocoa butter and cocoa powder. This year our cocoa bean grindings will amount to 50,000 tons. In other words, Ghana will grind more beans than are ground in the whole of Asia put together, including China and Japan.

But when we come to export this cocoa butter and powder we are faced, in many developed countries, with prohibitive taxes—taxes which those developed countries solemnly undertook to remove.

We do not propose to allow this breach of an international agreement to pass without protest. We believe that if the bloc of 75 nations at the Geneva Conference holds firm on this issue we can protest with good effect.

EXTERNAL TRADE

So far as Ghana is concerned, we shall have to look again at the pattern of our external trade. The time may soon come when we must refuse to trade with countries which—in breach of an undertaking solemnly entered into—continue to impose heavy taxes on our processed primary products.

Indeed, we must beware of accepting at their face value promises of any sort. Time and time again the cocoa producers of West Africa have been deceived and deluded by the cocoa merchants and manufacturers of the developed countries.

After the last war, and particularly in the 1950's, there was a world shortage of cocoa. At this time there was nothing that the cocoa manufacturers would not promise us if only we increased our production. They organised cocoa conferences at which representatives of all European and British manufacturers were assembled.

RESOLUTION

These conferences were attended by representatives of Governments, particularly from Britain and her then Colonies. These Government officials gave their tacit agreement to the manufacturers' promise to us that however much we increased our production we should at least receive a price between £200 and £250 a ton.

Let me read to you the Resolution passed by the first of these Conferences, that of 1946, and I quote—

"This Conference expresses the belief that the world demand for raw cocoa exceeds the available supply and attaches urgency to the increasing of supplies and is of the opinion that any efficient new production which may be practical for the next 25 years in existing or new areas will be absorbed at a fair price to the grower."

In other words, they were promising us a fair and stable price until 1971 at least. And what was this fair and stable price? Again and again they repeated it—£200 to £250 a ton.

What happened to their promise? Last year, and again this year, the price has been well below this minimum. On the 20th July this year, Ghana main crop cocoa for shipment between August and September was being quoted at £87.10s. a ton.

It is time for us to take the cocoa manufacturers of the world at their own word and see that they buy our cocoa from us at a fair

price. What the minimum price should be, we are still prepared to negotiate.

Let me make it clear, however, that we shall not continue to produce cocoa for developed countries at prices which are fantastically low. If we are driven to it we will change our cash crops, as we have done in the past. We will restrict our production. We will do anything rather than put up with the present low prices.

In the second half of the last century, Ghana was an important rubber producer. We can become one again. As you know, we have laid the foundations for establishing large rubber, oil palm and coconut plantations on individual and co-operative basis, and, mark you, with trees which have some of the highest yields in the world.

Friends and Comrades, in order to support these endeavours our farmers must now produce at home all the foodstuffs which we can possibly cultivate. We rely on you to ensure that there is no shortage of foodstuffs in the country. To this you must devote all your energies. And I can assure you that in this task you will have the fullest support of the Party and Government.

FAIR PRICE

If we can alter the pattern of our agriculture in this way, we shall be in a much stronger position to deal with the cocoa merchants and manufacturers. If they will not pay us a fair price unless we reduce the quantity of cocoa that we produce, then let us curtail our production of cocoa and substitute for it other crops from which the country, and you, will receive a fair return.

If the merchants and manufacturers want to drive us out of the market by trying continually to beat down the price, it will be they and not the producers of cocoa who will be the ultimate losers.

Silos are being constructed to store up our cocoa. When completed, we shall be able to withhold from the world market more than 50 per cent of our crop. This amount which we can store will be more than the combined world cocoa surplus of production over consumption.

We are also beginning to develop our own chocolate industry. I have with me today some thirty cartons of chocolate produced and manufactured in our own State factories here in Ghana from Ghana cocoa. I want you all to taste this yourselves and compare it with imported chocolate, and you will be amazed at the superiority of the taste of Ghana-made chocolate.

Even if—in disregard of the Geneva Agreement of 1964—tariff walls prevent us selling this chocolate abroad we can still sell it in Ghana and other African countries at a reasonable price which will be within the reach of all.

Cocoa powder which is also manufactured in Ghana is being distributed free of cost to our school children. We are also expanding our production of cocoa butter which is the traditional basis of many cosmetics and pharmaceutical products.

There are also a number of commodities, such as margarine, which we now import and which we could manufacture ourselves out of our cocoa butter. A margarine factory designed to use Ghana cocoa butter is already under construction.

Continued on page 6

I HAVE asked you to come to see me today so that I can talk to you about our cocoa situation. To begin with, I appreciate the fact that you have accepted the price of £2 (or 4 Cedis and 80 pesewas) per load of cocoa.

At our last meeting, I told you that if the world price of cocoa continues to drop, I would meet you again and ask you to make a further contribution of 6/- or 72 pesewas for development and 4/- or 48 pesewas for the Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank.

Since then the price has gone up a little but not to our expectations. Anyway, I have decided that you should not be called upon to make a contribution of 6/- for development and 4/- for the Bank from the price received per load of cocoa.

OUR MISFORTUNE

The present low price of cocoa is a misfortune for us all. Neither you, our farmers, nor the country as a whole, can afford any longer to be solely dependent upon revenue from cocoa as we have been in the past.

With the rapid growth in our economy we need to make the fullest use of other agricultural resources in the country in order to meet our agricultural and industrial expansion. I am therefore asking you, the farmers of the country, to concentrate on the cultivation of other cash crops and the foodstuffs of which we are so much in need.

At present the export of cocoa provides us with the foreign currency which we need to pay for our imports of the things not grown or manufactured in Ghana. As you all know, the revenue resulting from the difference between the world price of cocoa and the guaranteed price paid to you has been used partly to build up our great cocoa industry.

The Government has spent large sums of money in supplying spraying machines and insecticides at subsidised prices to you, the farmers of the country. The

cutting-out campaign has also involved the Government in heavy expenses for compensation.

The decision to pay you the price of £2 per load and at the same time to waive your contribution of 6/- for development and 4/- to the Agricultural Development Bank should make you realise the extent of the sacrifice which the Government is making in the interest of the farmers.

DEVELOPMENT

A sizeable amount of revenue from cocoa has been devoted to the building of hospitals, schools and colleges, extensive modern highways, the provision of water supplies, factories, shops and the industrial and agricultural projects which you see around you today—not to mention the gigantic strides we are making in providing social and welfare services and community development schemes throughout the country.

The Volta dam and its great hydro-electric scheme, our Port and new Township in Tema would not have been possible without the revenue which we derive from cocoa.

It is for this reason that the world price of cocoa is of the utmost concern to all of us. This world price, at present, depends on the inter-action between supply and demand for cocoa. Our experience has been that where questions of supply and demand are concerned the developing countries are always at the mercy of the wealthier developed ones.

If we were today in a position to withdraw completely our supplies of cocoa from the market, over a period of two or three years, we would be in a much stronger position to influence the world price of cocoa.

WORLD PRICE

You will see therefore that if the world as a whole produces more cocoa than is consumed, the world price goes down. Once there is a scarcity of cocoa on the world market, the price goes up. In 1962, 1963 and 1964, world consumption of cocoa was almost equal to world production.

In 1962 world production exceeded consumption by 16,000 tons, in 1963 by only 3,000 tons and in 1964 by 17,000.

This year, however, it is estimated—and I emphasize the word "estimated"—

T.U.C.— The Eyes and Ears of the Workers

HUMAN labour is the source of all wealth. The creation of increased wealth so that our people can enjoy a fuller, better life, is the task before Ghana. The way in which we organise our labour power, our human resources will be a decisive element in our success.

Much of our national resource has been invested in the infrastructure so necessary for a developing economy, and much has been invested already in new industrial enterprises.

We now have a growing industrial sector which must begin to make good, proving its efficiency by turning out products of a high quality, cheaply and at a profit.

The theme of "consolidation" in the President's speech really means that our investments, already made, have got to pay. We have not established state industrial enterprises for doctrinaire reasons, or to provide soft jobs for a few people, they are there to develop our economy, diversify it and liberate it from the tangles of imperialist relationships.

ECONOMY

Kwame Nkrumah always said, even before we won our freedom, that political independence would be a delusion if we did not rapidly reconstruct our economy on socialist industrial lines.

Because the roots of imperialism are economic, political independence must be buttressed and supported by the growth of a really independent economy.

Socialist industrialisation is central to our perspective of improving the lives of our people.

This is the only guarantee that we can retain our independence hard fought for in the past.

Upon the industrial workers of this country lies a very heavy responsibility. Their task of increasing production is heavy enough in all conscience, and they must have no unnecessary obstacles placed in their way, through lack of co-operation or bad management.

In outlining how the gross national product can be increased, Kwame Nkrumah listed four points.

- i. Increase in labour input;
- ii. increase in capital input;
- iii. increase in labour efficiency;
- iv. improvement in investment.

The first two are quantitative, the last two qualitative.

INDUSTRY

The first means that the actual numbers of industrial workers will grow.

The levels of efficiency, skill, and discipline now being developed will establish standards by which new workers coming into industry will be decisively influenced. We must make sure that these standards are high.

Increase in capital input also depends very much on the workers because it is the surplus they produce which can be accumulated and invested in more industries.

Improvement in labour efficiency is a challenge to each worker and each collective to use the machinery they have to the utmost, ensuring that it is well cared for, to use every scrap of material and eliminate waste and to devise new

and better methods of production.

Improvement in investment demands qualitatively better management and the workers are always there, able to judge for themselves, from their own daily experiences whether the management of their enterprise is really doing its job well.

These four needs, make demands at all levels on the industrial working class of our country. *Their key role in the economy is not a narrow economic task but a vital political responsibility.*

The wing of the Party in which the workers are organised, as workers, is the Trades Union Congress and consequently the T.U.C. must be involved in the practical realisation of the Plan.

CONSULTATION

Success depends on its work in, giving leadership to its members. It is vital too that other people, in the Planning Commission, the Government and the Party, should understand this.

The T.U.C. should be consulted about the targets of each industry and factory. Its advice should be asked for on how to achieve the aims. It is the eyes and ears of the workers and it is in a unique position, of being able to make continuous reports on the operations of the state enterprises.

A year ago the T.U.C. issued its programme called "The Tasks Before Us". In that document, introduced by Kwame Nkrumah himself, the central task of the T.U.C. was put as the mobilisation of the Trade Unionists for the successful achievement of the Plan. It is an aim to which the T.U.C. is politically committed.

We think that the weakness in mobilising the industrial workers for the Plan lies not with the T.U.C. but with other people who fail to understand the importance of the T.U.C. or who actively try to minimise it.

In his introduction to the Programme the President stated:

"The success of this Seven Year Development Plan will only be attained if the enthusiasm of our workers is mobilized and they know the part they ought to play and are drawn into full consultation in the execution of our Plan".

RECOMMENDATION

We strongly recommend a careful reading of the T.U.C. Programme and the section of the President's speech called "Industrial Democracy" to the Planning Commission, the whole of the Party and the Ministers whose departments are linked to the Seven Year Plan.

We hope they also share the President's confidence in the industrial workers and their organisation, the T.U.C., when he declared "My faith in the trade unions as instruments for building socialism has never wavered. The workers of Africa know and have felt the effects of exploitation".

Examination of the Programme will show that those sections of it which depend on action by the T.U.C. alone, such as re-organisation, recruitment, education, work amongst women are being put into practice. It is those sections of the programme which depend upon the co-operation of others with the T.U.C. that are not being properly carried through.

The President's Speech

This article is the third in the series devoted to the examination of important aspects of the speech made by the President, Kwame Nkrumah, at the opening of Parliament on August 24, 1965.

emphasised the need for participation of the workers at factory level in solving all production problems. It called for the establishment at every State factory of a production committee on which both management and workers would be represented.

"Every step must be taken", it declared "to ensure that the necessary conditions exist for stimulating the interest of the workers in production management".

Collective bonuses and incentives must also be worked out so that the workers enjoy some of the fruits of

their increased efforts in a direct, easily understood form.

These proposals show that the President understands how important the Trades Union Congress is to our economy. Now, the period following immediately on the speech, is the time to test whether other people do. It is in action, now, that agreement with the speech, will be shown.

We suggest that the Government, Party and T.U.C. should lay down a strict time limit in which Joint Production Committees are set up.

The T.U.C. should be asked to report on every state factory within three months and should then be given the responsibility of making systematic checks that the Joint Production Committees are meeting and that the influence of the workers is being felt.

Already the T.U.C.'s concern with education shows that they are anxious to equip their members to take on these responsibilities.

Are the managers educated to appreciate that when the workers are involved in management in a correct socialist way then many of

their problems will be solved?

We are not pretending that these new socialist forms of organisation can be established and work to everybody's satisfaction simply by a stroke of the pen, there will be many problems to sort out, but the process must begin now. The Plan is over a year old, the T.U.C. Programme is a year old, we can afford to wait no longer.

OPERATION

Systematic consultation with the T.U.C. at all levels, executive, trade union branch, factory committee must begin to operate so that the interest, understanding and creative energies of the men and women, actually working on the machines is fully mobilized.

The efforts of the T.U.C. to popularise the Plan and educate the workers for its fulfilment can be supplemented in many ways.

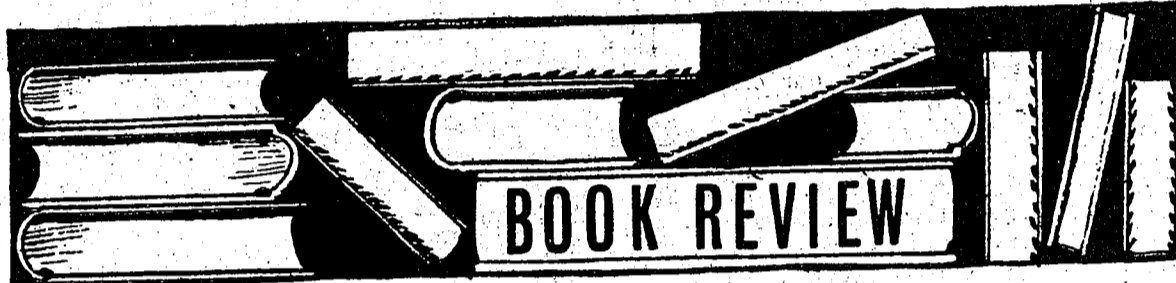
Through radio, and television, by well prepared ex-

planatory and propaganda material the aims and the principles of the Plan can be explained and agitated for.

Every section of the Government and Party and Nation must be helped to understand that on the Plan everything depends, and on the workers in the factory and mine and plant, a major responsibility lies. The T.U.C. represents the working class at its most highly organised, powerful and coherent level, and is in turn vital to the Plan's success.

The nation and the workers especially, now look for action and for active initiative and co-operation from any person or institution concerned in the Plan.

We hope soon to be able to report results in implementing the proposals in the President's speech. In his words in "Building Socialism in Ghana", "... we have a tremendous, herculean task before us. It calls for all our attention, all our brains."



SONG OF FREEDOM

by Jean Carey Bond

DRAMATIC episodes in history, "times that try men's souls" to borrow the words of Tom Paine, when fundamental human rights are under siege, when what men regard as Good or True or indefinably vital to the meaning of life itself are threatened by powerful destructive forces, a strange fraternity is produced among those who have taken up, or to whom has fallen, the fearful task of defending the faith.

At the front lines of the Spanish Civil War, a prelude to fascism's onslaught on a bewildered Europe, men from many different nations pooled their convictions and blood in an effort to stem that tide.

Emotions—if you will, the human spirit—were tuned up to top volume, and individuals who perhaps could not communicate by language felt intensely their bonds with one another as, simply, men with dreams of how the world should be.

The incarceration of Jews, by the Nazis in the infamous Warsaw Ghetto, a more desperate but, fundamentally, equivalent human tragedy, produced like emotions, as must have the triumphant Algerian Revolution in its most agonized hours.

In each of these cases, the people involved spoke to each other and to the world beyond, primarily with their guns and their deaths, but secondarily, through their songs.

Willed to posterity are the idealistic anthems of the international brigades which helped prosecute the Republican struggle against Franco, the poignant, dirge-like ballads of the Warsaw Ghetto and the courageous, mocking ditties of the F.L.N. Indeed, a musical, as well as literary, record may well exist for all significant—and even insignificant—historical events.

It is through the black man's experience on the American continent, both North and South, that the

greatness of African culture has been injected into the bloodstream of the New World. Despite the brutal oppression to which he was, and is, subjected, the cultural impact of his coming was enormous.

Thus, out of the African's ordeal in the territory of North America has come, and is still coming, one of the most unique cultural phenomena of all time: a musical language so rich in its diversity, so profound in its expression, so defiant in its originality that it will ever be the object of study and contemplation.

It is a language conceived in slavery and expanded in the mock freedom of post-Civil War America, which has, despite incessant, mindless attempts to dilute its genius, defied corruption and continues to evolve, according to its own laws, from one phase to the next.

Unquestionably, the main reason for the perennial vitality of this idiomatic expression of a people's history is that the drama from which its fuel is taken continues to unfold with growing, rather than diminishing, intensity.

The contemporary Afro-American's dilemma, hence, his musical narration of it, is no less gripping than a slave revolt on the plantation—prison of his forefathers the lyrics of whose songs were often codes to cover a fleeing slave's passage to the North via the Underground Railroad.

The title of this slim volume by John Dunson is also the name of a record album documenting, in word and song, the Afro-American protest campaign that engulfed Albany, Georgia, in 1961-1962. What is now referred to by white America as the Civil Rights Revolution is generally regarded as dating from the first student "sit-ins" at lunch counters in towns of the Deep South in 1960.

The Albany campaign was, then, part of a crescendoing wave of protest that spread throughout the southern United States. It is the author's purpose to examine that dimension of the protest movement which de-

fines itself in musical terms. The book suffers from brevity, occasional vagueness and awkwardness of expression and faulty organization. It does not, however, purport to be much more than a survey and, taken as such, is competent enough.

From the beginning of "The Movement of the '60's", music—specifically, improvisational group singing—has played an important role in psychologically orienting civil rights activists to the rigours of protest activity.

Demonstrations are usually preceded by mass "pep" rallies in which the singing of freedom songs predominates. (The author places the songs of the civil rights movement in the broader context of American folk music tradition *vis-a-vis* political agitation, citing, among other examples, the turbulent birth of the Industrial Workers of the World in the early 1900's and the labour union struggles of the 1930's, as movements in which songs and mass singing played a key role.

An offshoot of this practice was the formation of the Freedom Singers, a quintet of young Afro-Americans who acquired their avocation at the front lines of the Movement—in a confrontation with club-swinging state police, or in the dank, filthy cellblock of a Mississippi jail.

As is to be expected, many freedom songs of today are derivative: they retain melodies and, occasionally, lyrics of their pre-Emancipation antecedents. Furthermore, freedom songs and the various methods of their rendition, viewed in total, reflect something of each component of the Afro-American musical tradition—spirituals, blues and jazz.

It would be a mistake, however, to regard these latter-day anthems as essentially revivalistic for they translate and adapt, rather than reproduce intact, the spirit and substance of earlier forms.

The author discusses, at length, the compositions of new song writers, black and

white, the offspring of today's struggles, which draw on the past but, at the same time, bear the distinctive mark of a new age.

Mr. Dunson also mentions, only in passing and without analysis, a rather curious phenomenon: the popularisation of "socially-significant" material among a notoriously callous and unconscience-stricken American public.

Such songs as Bob Dylan's *Blowin' the Wind*, whose lyrical references to the Afro-American struggle are pointed, if metaphorical—

How many times can a man turn his head

And pretend that he just doesn't see.

How many years can a people exist

Before they're allowed to be free...

were at the top of the Hit Parade for weeks and sold

millions of copies. An investigation in this area would undoubtedly reveal that the public's reasons for embracing such tunes are frivolous or, at best, reflect a deep confusion, but do not at all signify the passing of apathy.

The Afro-American struggle goes on, assuming as it unfolds truly revolutionary proportions that command world interest, the recent Los Angeles riots being a case in point. The best of the "freedom music" which chronicles this struggle develops further that remarkable idiom of American music of which the Afro-American community is the source.

It captures the indomitable spirit of the Afro-American people, their strength, their defiance, their priceless humour.

Blueprint of U.S. Intervention in Africa

Continued from page 1

But while U.S. Ambassadors deliver pious speeches on the need for friendship other U.S. government agencies are commissioning handbooks on how to overthrow their host-governments.

SUBVERSION

American spokesmen are constantly mouthing allegations about "subversion" and "infiltration" by, for example, People's China.

It is a case of the robber shouting "Stop, thief!" America itself is engaging in subversion against the newly-independent countries (and other countries too, for that matter) and infiltrating its agents in many guises.

And the end-product of it all is exemplified by

events in the Dominican Republic, where U.S. troops—no doubt with their university-prepared handbooks in their pockets—intervened on a massive scale in support of an unpopular and corrupt military oligarchy.

Universities and other higher educational establishments in Ghana are, in accordance with academic custom, giving hospitality to many American scholars of one kind and another, including some engaged on research in the social sciences.

The disclosure that the Pentagon has used the products of such work to compile a handbook for armed intervention in our country cannot but prompt the question: how many of the U.S. research workers now in Ghana are paid by the Pentagon?

MARX AND COLONIALISM

MARX was born in 1818 and died 1883. In 1823, when he was only five, 12,000 slaves on fifty plantations in British Guiana revolted. In 1850—two years after the "Communist Manifesto" appeared—the Taiping Uprising in China began. In 1857, two years before the publication of Marx's "Critique of Political Economy" (1859), the Indian "Mutiny" took place.

In 1865, slavery was officially abolished in the United States, and in 1867—the year when the first volume of *Capital* was published—the Fenian armed uprising took place in Ireland.

SAW SPREAD

Two years after the death of Marx the Western powers met at the Berlin Conference of 1885 in order to agree on a division of Africa.

Thus the span of Marx's life—most of the nineteenth century—witnessed not only the growth of industrial capitalism, the growth of the European working class, the development of sharp battles for democracy and working class advance, highlighted by the Paris Commune in 1871, but saw the spread of capitalism to the whole globe.

This process was only completed at the end of the century, after the death of Marx, but the young Marx and Engels had already glimpsed its effects in 1848, when they described in the *Communist Manifesto*, the way in which modern industry, by its cheap commodities and development of communications "batters down all Chinese walls", "compels all nations to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves", and thus, in the process, make "nations of peasants" dependent on "nations of bourgeois", or "the East on the West".

This whole problem of the relation of "the East" to "the West"—in essence the relationship of the colonial world to the advanced capitalist countries—was to become a dominating pre-occupation of Marx's thought and activity right up to his death.

SINGLE PROCESS

In *Capital*, in his articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* on India and China, in his letters, Marx constantly returns to this question. Engels, too, was much occupied with this problem.

The fate of the revolution in England, in Europe, and the fate of the revolution in the colonial world, they saw as part of a single process, in which there was a constant inter-reaction of the one revolution on the other.

Marx died before the imperialist epoch, but at the time of his death, its outlines were beginning to take shape. The expansion of capitalism from its original homelands to Asia, and Australia and across the Atlantic, was, he understood, to have a profound effect on the course of the revolution in the West, and especially on Britain.

It is impossible here to give full justice to the great wealth of ideas, of analysis, of examination undertaken by Marx and Engels, too, of the struggles of peoples for national independence

and against colonialism, and national oppression.

Their writings on India, China and Ireland—and on which I shall touch in more detail later—are perhaps more familiar. But they kept a most careful watch on all developments in the colonial sphere.

On July 30, 1853, Marx writes an article for the *New York Daily Tribune* on the war in Burma. On October 30, 1856, he writes for the same paper on the Anglo-Persian war. On December 17, 1858, he contributes an article on the Question of the Ionian Islands. A letter to Engels on June 14, 1853, touches on the form of landed property in Java—a subject to which Engels returns in letters to Bebel (January 18, 1884), and to Kautsky (February 16, 1884).

In November and December 1865, Marx and Engels exchange letters on the rising of Negroes in Jamaica against the British planters.

A letter from Engels to Kautsky on September 12, 1882, touches on the prospects of revolution in Egypt and Algeria.

Six days later, Engels writes to Kautsky again, referring to France's colonisation of Tunisia and Tonkin, and to "the attempted annexation of New Guinea," which he considered was "designed directly for the slave trade".

In some circles these days it is fashionable to write about Marx and his ideas and activity as if he were solely concerned with European questions and narrowly pre-occupied with the struggles of the European working class.

REFUTATION

The life and work of Marx—and of Engels, too—are a complete refutation of this myth. They were both internationalists—not simply in that they were concerned with what was happening everywhere, but that they understood the relationship of events throughout the world, and were therefore able to develop ideas and concepts that had a universal validity.

In the studies he did in preparation for his work on *Capital*, Marx examined the methods by which the capitalist class carried through its initial accumulation of capital which was to make possible its development as an industrial class.

In one of his finest and most characteristic passages, Marx explained how the slave trade, and then the "Christian, colonial system" based, as he wrote, on "brute force", was to provide the booty and the stimulus for capitalist industrial development.

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation." (*Capital*: Vol. I, Chapter 31).

Marx drew special attention to the role of slavery, emphasising the particular role which it played in the development of British capitalism.

"Liverpool waxed fat on the slave trade", he wrote, adding, "This was its method of primitive accumulation." (*ibid*)

by Jack Woddis
Writer on African Affairs.

In 1730, Liverpool was employing fifteen ships in the slave-trade; by 1792 the figure was 132. In 1795 Liverpool was doing three-sevenths of the whole European slave trade. Great as was the slave traffic carried on by the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese, it was as nothing compared with the slave trade of Britain.

THE LINK

In his book *They Came in Chains*, published in New York in 1950, J. S. Redding has noted that

"Nearly four times as many African slaves were transported in British bottoms as in all the ships of all other nations combined".

In his remarkable work, *Capitalism and Slavery*, Dr. Eric Williams has followed up this thought of Marx on the link between slavery and the growth of capitalism, and has shown in considerable detail, how many British cities and industries, "waxed fat on the slave trade".

The basis of this growth in wealth was what came to be known as the "triangular trade". British slave ships sailed from British ports, with cargoes of British manufactured goods. These were exchanged, at a profit, on the coast of Africa for slaves.

These, in turn, were traded to plantations across the Atlantic, for a further profit, in exchange for colonial produce based on slave labour, such as cotton, or sugar, which then yielded a further profit when sold back in England or other markets.

By 1750, says Dr. Williams, "there was hardly a trading or manufacturing town in England which was not in some way connected with the triangular or direct colonial trade".

Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow grew rapidly under this system as centres of shipping, shipbuilding and trade.

At the same time, the creation of the cotton industry in the United States, based on slave labour from Africa, was to give a direct stimulus to other spheres of British manufacture, and thus to the growth of Manchester.

Marx explained that the cotton industry of England was based on child-slavery here, and on full chattel slavery in the United States. "The veiled slavery of the wage-worker in Europe", he wrote in *Capital*, "needed for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world."

DRIPPING

Writing elsewhere (*The Poverty of Philosophy*) he explained:

"Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the precondition of large-scale industry."

While, in the words of that great Negro scholar and anti-imperialist, Dr. Dubois,

"whole regions of Africa were depopulated, and whole tribes disappeared" in "the rape of a continent seldom if ever paralleled in ancient or modern history",

a process, which, incidentally, cost Africa between 50

and 100 million of its sons and daughters; between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, British capitalism expanded more and more.

Liverpool "waxed fat" from shipping. Bristol "waxed fat" from refining the slave-produced sugar. Glasgow "waxed fat" from slave-produced tobacco. Manchester "waxed fat" from slave-produced cotton.

And Birmingham "waxed fat" from manufacturing fetters, chains and padlocks to fasten the Negroes securely in the slave ships, from producing irons to brand the slaves, and guns to hunt them with, and from making iron collars and handcuffs to maintain them in slavery once they were delivered across the Atlantic.

No wonder Marx, in his righteous indignation, declared that capitalism came into the world

"dripping from the head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt". (*Capital*, Vol. I *ibid.*)

No wonder, too, that Marx hailed so enthusiastically the ending of slavery in the United States, though he warned, with amazing foresight and in words that have a most significant relevancy for today, that unless slavery were to be followed by real equality in the United States, the cause of the whole people would suffer.

Thus, in the address to Abraham Lincoln which he drew up for the First International, and which was adopted unanimously by the Council on November 29, 1864, he welcomed the "Death to Slavery" which was expressed by Lincoln's election victory over "oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders", but he emphasised that the "white-skinned labourers" would be "unable to attain the true freedom of labour" while they "allowed slavery to defile their own republic".

WISE COUNSEL

This idea was carried forward, in the address from the General Council of the First International to "The People of the United States of America" in September 1865, in which the General Council combined expressions of sympathy, encouragement and congratulations with "a word of counsel for the future".

"Let your citizens of today," they urged, "be declared free and equal without reserve. If you fail to give them citizens' rights, while you demand citizens' duties, there will yet remain a struggle for the future which may again stain your country with your people's blood."

What is happening in the United States today fully confirms the correctness of that wise counsel.

But slavery was not the only form of primitive accumulation to which Marx drew attention. In India, explains Marx, the East India Company obtained

"the exclusive monopoly of the tea trade, as well as of the Chinese trade in general, and of the transport of goods to and from Europe".

The higher employees of the Company robbed the Indian people right and left to amass huge fortunes for themselves:

"The monopolies of salt, opium, betel and other commodities, were inexhaustible mines of wealth." (*Capital*, Vol. I).

The employees themselves fixed the price and plundered the Indians at will, the

Governor-General himself taking part in this scandalous traffic. In India, writes Marx (*ibid.*),

"Great fortunes sprang up like mushrooms in a day; primitive accumulation went on without the advance of a shilling."

In other territories, too, the treatment of indigenous peoples, noted Marx, was "most frightful", especially, as we have seen, in Africa, as well as in the West Indies,

"and in rich and well-populated countries such as Mexico and India, that were given over to plunder" (*ibid.*)

Prices were fixed in New England for every Indian scalp, £100 for a male scalp, £50 for the scalp of women and children. In India, noted Marx, between 1769 and 1770,

"the English manufactured a famine by buying up all the rice and refusing to sell it again, except at fabulous prices" (*ibid.*)

SYSTEM BORN

It was in such ways that the colonial system was born, a system which, says Marx:

"ripened, like a hot-house, trade and navigation... The colonies secured a market for the budding manufactures, and, through the monopoly of the market, an increased accumulation. The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement and murder, floated back to the mother-country, and were there turned into capital."

But Marx understood that it was not the working people who were the beneficiaries of this system which had "proclaimed surplus-value as the sole end and aim of humanity".

He cites the example of Holland, which first developed the colonial system, and which, by 1648 "stood already in the acme of its commercial greatness".

SLAUGHTER

The total capital of Holland was, at that time probably more than that of all the rest of Europe put together, but Marx points out "the people of Holland were more over-worked, poorer and more brutally oppressed than those of all the rest of Europe put together".

In the same way, he noted that the expansion of primitive accumulation in Britain was accompanied by "a great slaughter of the innocents"—the press-ganging of workers for factories, the introduction of child-stealing for exploitation in the factories, where, in the words of John Fielden, capitalism inflicted "cruelties (of the most heart-rending kind upon "the unoffending and friendless creatures" who had been put to work, and who were

"harassed to the brink of death by excess of labour... flogged, fettered and tortured in the most exquisite refinement of cruelty... starved to the bone while flogged to their work... even in some instances driven to commit suicide."

Marx did not limit himself to a pitiless exposure and denunciation of the methods used by capitalism, and especially British capitalism, to rob the peoples of other territories and of Britain in order to lay the basis for capitalist growth in the metropolis.

He, and Engels as well, made a most careful and detailed examination of the precise forms in which the

robbery took place in different countries. They were quick to detect the variation in the forms of exploitation, and the consequences of this on the victims and their society—whether it be India, China, or Ireland.

This led them, too, to make a most careful analysis of these societies which, in their different ways, were under attack from British capitalism.

The meticulous and objective way in which Marx went about this work is a remarkable example to all who would follow in his footsteps.

Anyone who wishes to understand today what is happening in South Africa, Rhodesia, British Guiana, Nigeria or Malaysia will be able to learn from Marx and his methods. General denunciations were of no value to him.

What interested him was what was the form of society before the European incursions? What system of land-ownership prevailed? What was the basis of the economy, of the form of government, of the philosophy, culture, religion and character of the people?

Nothing escaped his attention, for he was anxious to unravel and understand what were, and what would be in the future, the effects, the economic, social and political effects, of the onslaught of British capitalism on the peoples of India, China, Ireland and other countries.

Let us take the example of India. In 1853 Marx wrote a remarkable series of articles on India for the *New York Daily Tribune*.

In these he was not concerned simply to expose the cruelty and avarice of the British capitalist class—much as he hated and detested what he termed this "swinish rule".

THE FORMS

What was more to his purpose was to examine the forms of British exploitation of India, the effects of this on Indian society, and the results which were likely to follow from the break-up of the old Indian society. This led him, too, to make a profound analysis of that society itself.

With passion and indignation, Marx described how the British ruling class, in its greed for wealth, had brought about the ruin of India, this "Ireland of the East", as he called it.

"The misery inflicted by the British on Hindustan," he wrote (June 10, 1859), for the *New York Daily Tribune*, "is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindustan had to suffer before."

"... England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindu, and separates Hindustan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history." (*ibid.*)

This profound thought—which has a validity for many aspects of British rule in Africa—Marx supports by a detailed examination of the effects of this rule in India.

Traditionally Indian society, he explains, rested on the Indian village system, which was based on the "domestic union of agricultural and manufacturing pursuits".

Indian agriculture, as in many parts of ancient Asia,

was dependent on artificial irrigation which, in its turn, depended on the "interference of the centralising power of Government".

In Asia, Marx explained, "There have been... generally, from immemorial times, but three departments of Government: that of Finance, or the plunder of the exterior; and, finally, the department of public Works," which was responsible for artificial irrigation.

But the British in India, he pointed out:

"had accepted from their predecessor the department of finance and of war, but they have neglected entirely that of public works. Hence the deterioration of an agriculture which is not capable of being conducted on the British principle of free competition." (*ibid.*)

But this was not the only blow to Indian agriculture. Britain introduced two systems of landholding into India—the Zemindari system, which Marx called a caricature of the English landlord system, and the ryotwari, which he termed a caricature of French peasant proprietorship.

The zemindari was a combination of landlord and tax-gatherer. He kept only one-tenth of the rent he collected from the Indian peasant—the other nine-tenths went to the Government as tax.

FACTS, FIGURES

The ryot was a "curious form of French peasant" who likewise paid heavy taxes to the government. The result in both cases was the heavy robbery of the Indian peasantry.

Writing for the *New York Daily Tribune* on July 19, 1853, Marx noted that at that time "three-fifths of the whole net revenue in India are derived from land". Yet the oppression and neglect of agriculture, he wrote, was not "the final blow dealt to Indian society by the British intruder".

It was only in the nineteenth century, with the development of industrial capitalism, with factory production in Britain, that the decisive wrecking of Indian society took place.

It was, said Marx, the hand-loom and the spinning wheel, which had been "the pivots of the structure of that society". But British manufactures were to "break up the Indian hand-loom and destroy the spinning wheel". England, he said, began with

"driving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindustan, and in the end inundated the very mother country of cottons with cotton".

With devastating facts and figures Marx describes the terrible havoc which this process brought about.

The export of British twist to India, between 1818 and 1836; rose in the proportion of 1 to 5,200. At the same time, the population of Dacca decreased from 150,000 inhabitants to a mere 20,000. In *Capital* (Vol. I, Ch. xv, section 5), Marx quotes an 1834-35 report of the Governor-General, in which this official, explaining the terrible effect of the invasion of British textiles into India, comments:

"The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of cotton-weavers are bleaching the plains of India,"

(Continued on page 6)

SOCIALISM — THE WAY FORWARD

THE victories won by the African peoples against Imperialism, the collapse of the Colonial system in Africa and the emergence of newly-independent states, were due to the unity that the African leaders forged in the course of the liberation struggle.

To maintain these victories the most important weapon is national unity of all sections of the people, joining forces together against imperialist and Neo-Colonialist intrigues, and to develop to the full the forces which have been released by the achievement of National Independence.

What the newly-independent States of Africa need to strengthen their Independence is large-scale agricultural and industrial developments. But to be able to do that they must have the means; they must have sufficient economic and financial resources as well as the technical know-how.

Practically all independent African states suffer from many weakness shortages of capital, not enough trained personnel, low productivity and lack of proper knowledge of their mineral and natural resources.

But the African continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and agricultural primary products. Experts estimate that the Congo Basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world.

We have the resources but Colonialism prevented us from accumulating the

capital and we ourselves have failed to make full use of our resources for the most effective Economic and Social development.

African leaders have a task to perform—a gigantic task of mobilising the people to take part in the revolutionary struggle against Imperialism and neo-colonialism and to embark upon bold and imaginative projects of surveying and tapping Africa's mineral resources, large-scale industrial construction and electrification, the training of skilled personnel to manage different branches of the economy, mechanising agriculture and modernising transport and communications.

Under what social system

By Count Asan

can this gigantic and revolutionary task be carried out? Capitalism has failed to satisfy even the elementary needs of the people of Africa.

Socialism on the other hand has already solved many economic and social problems. Socialism has brought prosperity with social justice, higher living standards and the abolition of exploitation of man by man and the class struggle suffered under Western

Capitalism. It has achieved miracles in the fields of science and technology.

Under Socialism the means of production—the land, industry, banks, transport and the means of communication are made the property of the people as a whole.

By abolishing the private ownership of the means of production a fatal blow is struck at the roots of the system of exploitation of man by man; ending the age old oppression of economic exploitation and political righteousness suffered by the people.

Socialism is a system of planned economy. It is beyond doubt the system of tomorrow, the forerunner of the future African Society—A society free from the economic strangle holds of Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism.

Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana has set itself a task of building Socialism and of destroying the remnants of colonialism.

Ghana's seven-Year Development plan launched by Kwame Nkrumah in 1964, is designed to speed

up the Socialist transformation of our economy through rapid industrialisation of our agriculture.

Already we have made considerable progress in this direction. The Volta River Dam is generating electricity for our industries and homes. We have built a first-class network of roads, ports and communications. New factories are growing up all around the country, especially at Tema, and "made-in-Ghana" goods are coming on to the market.

We have expanded our people to man important schools, colleges and universities to train our young people to man important positions in our national life.

Hospitals, clinics and health centres are being

increased to cater for the health needs of the people.

Ghana's progress should serve as a shining example for other African countries to follow. She advocates the Unity of Africa not in the interests of the Imperialists but in the interests of Africans being the masters of their resources and developing them for their own benefit.

Ghana stands firmly behind Kwame Nkrumah in his efforts to secure the formation of a Continental Union Government of Africa in the next O.A.U. summit in Accra. This will be the next stage of our struggle to provide a secure political framework within which we can improve the living conditions of our people.

Marx and Colonialism

Continued from page 5

He takes up this theme, too, in an article he wrote for the *New York Daily Tribune* on December 3 1859, in which he contrasts the position of Britain in India with that in China. In the former, he says, the British, "as the supreme landlords of the country, had it in their power to undermine, and thus forcibly convert part of the Hindus self-sustaining communities into mere farms, producing opium, cotton, indigo, hemp, and other raw materials, in exchange for British stuffs".

But in China "the English have not yet wielded this power, nor

are they likely ever to do so."

One cannot read Marx's writings on the birth of capitalism, on the primitive accumulation of capital, on the operation of this system overseas in India or China, without sensing his intense loathing and hatred for the rottenness of capitalism. He understood that bad as it was in its homeland, it was still worse in the colonies.

In a critique of Dutch colonialism he said it showed "what the bourgeoisie makes of itself and of the labourer, wherever it can, without restraint, model the world after its own image". (*Capital*, Vol. 1, Ch. 31)

"At home," he wrote, "the profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilisation... assumes respectable forms", whereas in the colonies, it "goes naked".

Striking as the contrast was when Marx wrote, it is still more so today, in the declining years of imperialism, when the more "respectable forms" of British parliamentary politics have to be seen against the grim reality of the massacres and tortures in the Congo and Vietnam, in which British capitalism is so deeply involved.

But Marx was not concerned solely to denounce capitalism, or to chart the course of capitalist robbery and exploitation. His main purpose was to contribute to its overthrow.

For that reason, he was concerned to examine the results of the British colonial system from the standpoint of the future of the revolution.

It was a merit of his greatness that he saw the process as a whole—that he was able to trace out and project the path to revolution in Europe and in Asia as a related process.

Notwithstanding the terrible havoc which British capitalism brought to India and China, Marx understood the revolutionary significance of the changes which were being brought about by capitalism's destruction of the old, traditional, closed village system of Asia.

Passionate supporter, as he was of China's struggle against Britain in the Opium wars, he recognised that this "giant empire" was "vegetating in the teeth of time, insulated by the forced exclusion of general intercourse". (*New York Daily Tribune*: September 20, 1858.) "Complete isolation," he wrote (*New York Daily Tribune*) on June 14, 1853, in an article significantly entitled "Revolution in China and in Europe",

"was the prime condition of the preservation of Old China. That isolation having come to a violent end by the medium of England, dissolution must follow as surely as that of any mummy carefully preserved in a hermetically sealed coffin, whenever it is brought into contact with the open air."

It is interesting to trace here how Marx, increasingly from about 1850 onwards, turned his attention to the development of capitalism as a world phenomenon, and the significance of this

for the prospects of the socialist revolution.

It was in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (January 31, 1850) writing on China that he commented that

"the sales of calico of the English bourgeoisie have in eight years brought the oldest and most imperturbable empire on earth to the threshold of a social upheaval, one that will in any case hold most significant consequences for civilisation".

And he then added his famous prophecy that the reactionaries of Europe, in flight from the advancing peoples, and seeking refuge in China, that "stronghold of arch-reaction and arch-conservatism", might find inscribed on the Great Wall of China the inscription: "REPUBLIC OF CHINA — LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY".

In an article in the *New York Daily Tribune* of June 5, 1857, he wrote:

"One thing is certain, that the death-hour of Old China is rapidly drawing nigh... before many years pass away we shall have to witness the death struggles of the oldest empire in the world, and the opening day of a new era for all Asia."

In India, too, Marx saw that notwithstanding the terrible havoc caused to that ancient society and to its people, the inevitable outcome would be an advance of the revolution. He understood that the Indian village communities:

"inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies."

(*The British Rule in India*: *New York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853.)

This "stagnatory, undignified and vegetative life" had to go. And it was to be the rule of British capitalism (and later imperialism) in India which was to be, in Marx's words, "the unconscious tool of history". British rule broke up the old "vegetative life", but in so doing it laid the basis for social change.

In order to develop India as a market for British goods, it would, Marx saw, be necessary to ensure "the transformation of India into a reproductive country", producing raw materials in exchange for the imported manufactured goods, which

in its turn required the development of railways, roads and irrigation.

But this, he stressed, would mean the development of other branches of industry. The total effect, he said, would be the dissolution of "the hereditary divisions of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power".

Marx, however, never saw Britain's role in India and China as a consciously progressive one, which would bring about the revolutionary changes in those countries. England, he said, "was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them". (*New York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853.)

She was only an "unconscious tool" in laying the basis for change.

The British ruling class, he said, had only an accidental and transitory interest in the progress of India. "The aristocracy wanted to conquer it, the moneyocracy to plunder it, and the millocracy to undersell it". (*Future Results of British Rule in India*, *New York Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1853.)

"All the English bourgeoisie may be forced to do," he wrote, "will neither emancipate nor materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people." (*ibid*)

For that to come about, he said, there must be not only the development of the productive powers, but also their taking over by the people. The British bourgeoisie would only "lay down the material premises for both".

But, he declares: "has the bourgeoisie ever done more? Has it ever effected a progress without dragging individuals and peoples through blood and dirt, through misery and degradation?" (*ibid*).

And he draws the conclusion that

"The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether." (*ibid*).

We want fair price for cocoa

Continued from page 3

In this connection, I want to issue a warning. If we are to force up the price of cocoa, we must make sure that no cocoa beans are smuggled out of Ghana. Every ton lost in this way depresses the world market. A farmer who smuggles cocoa is robbing his fellow farmers just as much as if he stole their farm or their crops. The Government will take the strongest possible measures to stop smuggling and anyone who attempts it will face the severest penalties of the law.

The failure of the developed countries of the world to carry out the promises made at Geneva in 1964 must warn us against placing too much hope in international agreements of any sort. The manufacturers' failure to redeem their promise of a price of £200 to £250 a ton until at least

1971 must make us careful as to what further international promises we accept.

We must have our own plan ready in case international agreement is not achieved or is delayed. Last year we tried with other producing countries through the Cocoa Producers Alliance to secure a fair price for our cocoa. We failed, but we have learned lessons from our failure.

Despite the fact that this particular effort at co-operation was not a success, we must not lose faith in co-operation between the producing countries or lose sight of the value of solidarity between African producers.

It may seem to you a far cry for me to link the question of a fair cocoa price to the issue of African Unity. In fact, the two are closely related. If we had an all-African political front in

our economic relations with the outside, we would be able to secure for the farmers of Africa as a whole fair earnings for their primary commodities.

It is because African Unity and such every day issues as farmers' earnings are so inter-related that I believe the logic of African Unity will be borne home to the masses of the African people.

You remember I began this address by explaining to you that the root cause of the present low cocoa price was the existence of a surplus estimated at 152,000 tons of cocoa beans over and above what the world is carrying as normal stocks or consuming today.

In Latin America, where cocoa originated, cocoa is consumed in quite large quantities by the people of the countries which produce it. If those countries in Africa which today produce cocoa consumed as much chocolate per head as do the producing countries of Latin America, we could ourselves eat and drink up the present world surplus of cocoa.

We are only in our present difficult position because, owing to our disunity, we cannot organise the manufacture and consumption of what we ourselves produce. This is one of the prices we pay for our failure to unite.

We are the greatest cocoa producing nation in the world. Our cocoa farmers understand the political issues involved. Between them and the Government an atmosphere of trust has been built up. These are tremendous assets. If we are forced to fight alone for a fair cocoa price we will, and there will be victory for us.

Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

Compared with the sums which Ghana and the other developing countries have lost as a result of these unfair terms of trade, the sums which the capitalist countries have been offering in their much-publicised "Aid Programmes" are mere pittance. What the developing countries want is not aid but fair trade.

The Socialist countries, as Kwame Nkrumah noted in his address, have in recent years greatly increased their purchases of cocoa. They have concluded long-term agreements at fixed prices—prices, be it noted, far above the present world price.

What is now needed is action along the lines proposed by Kwame Nkrumah to break the grip of the cocoa monopolists on the world market to ensure fair prices from all.

STOP PRESS

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

Subscription and circulation enquiries to:

Circulation Manager,

Spark Publications,

P.O. Box M. 171;

ACCRA.