EDITORIAL

STANLEY

prepared to tolerate the naked open aggression of American, Belgian and British imperialism in the heart of the African Continent? How long will the world stand by while Congolese women are shot before the eyes of their little children? How long do we contemplate, passive and inactive, while Congolese patriots are tortured and murdered by hired assassins of imperialism? How is it possible in the present day and age for a man to be hauled head first, stretched like a beast, up the gangway of a plane by two soldiers while men photograph the scene and airport personnel look on? Why does not the conscience of the world shriek aloud at such horrors being perpetrated?

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No.

Nobody should shrung this off.

If ever any proof were needed of the viciousness and corruption of imperialism the Congo certainly provides it. For all their talk about a new world, about a world free from fear, about the western way of life and about democracy, the capitalist powers are determined to hang on by any means fair or foul to the sources of Congo's tremendous natural wealth.

We are not surprised that one of President Johnson's first acts on his reelection is to authorise the sending of American transport planes to take Belgian paratroopers into Stanleyville. His 'missionary' spy receives the punishment he deserves and his masters immediately bare their teeth and retaliate. The British Government allows Ascension Island to be used as a base for the take off. It is unfortunate that the new Labour Government in Britain has connived at this crime.

Decent people will turn in revulsion from this horrific alliance of Belgian imperialism, notorious throughout the world for its filthy record in Africa, U.S. imperialism already fighting its dirty war in South Vietnam, using the concenfration camp and chemical warfare methods against defenceless people, despicable characters in the Congo betraying their own people for money and tha power.

HOW long is the world trailing meekly behind their American masters providing the means of treachery, and the hired mercenaries, the ex-Nazis, wearing their Iron Crosses donated by Hitler's armies. the South African gangsters tasting flesh blood in another country and the racists of the Rhodesians limbering up for murderous activities against the people of Zimbabwe.

> What sort of a world is it in which these dreas of violence, racialism and plunder can be passed off as representing anything that could benefit the Congolese people?

This latest act of aggres-

sion is not only the concern of the Congo. The Congo aggression threatens the whole of Africa. Can we stand by while in the very heart of the Continent, this enormous country is systematically suppressed and plundered? Can we envisage a situation where in the heart of the continent there will be a base for open military imperialist aggression, do we not see the terrible dangers such a presence will bring to all African states? It is like ulcer threatening to poison and destroy all the newly won political health of the African continent.

The Congo aggression is not a danger to Africa only, it is a military operation in which world imperialism is already involved and which can easily turn out to be the cause of direct confrontation between imperialist and antiimperialist forces on a world_scale. The Congo can easily ignite a third world war.

The Congo aggression constitutes a deep crisis for the United Nations. By their unwillingness to expose American imperialism in the United Nations, the voting fodder of the United States has exposed the world to terrible danger. and it has betrayed the people of the Congo.

At present the United States is trying to deprive the Soviet Union of voting rights because she has refused to pay towards the United Nations operations in the Congo. Events now show how right the Soviet Government was. Now is the time to force the Uni-

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TRADE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GHANA

TRADE (foreign and domestic) is a key element in Ghana's strategy of development. Hence trade—its policies and its organisation—constitutes a major front in the war against neo-colonialism. We cannot hope to pilot the 7-Year Development Plan to success if we lose the battle in the field of trade. And imperialism is fully aware that it must make a last ditch stand on trade. Imperialism has lost ground on the political front where its efforts are now confined to spasmodic attempts at assassination and coup d'etat. But it is concentrating its efforts on the economic front where it still hopes to exploit its entrenched positions. We must see the economic struggle as the decisive element in our advance to socialism and all-round development.

The two important sectors of our national commer- This however is a long-term cial life are foreign trade and domestic trade. The two are organically linked because policies pursued in one sphere generate consequences in the other. However, it is useful to consider these spheres in turn.

ing economies, Ghana's foreign trade is a major source for raising the vast sums of money needed to support industrialisation and the mondernisation of agriculture. The other sources are the nation's reserves, foreign assistance, domestic mobilisation of resources and increased fiduciary issue. However, if economic development is to proceed within the context of complete independence, over-dependence on foreign assistance is clearly dangerous. And fiduciary issue brings severe financial problems in its wake-financial and currency problems that could upset stable economic growth.

SOURCES OF RESOURCES

The three most fruitful sources of the much-needed resources for financial economic development given our economic circumstances, could be set down in order of importance as follows:—

1. foreign trade, 2. domestic mobilisation. 3. nation's reserves.

The paramount importance of foreign trade in this exercise is further brought out by two. facts. In the first place, our reserves (which at the end of 1963 stood at £2 million gold and £33.5 million foreign exchange) could not be further depleted because we need to finance our overseas purchases as well as provide backing for our currency. Again, though there is still room for more mobilisation of domestic resources (e.g. tax on spending, keeping down prices and draining off the unspent margins of personal income, tax relief on investments, etc.) it should be realised that there is an early limit to how far policy can go in this direction in a developing economy.

Ghana's foreign trade in the past few years has not played as positive a role as our circumstances demand. We need

As is the case in all develop- a favourable balance of payments that will permit a good part of our development projects to be financed out of foreign trade surplus. In 1963, Ghana's exports were worth £108.8 million while the imports valued £130.3 million, giving a trade deficit of £21.5m This trade deficit has been a feature of our foreign trade since 1956 and reached its highest volume (£27.6m) in

> This difficult situation has not been created by wrong policies at home as some detractors of our revolution try to make out. A primary cause of this situation is the slump in world commodity prices.

Furthermore, we have to import industrial equipment and raw materials. Our imports have not gone up simply because we are here bound on consumption. Rather, our imports of capital goods and industrial raw materials have had to go up because we are bent on modernising our economy in order to raise employment and living standards.

The break-down of imports in the past three years brings out this point of greater emphasis on capital equipment and industrial raw materials.

1961 1962 1963

Consumer goods £70.5m. £55.8m. £51.3m. Capital goods and Industrial

raw materials including £72.1m. £60.7m. £78.9m. fuel etc.

The alternative to this would be rising unemployment, economic stagnation and general discontent—a negation of our peoples' expectation of the

fruits of independence. Now, for Ghana's foreign trade to play this leading role as a primary accumulator of investment capital, this adverse balance of trade must be converted into a favourable trade balance. Theoretically, it could be done by boosting exports.

solution which falling world prices for agricultural commodities make more difficult of attainment. In 1963, Ghana exported some 420,000 tons of cocoa but earned roughly as much as she did on 300,000 tons of cocoa exported in

BY =JULIUS SAGO

The only sure solution to the foreign trade problem is a cut-down on imports. And this clamp down on imports must be seen as a permanent feature of our economy. We have to live with it for some considerable time.

A cut down on imports could be achieved in one or both of two ways. First, the volume of imports could be reduced, the non-essentials suffereing most. Secondly, the same volume could be imported but at lower prices. And the lower prices will be achieved either by seeking new and cheaper markets, or by rationalising the process of buying on the traditional markets.

IMPORTS CUT DOWN

The Party and Government have decided to employ both methods. The physical volume of imports is being cut down. Non-essentials suffer most. The margin to be met by domestic production. In addition, imports must come from the newer and cheaper markets of Eastern Europe, Asia and

parts of Western Europe. The licensing system for imports into this country has been devised with this dual purpose in view. The evasion of the licence system or its improper functioning due to maladministration, therefore, constitutes a severe blow at the entire development plan of the

nation. The administration of the licence system is beset by three main problems. In the first the efficiency of the system. This must be traced ultimately to the officials of the Ministry

of Trade. Secondly, there is improper phasing of imports. The need is for a steady flow of imports, not periods of shortage alternating with periods of surplus.

THE THIRD PROBLEM

The second problem-fits and starts in the flow of imports—owes much to a third rodiem which is the structure of our foreign trade organisation. Only one fifth of our imports come in through the state trading agency (G.N.T.C.). This means that 80 per cent of our imports are handled by private (mostly foreign) firms. With such a state of affairs, it is difficult to effect a smooth flow of imports especially where the private foreign firms possess much more of the technical know-how of foreign trade than the Ministry officials. As a result, our import trade policy meets with stiff institutional resistances; and our Ministry, young in this field, finds itself at a loss to deal with such resistances. (Some of the weaknesses of the Ministry must of course be traced to corruption. lack of ideological orientation, and a lingering sympathy for capitalism on the part of some highly placed functiona-

Given our socialist goal, the final solution to the foreign trade problem is a state monopoly of import trade.

The exact organisational form for this is open to argument and exchange of views. Some might desire a state trading agency. However, a new

place, shady deals undermine Ministry of Foreign Trade seems the best. Such an arrangement will vest state monopoly of foreign trade in a single institution which is very sensitive to government policies because it is headed by a Minister. Further, it will gradually rally an army of experts on foreign trade and would serve to push Ghana's exports from state-owned enterprises when these, as we confidently expect, go into full production.

> It is nonetheless proper to point out that this Ministry of Foreign Trade should leave the importation of products which are new materials for industries to the enterprises concerned. Such industrial products should be covered by permits issued by the Ministry of Industries. The Ministry of Foreign Trade, guided by the permits issued by the Ministry of Industries, would still decide on the volume and origin of such imports. But the phasing of the imports will have to be left to the enterprises concerned in order not to interfere with the stocks-holding policies of these enterprises.

The corollary of this suggested re-organisation of import trade is the state control of wholesale trade here at home. In order to avoid unnecessary multiplications of links (hence cost) in the chain of trade, the Ministry of Foreign Trade should handle wholesale trade. At ports of entry, it will sell bulk to all the big trading concerns in the country—G.N.T.C. and all private companies. The G.N.T.C. and all existing private firms in the retail trade will then be restricted to retail

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NO COMMENT

as I do now, that the Univer- have accordingly. sity authorities, in discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to them, will not tolerate any attempt by any student or group of students to sit in judgment on their teachers or to denounce them. Any student who should be so foolish as to attempt to behave in that way would immediately be the object of strict disciplinary measures. You are here of learning and teaching, these to learn from your teachers, are the qualities of a real, of not to instruct or correct them and I am sure the great majority of you — I hope all of you — will have the good

It is my duty to inform you, sense to realise that and be-

Dr. C. C. O'Brien 11/11/64

Respect for truth; intellectual courage in the pursuit of truth; moral courage in the telling of truth: these are the qualities essential to the life a living University.

Dr. C. C. O'Brien 18/3/64

Without Science Socialism Void (Speech delivered by Kwame Nkrumah at the Laying of the

Foundation Stone of Ghana's Atomic Reactor Centre at Kwabenya — 25th November, 1964.)

WE are gathered here this afternoon to mark the beginning of Ghana's Atomic Reactor Centre. This Centre, when completed will enable Ghana to participate in the developments now taking place in Atomic Science. In this way, we shall pate in the developments now taking place in Atomic Science. In this way, we shall and danger of our nuclear pre-be equipped with the greater scientific knowledge and the means to give richer dicament, and their own service to our people and to Africa.

Nearly three years ago, we decided to build an Atomic Reactor in Ghana. We were fully aware then that our motives might be misconstrued, for the setting up of an atom reactor is the first practical step to the building of an atom bomb. We have always stood for the use of fissionable material exclusively for peaceful ends. We have consistently stood against the unnecestary proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and with equal consistency for the abolition of such weapons.

the decision to build the Centre which you now see Ghana to take every advantage of the decisive methods of research and development which mark our modern world. It is essential to do this if we are to impart to our development that acceleration which void. is required to break even with more advanced economies. We have therefore been compelled to enter the field of atomic energy, because this already promises to yield the greatest economic source of power since the beginning of man. Our success in this field will enable us to solve the manyin all the spheres of our development in Ghana and in

We know that doubts have been expressed concerning the wisdom and practicability of our decision. Many important ledge and training. but inconclusive reasons have been advanced to persuade us the second stage of the project. to abandon this project. But we were not persuaded.

Let me say that, in the age of science and technology, in this age of atomic revolution, neither Ghana nor Africa can afford to lag behind other nations, or to ignore the scientific developments of our time. Indeed, we start with certain definite advantages over many nations which have ancillary buildings which such preceded us in the scientific revolution.

THE FLEA -

Allow me to remind you of metaphysical problem about the flea. You know that some people have wondered, with some concern, whether, assuming that there is a flea on our back, there is on the back of that flea a minor flea, and upon the back of the minor flea yet another mini minor flea and so on, ad infihitum. A similar problem was expressed in the history of science about matter.

We, however, have not had to prove for ourselves that the atom can be split. We have not had to discover that steam can produce energy or that water power can be used for the generation of electricity.

Indeed, we begin where many ended. We make our start from the great body of scientific and technological attainment which is the commonheritage of mankind. Beginning so loftily as we do, there is no reason for us to be timid in joining the forward march the Agency visited Ghana, and of knowledge.

We have a second reason. In the field of atomic research, it is known that the development of the peaceful uses of asprofound transformation in the life of mankind. A socialist society more than any other needs to bring about such profound changes in Srder to produce plenty for all. We in Chana, are commit-

Our sole motive in reaching ted to the building of an industrialised socialist society. We cannot afford to sit still nising before you, is to enable and be mere passive onlookers. We must ourselves take part in the pursuit of scientific and technological research as a means of providing the basis for our socialist society. Socialism without science is

SECOND STAGE

Already the residential site, where the many Ghanaian scientists and engineers who will be engaged in this project will live, has been completed. These young men and women, sided problems which face us who have received their specialised training in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, will provide the basis for our corps of skilled specialists in nuclear science. We are sending more Ghanaians abroad to acquire this specialist know-

We have now embarked on This will include the construction of the reactor itself and the construction of a monitoring station to ensure that no harmful radioactive substances are released or disseminated. Radio-chemical laboratories are to be built where the elaborate procedures for processing radioactive substances will be carried out. There will also be the many other a project calls for.

By 1966 the reactor itself should be in operation, and the Research | Centre will have started on the extensive programme of research for which all these elaborate and intricate preparations are being

Every stage of this complicated preparatory work has been carried through with the aid of specialists and scientists provided by the Government of the Soviet Union. At all stages there has been the closest and most friendly cooperation between Ghana and the Soviet Union. The friendly relations between our two countries have been stren gthened by the success of this common endeavour.

OUR VISION

In 1961 I caused the Ghana Atomic Energy Commission to be established to guide and direct this enterprise. Our Atomic Energy Commission now operates in close relationship with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Only recently the Director and the Deputy Director of commented favourably on the breadth of vision of our plans.

We believe that the amount of energy which can be generated in Ghana, can play a decisive role in the developatomic energy can bring about ment of our industry, agriculture, health and other services. Certainly, the foundations for the effective and rapid industrialisation of our country must rest on the provision of cheap and abundant power.

This is why we have placed

our faith in the Volta River Project which, perhaps, might never have been started without the personal interest of the late President Kennedy and the assistance of the United States Government. Without the friendly relations between Ghana and the United States of America, this project would

not have been possible.

As I speak, the Volta Lake has risen two-hundred-and-sixty feet, and the sixty feet expected that power can be generated at Akosombo by the end of 1965. The biggest consumer of this power will be the Aluminium Smelter which is to be established by the Volta Aluminium Company

at Tema. I am glad to announce that the ground-breaking ceremony to mark the beginning of work on this smelter, for which we have also received assistance from the United States Government, will take place in ten days time, on Saturday, 5th December.

I have also recently directed the Ghana Atomic Energy Commission to investigate and expand research on the possibilities of solar energy, which is already going on at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology. It is estimated that even one-tenth of the solar energy falling on the earth's surface would be enough to produce an amount of energy several times the amount generated at present. In Africa we have no lack of sunlight, and the development of solar energy should, in fact, be one of our main scientific preoccupation.

GOOD AND BAD ENDS

Science can be applied for good ends, for the betterment of the human race, or for bad ends, for the making of weapons of destruction. In no field of science is the contrast between these two aspects so great as it is in atomic energy. The hydrogen bomb, that instrument of mass destruction which we all fear and dread so much, is based on the same source of power. Scientists hope that, in the very near future, thermo-nuclear reaction will release unlimited resources of power for indus-

If the world can survive the threat of annihilation posed by the hydrogen bomb, and other agents of mass destruction. then the peaceful application of thermo-nuclear energy, which is at present predominantly turned to warlike purposes, will bring about an unprecedented release of the human race from drudgery and fear, starvation and poverty, which is now the lot

of so many. It is in this important field that the peaceful uses of nuclear energy can play such a major role. The greatest happiness of the greatest number is only possible by the purposeful application science to peaceful ends.

One of the most urgent tasks before us, therefore, is to secure world-wide, total and complete disarmament and the banning of all nuclear devices of mass destruction. This process is rapidly becoming more urgent and more difficult as the number of nations which have access to these weapons increases. That is why we support wholeheartedly the efforts by the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to make Africa a Nu-

clear Free Zone.

Scientists the world over have recognised the urgency special responsibility and involment in it.

The scientist is a social being and cannot effect an idealistic unconcern for the destiny of mankind. The scientist can, by his specialised knowledge, affect our whole fate. He must, for this reason, accept a proportionate obliga-tion in public affairs. Many issues can be resolved only on the basis of scientific and technical knowledge. For this, the public and the government turn to the scientist for advice. It is the scientist's duty to serve them well, conscientiously and scrupulously, without regard for personal ambition, or the natural wish to say what is pleasant to hear.

NEW AND HAPPY FUTURE

The scientist must also explain to us the consequences our acceptance of his advice. He cannot accept credit for the great advances in medicine, agriculture and industry, and at the same time disclaim responsibility for the consequences of weapons of mass destruction. Here the scientists have an obligation to make the governments and people of the world fully aware of the dangers facing them, and to give sober and disinterested advice.

We must unite in our fight for peace and complete disarmament. People of all nations must bend every effort towards the development of and technology which would herald a new and happy future for mankind. We in Ghana propose to set a forceful example by restricting our efforts in the field of atomic research to exclusively peaceful uses. To advance science in the service of man, is to advance socialism; to advance socialism, is to abolish imperialism in all its forms and

manifestations. The Ghana Atomic Energy Programme is destined for peaceful purposes. Ghana was one of the first countries to sign the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in Moscow. Incomplete though the provisions of that Treaty are, we intend to abide by its terms. Neither this Reactor, therefore, nor the Laboratories attached to it, nor indeed any other Nuclear facilities in Ghana, will be directed to the development of

devices for war. This reactor is designed for experimental work in the field of nuclear and atomic physics, including the study of the properties of materials and how they are affected by radiations and radio-chemistry. It will serve as a focal point for scientists and research workers from the various institutes of the Ghana Academy of Sciences, from our Universities and from government laboratories all over the country. Here they will be provided with facilities for investigations involving nuclear techniques in biology, agriculture, medicine, physics and chemistry. It will be a centre for the training of Ghanaian scientists in nuclear science and technology.

A heterogenous nuclear research reactor, as well as an up-to-date radio-chemical laboratory and the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy in Ghana will be centered around the Nuclear Research Institute to be established here.

A Radio-Isotope Centre is assisting five agricultural centres of the Ghana Academy of Sciences and the University of demand, we must apply the



Kwame Nkrumah—"To advance science is to advance socialism ...; to advance socialism is to abolish imperialism

Ghana in the application of latest scientific techniques. We, radio-isotope techniques in especially our young men and the study of plant protection from weeds and insect pests, and the uptake of fertilisers by plants under local condi-

Among other uses of nuclear power, it is hoped to develop peaceful uses of nuclear explosives for excavation, mining and recovery of gas and oil. The Atomic Reactor Centre will provide experimental channels for the enough Ghanaian scientists study of radiation genetics. and Ghanaian technicians of Through these researches it all kinds for the work we have will become possible to find a on hand. Even the finest way of inducing genetic chan- laboratory, the best equipment ges in plants and animals to or, indeed, the best reactor, provide better crops and better meat.

In point of fact, we are not entirely newcomers to this field of endeavour. For some time now the Ghana Academy of Sciences has been pursuing a programme of research work in which radio-active materials have been applied () many problems in agriculture and in medicine.

During the coming year, e scope of this work will be greatly increased. It will provide the wide range of facilities needed to train many more research workers and technicians for this programme. The International Atomic Energy Agency is sending a mobile radio-isotope laboratory to Ghana early next year to assist in this training programme.

UNION GOVERNMENT

In planning this Centre, we have been painfully aware of our limitations in men and material, and the variety and complexity of the research problems which face Africa as a whole. Until we in Africa come together, and establish a Union Government for all Africa, we shall be forced to tackle our problems in isolation, hampered by our disunity and many disabilities. Progress will be slow, and we shall deny ourselves the advantages of well-integrated and commonly executed plan-

This is another of the many compelling reasons why we in Ghana have made a persistent appeal for the early establishment of a Continental

The basis of our whole programme of socialist development must be the application of Science and Technology. For the implementation of our Seven-Year Plan, for the success of our agricultural industry, for ensuring increased output in industrial production especially our young men and women, must acquire and master these new techniques.

We are already making every effort to raise both the number and the quality of the scientists who come from our Universities and to raise the standards of the science teaching in the schools. We have made some progress in this field. Much more remains to be done. There are not nearly will not produce scientific work of their own accord.

URGENT NEED

Only men and women can do that, and only after long and highly specialised training in scientific techniques. Hence we need to press on with the greatest urgency the scientific and technological training of young Ghanaians. Every boy or girl who shows talent in this direction must be encouraged and helped, because such talent is especially precious to us and we must foster and guard it. Our Universities, the various Institutes of the Ghana Academy of Sciences, the University College of Science Education in Cape Coast, our newly esta-blished Medical School and the proposed University College of Agriculture, will help in providing this training.

We need also to reach out to the mass of the people who have not had the opportunities of formal education. We must use every means of mass communication—the press, the radio; television and films —to carry science to the whole population—to the people.

Last year, as part of the Academy anniversary celebrations, there was a science exhibition in Accra. This year there has been another one in Kumasi. Similar exhibitions have been held in our Universities in Kumasi and Accra. The enthusiastic response to these exhibitions and the eager way in which our young men and women studied the exhi-

bits was most encouraging. The projected National Scinion Government of Africa. ence Museum, when completed, next year, will provide this kind of exhibition in a permanent form. This is a major project which will play a great part in exciting public interest in science and conveying in a direct and vivid way the impact of science on every-

 ⟨av life. "It is most important that

our people should not only be instructed in science but that they should take part in it, apply it themselves in their own ways. For science is not just a subject to be learned out of a book or from a teacher. It is a way of life, a way of tackling any problem which one can only master by using it for oneself. We must have science clubs all over the country in which our people can develop their own talents for discovery and invention.

I expect the Ghana Academy of Sciences to play a leading role in all this. To that end. I have asked the Academy to prepare a first sevenyear national programme for the promotion of science in Ghana. This plan, which is ady for implementation, will ensure that within the next seven years, science becomes part and parcel of the life of

people. In order to provide the necessary physical facilities, and also to make for the maximum co-ordination of effort, I am contemplating the creation of a special scientific community where scientists of the Academy from different fields will live and work.

SCIENTIFIC CITY

The scheme will enable the scientists to share common facilities, and also increase personal communication between scientists working on related problems. I have pro-posed the name "Science City" for this community. It will have a main central building to be known as the "Palace of Science", containing a and other facilities.

The Science City will accommodate a number of special research institutes and will be a centre where the Academy will undertake pilot industries based on its discoveries, so that when the Academy recommends the setting up of any full scale industry, it will be in a position not. only to give expert advice on the type of indústrial plants to be established, but to make the necessary economic appraisal of the proposed indus-

One of the most important projects planned for the Science City is a National Bureau of Standards where the testing of the quality of both imported and locally manufactured products will be undertaken to ensure that they conform to acceptable standards.

The Ghana Academy of Sciences should not be just a body of learned men elected for their distinction and eminence. It should be a part of our national life, serving the people of Ghana and Africa, working with them and helping to bring science and scientists into the closest possible relationship with their

It is only through this practical union of theory and action that the life of man can attain the highest material, cultural, moral and spiritual fulfilment in the service of his. fellow men. This ultimately is the only justification for the pursuit of knowledge and the discoveries of science.

And now, Ladies and Gentles men, let me turn to the historic business before us to-day. I dedicate this Reactor to the progress of true science, to the application of science to the well-being of man, to the enlargement of his spirit and to the promotion of world

I have great pleasure in laying this Foundation Stone of Ghana's Atomic Reactor

COMMENT

Recently Mr. J. H. Mensah, an economist connected with the Planning Commission in Ghana told the Conference of the Ghana Economic Society that in developing countries the only way left to maximise accumulation and to industrialise is through the process of "motivation", which, according to him is "the desire for private profit". He cites the accumulation of capital in 19th century Britain to justify his stand.

It is the view of THE SPARK and the vast majority of the people of Ghana who voted at the recent referendum for socialism that developing countries cannot in a world of monopoly capitalism develop in the same way that Britain and other capitalist countries developed in the 19th century by the slow accumulation of capital in the hands of private capitalist entrepreneurs and the concomitant turning of self-employed farmers into exploited wage-workers owning no means of produc-

In our epoch, and especially in the concrete conditions of Africa, there is no reason why one should dogmatically assert that socialism cannot be built except on the ruins of indigenous capitalism. We agree that capital must be accumulated. Every developing country needs to add as fast as possible to its stock of means of production as a necessary condition for ending poverty. But unless that stock of means of production is under social control there is no guarantee whatever that those means of production will be used to "conquer the poverty" of the mass of the people.

What is really interesting in Mr. Mensah's stand is that having rejected European socialist experience as not sufficiently "African" he draws his model from economic development which is neither African, nor of the 20th century, nor socialist. In fact, he draws on European capitalist experience of an epoch already dead for more than half a century.

Mr. Mensah and some Western economists have started to announce a "sensational discovery"!

They say the News Agency reports that the Soviet Union plans to give the profit motive a bigger role in its economy demonstrates the most striking phenomenon that the socialist ideology is decaying. The U.S. Newsweek Chief Correspondent in Bonn, Robert S. Elagant says "in practice Marxism virtually no longer exists".

The Soviet economist Lev. Leontyev, Associate member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and one of Russia's most influential economists has come out with a statement since "Pravda" threw the subject open for discussion.

He makes it clear that under capitalism, changes in the balance between types of production are dictated solely by consideration of profit and under socialism such changes result from a policy of improving living standards.

In this issue of THE SPARK, Victor Perlo, the renowned American economist, in a special article discusses the subject. He makes it clear that the idea of profits, and of individual and group incentive, is central. Economic fundamentals dictate it. Every society beyond the most primitive produces more than, is needed for survival. Under socialism the surplus—profit is used by the working

people to expand and modernise the productive plant, for national defence, and to provide the communal needs of the population (free health services, education, cultural facilities, subsidised vacations, nominal rent etc.).

SHOULD STATE ENTER-PRISES MAKE PROFIT? by Victor Perlo

TWO years ago Kharkov Professor Y. G. Liberman proposed that profit become the key indicator of factory economic performance in the U.S.S.R. and that incentive premiums to workers, clerical workers, and managers be paid out of a share of the

Liberman examined the problem theoretically and in September, 1922, said: practically, and suggested definite formulas. His proposals were discussed vigorously in the Soviet press, with majority opinion favourable. Experiments were set up to try that at such and such a facthem out.

of application.

FOR WHAT?

A new discussion was started in the Soviet press by Academician V. Trapeznikov (Pravda, 17.8.64). The tone of this and subsequent articles create an impression that this time practical preparations will be made to introduce what Trapeznikov calls "flexible economic direction of enterprises", instead of "administrative direction", with the profit indicator playing a key role.

American commenta tors like Harry Schwartz write of these proposals tendentiously, implying a retreat towards capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Ultraleftists may be expected to take the same tack.

This, however, is not profits for the sake of personal accumulation of wealth. It is profits as a measuring stick to provide more accurate individual rewards for higher and better and cheaper production; as an incentive to adapt supply more to demand, to encourage fuller use of machinery, to introduce new and improved products and techniques.

Along with the profit-based incentives are proposals to rationalise the price system; to improve planning of the main items and interrelationships, while ending central planning of the last nut and bolt, leaving it up to local people to work out details more effi-ciently; to reduce paperwork; to stop basing bonuses on planning indicators which encourage factory managers to

seek "easy" plans.

But the idea of profits, and of individual and group incentive, is central. Economic fundamentals dictate it. Every society beyond the most primitive produces more than is needed for survival.

Under slavery the surplus was appropriated by the slave owners for luxury living and financing armies of conquest. Under capitalism, the capitalists appropriate the surplus for their luxurious living, for financing their armies and bureaucracy, and especially for accumulation of capital to expand and modernise the productive plant. This last part enables capitalism to grow more rapidly than any earlier social form.

Under socialism the surplus is used by the working people to expand and modernise the productive plant, for national defence, and to provide the communal needs of the population (free health services, education, cultural facilities, subsidised vacations, nominal rent etc.).

NO WASTAGE

This part is essentially new under socialism and corresponds to the aim of that socity to constantly raise living

Under capitalism, the capitalists appropriate the surplus for their luxurious living, for financing their armies and bureaucracy, and for accumulation of capital to expand and modernise the productive plant.

Since then, Soviet economists standards. But the most essenand engineers have come to a tial difference from earlier large measure of agreement on societies is that the surplus is the general approach, perfec- appropriated by the pruducers ted key aspects, clarified and themselves, by the workers, sketched solutions to problems farmers, intellectuals, through a government composed of members of these classes.

For the first time the surplus is not appropriated by a special small class of owners and exploiters.

Socialism is able to provide relatively more surplus for capital expansion, because there is no wastage by wealthy capitalists, no gross losses through the anarchy of an unplanned economy.

So socialism grows much more rapidly and steadily than' capitalism, with much more benefit to the population.
Under capitalism the sur-

plus, or the main part of it, is called profits. For a certain period many Soviet economists and political spokesmen evaded discussing it, or used other words, fearing the taint of the capitalist term.

But the name doesn't matter. Now the Soviet economists and leaders speak of profits again, as they did thirty and forty vears ago.

To summarise, the difference between different social systems lies not in the absence or presence of a surplus or profit, but in who owns the means of production, who gets or controls the profits, and it is used.

Slavery and capitalism both have profits, but are radically different systems. Capitalism and socialism both have profits, but are even more radically different.

HASTEN ADVANCE

For Soviet economists to recognise the economic importance of profits and call it by its right name, doesn't make the society capitalistic. In fact they are trying to measure it more accurately and use it as an economic instrument to hasten the advance to the higher stage of communism which will be still more remote from capitalism.

A main theme in the current Soviet economic discussion is that substantial incentive bonuses should be paid according to the collective's or the individual's contribution to profits. Likhachev Auto Factory engineers and economists think such profit-sharing premiums should average 35-40 per cent of total wages (Pravda, 23.8.64).

The commune system in China abandoned incentives, with negative results, U.S. financial publications refer to incentive bonuses as an "abandonment" of the Marxist formula "to each according to his needs".

They ignore the fact that Marx and Engels applied this to the higher stage of Com-munism, which is still far in the future. For the lower stage of Communism-or Socialism —the formula is "to each according to his production". And that stage is still in the

Important components of living are already distributed according to need, but the bulk is distributed according to income; which should be roughly proportional to the individual's

contribution. Profitable production and individual incentives were prominent objectives from the very start of economic reconstruction in the U.S.S.R. Lenin, in one of his last speeches,

"Every issue of our Party newspaper contains half a score of articles showing tory-such and such conditions prevail. Does it produce a profit? Is it paying? We have reached the very core of work-a-day questions, and this is an enormous gain. Socialism is no

longer a matter of the distant future, or an abstract picture, or an icon. We have dragged socialism into everyday life, and here we must be able to keep our

bearings." A year earlier he had said: We must not calculate on a directly communist transition. We must build on the basis of the peasant's personal incentive. We must lism. give every specialist an incentive to become interested in the development of production. And we say that every important branch of national economy must be built on the principle of personal incentive. Collective

responsibility". Capitalist and socialist incentives are as different as profits under the two systems. The capitalist has an incentive to push his workers as hard as possible, and pay them as lit-tle as possible, to make the most profits. The worker has an incentive to maintain the pace, to avoid being fired.

discussion, but individual

Organised workers try to protect themselves against this. to give the capitalist as little as possible. Higher productivity is achieved not because of motivated co-operation among workers, but by employer successes in struggles against workers.

OUT OF DATE

Under socialism it is possible to allocate a portion of the surplus for individual distribution, through an incentive system, in ways harmonising the interests of society and of the individual.

But correct administration and accounting are necessary to realise the possibility. Historically, Soviet incent i ves were mainly of the piece-work variety, but with protection against cuts in base pay as labour efficiency increased. Plant-wide collective incentives were based on the amount by which production exceeded the

These methods were adequate when industry was young and weak, and almost any kind of added production

at any cost was a welcome addition. But they are out of date for the high-level, complex modern Soviet economy. In particular, they prove a handicap in the economic com-

petition with capitalism. Often workers and managers of a given factory can make more by getting a low plan of production, which they can easily overfulfil, than by raising labour productivity and reducing costs, which would lead to more total production and wealth.

Factories, with little incentive to improve efficiency, are in effect competing with capitalist factories under corporate management pressure to show the biggest plant profit.

In socialist factories without good incentive systems lazy workers can soldier on the the job without much financial loss and without fear of unemployment, which they could not afford to do under capita-

NEW CRITERIA

It is a sign of the great overall superiority of socialism that it continues to gain economically despite this out-ofdate feature of economic management.

Today the criterion must be not only how much production? It must also include: At how much cost ?—in material, labour and machine hours. What is the quality of the product? Does anybody want to buy it?

Profits, correctly calculated, answers all these questions in a single combined figure. That is why Soviet economists propose linking all premium payments to profits.

All Soviet advocates of the proposed new planning system, using profits as the main measures of effectiveness in work, and the main source of workers' bonuses, stress that this will not undermine planning.

For the profits to count, the enterprises must turn out the required quantity and quality of goods, in the planned assortment, deliver them on schedule, and keep all contracts with other enterprises.

They also agree that the existing price structure doesn't reflect values accurately, and therefore cannot serve as a basis for calculating profits.

Prominent economist L. Leontiev says that 'correct pricing is the focus' of joining all the threads of planning policy (Pravda, 7.9.64). Prices have to be revised in several ways:

To align producers and consumers goods. Prices of the former were fixed below their real value during the basic industries.

Today this makes it impossible to calculate profits accurately either for basic industries or those using their products. The electronic computing centre of the State Planning Commission has calculated that producers goods prices should be raised on the average by 80 per cent, while leaving consumers goods prices unchanged (Varga & Zakharov, in Problems of Economics, 4.11.63).

To fix prices so as to allow fully for capital required for production. Very low depreciation charges provide Soviet plant managers little incentive to use machines full time and efficiently.

The economists ask that an additional amount be added both to costs and prices, corresponding to the average surplus product deprived from a new capital investment.

This comes close to setting prices according to the Marxian "price of production", a modification of value designed to provide a uniform rate of profit on all capital.

EXTRA PROFIT

The computing centre has calculated the appropriate charge at 20 per cent per year. The enterprise with excessive, little used machinery will find all its profits eaten up by the charge.

But the enterprise which economises on equipment, and operates two shifts, will find that the 20 per cent price allo-wance yields a margin for extra profit to provide more incentive premiums:

for new and improved products, covering research, development and "start-up" costs.

To set substantial price differentials for gradations of equality, and to assesdeliveries etc.

To give more scope to supply and demand and local price-setting. Prices for complex, made-to-order products are now set by negotiation. It is proposed by some to extend this to mass produced items, including setting consumers' goods prices in some of these procedures, and trading organisations. There are obvious dangers

in some of these procedures, well-known from American experience. Drug companies use "research and development" costs as an excuse for getting permanently fantastic prices. U.S. manufacturers and traindustrialisation period to ding corporations combine to

stimulate priority growth of rig prices against the consu-

The first abuse will be inhibited in the Soviet plan by requiring annual price reductions of new products on a prefixed schedule.

The socialist system generally facilitates avoiding the second. Our anti-trust laws are thwarted by capitalist ownership of industry and domination of government.

In the U.S.S.R. public ownership and a working people's government provide a basis for effective controls.

The controls will be necessary, since Soviet people are not angels. But controls are possible, and should minimise

abuses. In any event inequities under planning based on sound economics should be much less than those under the existing administrative controls, with their frequent lack of econo-

mic logic. A number of features of the new planning system have been tried experimentally in several factories over the past two years. Last March it was announced that a price revision to be effective on January 1st, 1965, was underway, moving in the general direction indicated.

MORE DECISIVE

Trapeznikov proposed setting up a group of economists and managers to work out details for the new system of planning and premiums, and for applying the system experimentally to more factories.

But some specialists urge more decisive action. G. Ku-To allow extra high prices more decisive action. G. Ku-lagin, a Leningrad machinery firm director, says that it is about time that the State Planning Commission and the Academy of Sciences get down to work on the job long ago assigned them by the Party. of equality, and to asses- and bring the new system to sing fines for rejects, late realisation (Pravda, 15.9.64).

> Liberman demands, instead of a temporary group of economists, a super-departmental, permanent high-level body charged with working out the details and putting into effect, by stages, legislation providing the new type of planning (Pravda, 20.9.64).

> A cause for impatience may h; that the German Democratic Republic has "stolen a march" on the U.S.S.R. and already during 1964 put into effect a new planning system of this general type.

Also, there would be advantages in passing through the transition to a new system during 1965, so that it would be fully in effect when the new five-year plan begins in 1966.

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Local

Local Capitalists and our Revolution

IN his speech at the recent 2nd Conference of Non-Aligned States, Kwame Nkrumah outlined the reasons for Ghana's choice of Socialism as a way of life. He said inter alia that Ghana accepts Socialism as "the political and economic philosophy which we consider most suitable for our rapid development and advancement."

Productive enterprises and

technical services which we

have seen contribute greatly

to economic development de-

mand heavy initial capital

outlays. In other words, indus-

trial undertakings demand far

greater investments of initial

capital than trade and com-

merce. This is due to the plant

and machinery (and in most

cases in the developing coun-

tries the training of skilled labour) involved. Besides,

such enterprises are generally

only profitable when under-

CAPITAL

factured goods are generally very small compared with the

profits that the average Gha-

naian businessman wishes to

make on his small capital out-

lays in trade. The fact often

escapes would-be entrepre-

neurs that the huge profits

made by capitalists is due,

among other things, to large

turn-overs in mass production.

But mass production means

enterprise on a large scale,

Which presupposes large initial

There is thus a vicious

circle. Large profits cannot be

made, unless large investments

are made. But paucity of capi-

tal is proverbial in the deve-

loping countries of which Ghana is one. The local pri-

vate entrepreneur is therefore,

takes a long time for indus-

trial enterprises to get esta-blished and begin to yield pro-

pursue policies which are

inimical to the fledging of in-

dustries in the developing

countries such as Ghana. I

refer to high tariffs on manu-

factured goods from countries

such as ours. Thus prices of

goods imported from the deve-

loping countries into the

advanced countries must necessarily be very high. A

case in point is the prohibition

of the importation of cotton

Again, foreign countries

outlays of capital.

Because profits on manu-

taken on a large scale.

Thus we see that there are sound economic reasons for our choice of socialism. In fact the economic considerations make this choice imperative since any other choice spells doom as has clearly been illustrated through scientific analysis in these columns. Nevertheless, Ghana's approach to socialism, as under similar circumstances elsewhere, is not the orthodox immediate and all out appropriation of the means of production by the state.

As in China, and in some other Eastern European countries, Ghana has found it necessary to tolerate a private sector in her economy for some time. This sector is nourished by local and foreign capital. In the past, the private sector which virtually constituted the whole economy under total domination of foreign capital, was purely exploitative, engaging in monopolistic trade and the exploitation of raw mate-

There have been marked changes in this respect since the switch-over from capitalism to socialism. Most private investment in Ghana now is engaged in productive enterprises and in essential technical services. This means that there is much greater contribution made by private foreign capital than before.

Besides the contribution to the national product by capital thus engaged, it brings into the country efficient management, "a factor of production of which, especially in the industrial and technical fields. Ghana is particularly short". Moreover, investment in such directions creates opportunities for the development of a local fund of skills and techniques.

PRODUCTIVE **VENTURE**

It is therefore, not surprising that "the main emphasis of Government policy towards handicapped from the start. of colonialism, only it is in a foreign private investment Since capital is so very scarce different form. Local entrepre- the establishment of producunder this plan (the Seven- it is also very dear and in-Year Development Plan) is on terests on loans are extremely furthering the change in the high in countries such as ours. direction of such investment There is also the fact that it in favour of productive ventures and securing a rapid augumentation in its volume." -Ghana Seven-Year Develop-

ment Plan, p.40. While encouraging private investment in the great task of economic development, this change of emphasis in Government policy favours the foreign investor far more than the local "capitalists". This, we must state at once and categorically, is by no means deliberate. It is purely the result of the operation of economic laws as we shall see presently.

goods from India to Britain. Furthermore, there is the well-known fact that goods produced by new undertakings in a developing country are not likely, in the initial stages, to be able to compete favourably with manufactured goods from the developed countries.

For all these reasons productive ventures are not in the second place, coloattractive to the local wouldbe entrepreneur. These in fact, are some of the reasons why capitalism can never sucreed in Ghana and in the other developing countries. Realizing the bleak prospects of productive ventures, would-be capitalists generally turn to irade and commerce, where disadvantages mentioned above do not apply. Requirng no plant, elaborate machinery and skilled man-power, a little capital goes a very long

We may observe here in passing, that the inexorable economics of these facts made ihe colonial capitalists, who came to exploit, concentrate on trade and commerce and the exploitation of raw mateials. They exported the raw naterials in their crude form even timber was exported in huge logs) because the machinery and skill required for their processing were abundantly available in the metropolitan countries.

Now local businessmen who turn to trade and commerce turn to this same kind of venture. And we have seen that this is a characteristic of colonialism. In fact it is perhaps the most predominant economic characteristic of colonialisms Its preservation therefore, is the perpetuation neurs who undertake such ventures are, therefore, helping perpetuate colonialism since their interests coincide with the interests of the capitalists. It is the height of neocolonialism. Just why this is so, we shall see presently...

PURPOSE OF COLONIALISM

As I have written before, the underlying purpose of colonialism is economic domination i.e. exploitation of the resources, material and human, of the colonial territories for the enrichment of the metropolitan countries. The establishment of political power is only a measure to ensure continued exclusive exploitation of the territory concerned.

This is clearly shown in the pages of history. Invariably the first contact between the foreigners and the "natives" is by trade.

The territory is later annexed to prevent other foreigners from trading with the people and to organise the people in a systematic exploitation of their wealth.

It makes no difference, few years of independence are therefore, if when political sufficient testimony for this power has been relinquished, the economic relationship is maintained. In fact if a guarantee could be obtained for such, that would be ideal; because the imperialists would then gain doubly. First they would be releaved of the burden of maintaining peace and order and the right climate for economic activities. Second. the economic advantages which necessitated the burden of governmental control would still be obtained.

The economic reasons for maintaining colonies are two. mah has given us superb roads In the first place colonies are and beautiful offices. Once a the sources of raw materials taxi driver in admiration of which feed the manufacturing the Kanda residential area exindustries in the imperialist countries. Export trade in raw materials therefore, helps to thought black men would live

maintain this colonial system. Besides, since the products are exported in their raw form, their exploitation offers very little employment on the colonial territory. Instead the processing in the metropolitan countries helps to alleviate the chronic unemployment (a feature of capitalism) there. Moreover, the crude product fetches far less than the processed form and so the exporting country again loses while the metropolitan coun-

nies are maintained as the dumping ground for the ma-nufactured goods of the metropolitan countries. Here again, we see that the import trade helps to sustain the old colonial link. Like the exploitation of raw materials the import trade gives very little from the country. In the called the local private sector emloyment in the country.

try gains at both ends.

Besides it helps to drain away any capital that might accumulate in the country.

With the craze for foreign goods, our wealth flows away like a river to irrigate other countries. Our crazy purchase of manufactured goods boosts up production and employment abroad and leads to prosperity there. This leads to intensified exploitation of our resources and still further intensification of foreign manufacturing in a chain reaction.

Thus we see that such trading as is normally carried on by our importers and exporters leads to foreign control of our economies through these unwitting traders.

PARTNERSHIPS

Some local entrepreneurs with greater flair for capitalist ventures tie up with foreign capitalists in unequal and disadvantageous partnerships in tive ventures. By reason of experience, capital and other economic considerations, however, they turn out to be mere tools in the hands of capitalist adventurers. Similarly, others are used as smoke screens behind which foreign capitalists continue to control the economy. They operate businesses which by their labels appear to be indigenous but which are in reality entirely owned by foreigners. There have been several instances of this, even of ministers and men in high places having deals with foreign capitalist adventurers.

What must be made clear to our people is that the apparent prosperity which accom-panied the brisk trade and the abundance of foreign manufactured goods in colonial days was only a mirage. Our real wealth, for the reasons outlined above, flowed out to nourish other countries. What we really got were the crumps falling from the tables of our capitalist exploiters. We merely lived a hand to mouth existence. No capital was accumulated for real economic development.

Our achievements in the contention. In all the decades of colonial rule there was not a tenth of the development we have crammed into seven short years. Guggisberg left us with Takoradi Harbour, Achimota College and Korle Bu Hospital. In seven years, Kwame Nkrumah has given us Tema Harbour, and scores of Achimotas and Korle Bus in our cities and towns in all the regions. The extensions to Korle Bu hospital are far greater than Korle Bu itself.

In seven years Kwame Nkruclaimed: "By God, whoever in buildings like these". He

by OBOTAN AWUKU

buildings compare favourably building our own industries with flats in New York.

This then is the difference. The socialist policy of our Government, unlike colonial policy and capitalist policy which is merely an extension of colonialism, seeks to retain the wealth of the country for the material and spiritual development of the people. If foreign manufactured

goods are in short supply, it is because we seek to check the excessive flight of capital

was rightly amazed; for the meantime we have started to supply us the things we want. A thing that was undreamed of in colonial days.

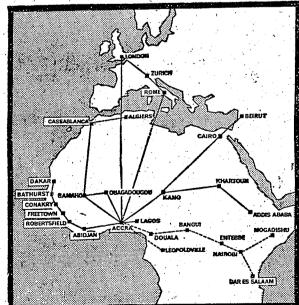
> And it is good to bear in mind that the masses in most of the now developed countries in the initial stages of development never had it so good.

> In the light of the above considerations, there is every reason to give very little encouragement to what may be

and to dissuade our people from undertaking such ventures, as would, in the final analysis, be detrimental to our economic development.

Private foreign investment, we have seen, brings needed capital and managerial and technical skills which we need. Besides since they engage in productive ventures, they contribute very substantially to the fulfilment of our policy of industrialisation, provide employment and, unlike local trading ventures, boost up trade in locally produced commodities. By exchange controls the export of their profits too can be regulated and so the country gains on all counts. In the shortrun, therefore, with such government direction, it is good policy to encourage foreign private investment.





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The Socialist Revolution in Africa (2)

IMPERIALISM

SINCE the ending of the second world war, many new independent states have In giving his work this sub- capitalism was a A WORLD been created out of the struggle of the world-wide movement for national independence. These new countries are to be found all over the world but especially in Africa and Asia. Millions of people have moved from the old political relations of colonialism to a new stage in their history-political independence.

Because of this rapid development which has left behind only a relatively few countries still remaining as colonies there is now a wide-spread campaign to convince the people that imperialism is dead and gone, that it is a thing of the past, one necessary for a variety of reasons but now a phase of history which has been lived through and completed.

economic and social problems are just as acute as they were before this alleged disappearance of imperialism. They see the politicians of these counof the powerful capitalist countries of the world making their states to those powers. Can this be explained? It is inexplicable, indeed, if we accept the false premise that imperialism no longer exists. If we on the other hand see that it is still a powerful world force, that it still dominates the economic fate of millions even though its political relationships with them may be less direct, then much of what is happening in the world will be made clear to

IMPERIALISM

Those who believe imperialism to be dead will find that they struggle to be free of a particular imperialism with only with the main economic which they have had a colo-aspects of imperialism which nial relationship only to fall into the trap of another perialist country with all the wide modern phenomenon. terrible consequences of con- He was unable to deal with tinuing poverty, insecurity and many political and social lack of any real freedom of action either within their own countries or in the arena of world politics. Those who associate imperialism merely with certain political parties and not with the total economic system of capitalism will be the victims of terrible

Those who think imperialism is dead, believe this because they have looked only at the surface appearance of one certain special form which imperialism has taken. Once that form disappears they think the system itself has disappeared; they have not understood the essential basis of imperialism at all.

There have been empires, in the past, the Roman and Holland. In the 17th cenempires for example, but tury traders aimed to buy modern imperialism in the cheap and sell dear. They definition of Kwame Nkrumah in Towards Colonial Freedom is the annexation of one nation or state by another and the application of a superior technological strength by one nation for the subju- Asia, and of course they gation and the economic ex- discovered in Africa an even ploitation of a people or ano- more valuable commodityther nation ...

Kwame Nkrumah, correctly throughout this important work, stresses the economic character of imperialism and quotes two imperialist politicians to support his view. He quotes Jules Ferry speaking in 1885 in the French Chamber of Deputies who said "The nations of Europe desire colonies for the following three purposes (1) in order that they may have access to the raw materials of the colonies (ii) in order to have markets for sale of the manufactured goods of the home country and (iii) as a field for the investment of surplus

The second person quoted is Albert Sarraut, a Colonial

if those who believe this, Secretary for France, "What look at many independent is the use of painting the countries with a certain be- truth? At the start, colonizawilderment we should not be tion was not an act of civilisurprised. They see indepen- sation, was not a desire to dent countries not only in civilise. It was an act of force Africa but in Asia and in motivated by interest. An Latin America too, whose episode in the vital competition which from man to man, from group to group, has gone on ever-increasing; the people who set out for taking and making of colonies in distries dancing still to the tune tant continents are thinking primarily only of themselves and are working only for their important concessions within own power and conquering for their own profit." (This statement has the same quality of candour expressed by Charles Wilson, a recent U.S. Secretary for Defence, who said in another connection "What's good for General Motors is good for America").

> Kwame Nkrumah in defining imperialism quotes from Lenin's famous work Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism—describing the Marxist-Leninist analysis of imperialism as the most penetrating searching and analysis of economic imperia-

> Lenin explained how because of the conditions of censorship operating in Tsarist, Russia, he was able to deal is nevertheless the objective aspects of imperialism because of the conditions prevailing at that time in Tsarist Russia (itself an imperialist power).

> For anyone wishing to understand the essential nature of imperialism these two works, Lenin's Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism and Nkrumah's Towards Colonial Freedom are basic vital reading.

IMPERIALISM AND TRADE

The early origins of modern imperialism lie of course in trade. With the growth of mercantilism, especially in countries such as England ranged throughout the world, which through new exploration rapidly coming up for them, to find precious metals, spices, manufactured articles from the Middle East and slaves.

The line between trade and piracy in the 17th century was very thin indeed and through both piracy and state power, England effectively broke into the Spanish monopoly of South American trade in slaves and precious metals. Lenin compares this stage of mercantile predatory operations with freebooting in land. The 18th century saw the battle between Britain and France for control of the sea routes especially to America and Asia, a battle which was won by British capitalism and opened the way for vast accumulation of capital through trade, a slave labour which was to make possible the growth of industrialisation.

Britain's monopoly of world trade in manufactured goods turned her attention for a period from the extension of her political control over other territories, and it was not until the emergence of new industrial challengers like-France, Germany and the United States—that she once more turned her eyes to foreign lands to extend and consolidate her empire. She was joined in the scramble for colonies and spheres of influence by France and Germany and Belgium, with Africa and the Middle East among their main objectives. This explains why the carve up of Africa took place within such a short period. Because of the urgency of the competition between the older industrial countries, both England with an old fashioned industrial potential, and with the new countries, especially Germany emerging on to the world stage as the most advanced industrial country of that time.

FORMS OF **IMPERIALISM**

The United States which has its own southern states already organised super exploitation, also turned its attention to South America and Asia. It is interesting to note that the fortunes of the late John Foster Dulle's family were laid by an ancestor who was an old China hand (small American foreign policy since 1949 has been geared to trying to smash the new socialist China where new private fortunes will never be made). Because of their where they sold their manuown history as a former colony and because the Latin American countries were themselves former colonies which had won their independence from Spain or Brazil, the forms of imperialism imposed there were different from those being imposed in

These American forms are indeed the prototype of what we now call neo-colonialism. the prototype of the form of domination which threatens many newly independent states in Africa and Asia, and one which the United States and other powerful capitalist countries are trying to extend. So we see two particular ways in which imperialism operates.

The classical imperialist form of control was of course colonies, but Kwame Nkrumah points out that the political forms of imperialist exploitation were varied even in the early scramble for Africa and took the form of direct rule, indirect rule, protectorates, with talk of future development as countries with internal self-government or states within a Commonwealth or other kinds of Unions. Such descriptions were and still are of course an attempt to camouflage the real relationships between the colonial country, and the imperialist metropolitan state.

ESSENTIAL CONTENT

In the same way today, imperialist relationships are often disguised in all kinds of different forms, but they all HAVE THE SAME ESSEN-TIAL CONTENT NAMELY THE SUPER EXPLOITA-TION OF THE WEAKER COUNTRY BY THE STRONGER DEVELOPED CAPITALIST STATE.

It is important to consider why Lenin called imperialism the highest stage of capitalism.

title he showed how it is a development of capitalism not of any other system, and how it is an inevitable development.

In the analysis of any system we have to look at the development of productive forces and production relations; these constituted the basis essence of that system.

The end of the 19th century and the early 20th saw the fierce scramble for colonies precisely because of developments which were taking place within capitalism itself. The growth of production necessitated ever increasing investment and larger and larger units of capital and bigger

Much of this was beyond

the power of single industrialists to provide. The uncertainties of the capitalists faced with over production of commodities were all intensified when vast resources were invested in the bigger productive forces. As a result Europe saw the development of cartels for groups of industrialists of capital involved in their undertakings made them turn to the banks and insurance and finance houses for a working partnership. In this way industrial and finance capital joined hands. In various countries it took different forms, but in essence it happened in all the main capitamonopolies came together to try to eliminate the worst effects of competition, they also involved their own states, their own governments in this process; they used the state apparatus of their countries to extend political control over countries; from which they drew their raw materials. as cheaply as possible and factured goods as expensively

A NEW WAY

But a new factor entered into the drive for the highest possible profit. A new way of maximising

profit and increasing the al-

ready vast exploitation of the

colonial peoples through trade was founded—this was the export of capital itself. From now on vast sums of money were to be invested in the colonies to ensure that the enormous monopolies of the metropolitan countries would have sole access to these countries. Investment in mining, in plantation, agriculture, and in the means of getting these out of the colonial countries rapidly and efficiently through railways, roads, harbours, became one of the main sources of profit. Loans made to the colonies to 'develop' their means of com munication, to finance their civil service and armed forces (used to keep down the local population in case they rebelled at their impoverishment) at high rates of interest became a vital source of money making. Some sections of capitalists were no longer interested even in raw materials extraction or in selling back manufactured goods to the colonies but simply in lending money at high rates of interest which had to be paid by the colonial peoples themselves, through taxation and levies of all kinds. This is the parasitic element of finance capital. This export of capital is a new feature and one of the most important of modern imperialism.

There are monopolies whose financial and productive operations extend throughout the whole of the non-socialist ing "Imperialism" monopoly

SYSTEM. Its operations involved the bankers and stockbrokers in every major capitalist country in the world, it exploited the industrial prole-tariat of Europe, America, Latin America, it held in its clutches the peasants of India. Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Monopoly capitalism stretched its tentacles out to every part of the globe and it tried to manipulate the world and its peoples for its own drive for the highest rate of profit. Some monopolies have financial interests larger than those of even advanced industrial countries, it is no wonder that they use the state power of their countries to try to ensure that their interests will be preserved and served in every possible way.

CARVING UP THE WORLD

To protect themselves from intense competition, monopolies, using the political power of their own governments, carved up the world among themselves. This was not through peaceful agreement but through war and treachery, each one trying to outmanoeuvre the other. To make sure that sources of raw materials would be guaranteed, to eliminate competition from the market and protect valuable investments the capitalist powers extended their political list countries. In addition the control over the weaker countries. They established, where possible, direct rule, constructing state machines in the colonies which operated directly in favour of the powerful industrial and financial interests of their country. "Competition", that favourite watchword of laissez faire capitalism was a thing of the past. From now on the fight to eliminate competition by very possible means was on, Protection through tariffs, bans on the colonial peoples selling their products anywhere else, rigid exclusion of other capital were all characteristic devices of imperialist rule. In Latin America, while direct rule was not established, manipulation of the economies of these countries went on behind the facade of independent governments. The same happened in China.

The monopolies consisted of vast units of productive forces which involved activities over vast areas of the world, using the labour of millions of people, but this extended socialisation of production is still privately owned and controlled for private profit. It was this extended socialisation of the productive forces of monopoly capitalism which led Lenin to call imperialism the "Highest stage of capitalism" because of the intensification of the contradictions within capitalism to even more serious depths.

In the imperialist system the contradictions of capitalism sharpen in the following

SHARPENING OF CONTRADICTIONS

Social production grows, extending over vast areas, involving millions of people but the numbers who own and control it for ther own profit relatively diminish. Contradictions develop now not only between the working class and the capitalist class of the capitalist states, but between the vast mases of the colonial peoples and foreign monopolies and between the capitalist countries themselves. The latter antagonism, as Lenin explained and to the truth of which Nkrumah so eloquently testifies, leads precisely to war world. When Lenin was writ- on a world scale for the redivision of the world.

Now when a fourth contradiction has appeared, namely the existence of a world socialist system confronting that of imperialism the total crisis of imperialism is yet deeper.

This deepening of contradictions in Lenin's words constitutes the most powerful driving force in the transitional period of history', that from capitalism to socialism. It is these contradictions which we have to understand when we try to charter the strategy and tactics of the total world anti-imperialist struggle. We have to understand the need for all those sections whose economic position places them. inevitably in an antagonistic relation to capitalism to unite as firmly and closely as possible and we have to recognise that the antagonisms between powerful imperialist countries also presents important opportunities for gains to be made; when there are splits in the front of imperialism, then the anti-imperialist forces have to organise their tactics to take the fullest possible advantage of them.

POLITICAL CONTROL

Imperialism we see then, is basically a system of exploitation by finance capital, of weaker, less economically and technologically developed countries.

Where possible it establishes colonial rule, where this is not possible it established political control, through its puppets and operates behind the facade of 'independence'. It arises at a particular stage of history when industrial and finance capital merge and when the export of capital as well as the export of goods, becomes a vital source of pro-

To protect its vast interests monopoly capital seeks spheres of operations where there will be no competition, this is why it needs political control over other countries. The fight to divide the world into these spheres of interest leads to world wars.

These are but some of the basic features of imperialism. The political, social and economic effects on the colonial and on the metropolitan countries will be dealt with in the next article.

Trade in Development of Ghana

Continued from page 1

Foreign Trade could establish depots in all the big centres across the country from where it will do wholesale, this time with the small retailer as the buyer. Alternatively, a special division of G.N.T.C. could handle this special wholesale

The organisation of internal retail trade is of great inportance because of its effect on prices and the cost of living. A planned economy must maintain stabilised wages. But stabilised wages are not easily maintained where prices get out of control.

Experience has shown that it is relatively easier to effect price control in the big stores than among petty traders. This should give us a way round the problem of profiteering. An effective price control machinery is needed. Hence the recent welcome decision to constitute this a government

We have to admit, however, that such a machinery readily keeps prices under control in the big and medium stores in the twonships. It will be more difficult to keep the petty stores in the towns and market traders in both town and countryside in line. In this regard, greater reliance should be placed on competition to keep prices down.

This means involving a large number of people in retail trade. Specifically, it means:

- a. drawing on the services existing big stores;
- b. top priority for the policy of expanding G.N.T.C. retail network;
- c. encouraging as many people as possible to enter retail trade (e.g. through reduction of licence fees, limitation on scale of

operations of retailers,

- d. making the T.U.C. and consumer co-operatives: set up a new chain of retail stores all over the country. District Councils could take part in this exercise;
- e. abolition of the system of pass books.

If these changes are made, the Ministry of Trade will now be responsible for the organisation and smooth running of the distributive trade within the country. With the responsibility of foreign trade taken off its shoulders, this Ministry could study and take steps towards a more efficient organisation of trade in home products, both manufactures and agricultural products.

Price control should now become more rigid with the setting up of a department entrusted with this responsibility. It seems, however, that such a department would perform its duty better if it is not made part of the Ministry of Trade. For a good deal of its activity would be devoted to checking the efforts of the Ministry and its agencies.

In addition, the new department should compile and publish regularly two types of cost-of-living index. The firsrt is concerned with prices of imported goods while the second deals with prices of locally produced goods. These indices will give the government and the people not only a clear picture of the trend in cost-of-living but also an indication of the element (imports or home produced goods), responsible for the trends.

The organisation of foreign trade and the home distribution of imported and local goods should be treated as a war operation. Our economic circumstances make such an approach necessary. Our chosen destiny makes it impera-

Fascist Sympathiser—Now Minister of Justice At the beginning of this month three South African trade union leaders and African National Congress members, Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile

Mkaba, were hanged. The Prime Minister of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta described the hangings as "racialist brutality" and branded the Verwoerd government as a fascist regime bent on the extermination of those who stand for freedom and justice. Journalist BRIAN BUN-TING, author of "The Rise of the South African Reich", here paints a portrait of the man who plays a key role in Verwoerd's reign of terror.

MINISTER of Justice in the Nationalist Party Cabinet headed by Dr. Verwoerd. Balthazar Johannes Vorster, was one of fifteen children born to his parents on a farm in the Eastern Cape and brought up in the strict Calvinist traditions of the rural Afrikaaner.

The Vorsters father was a typical rural patriarch. rigid in his beliefs, strict in discipline, anxious that his children should get an education whilst adhering closely to the traditions of family and "volk".

ded a farm school where the started on his career when medium of instruction was English. Those children who spoke Afrikaans at school (and it must be remembered that at this time Afrikaans was regarded as little better than "kitchen Dutch" and had no official recognition) had as punishment to write out hundreds of lines reading "I must speak English at school".

This anti-Afrikaaner chauvinism bred, not only in the Vorsters but in practically all Afrikaaners of this period, an intense resentment and hatred of the English which flourished easily in the post Boer-war decades when Afrikaaner nationalism was on the upsurge.

MILLION LASHES

Balthazar Vorster said in after years that he received many canings from his father which didn't do him any harm. He uses this experience to justify the million lashes which have been administered to 200,000 prisoners, black and white, in South African prisons and police cells during the last twenty years.

Whether inspired by his beatings of his ambition, Vorster did extremely well at school, coming first in class all the way from standard one to standard ten. Afterwards he went on to Stellenbosch unitres of Afrikaaner nationalism, where he furthered his ambition to become an advocate and a politician.

The young advocate Vor-

The Vorster children atten- ster had barely got himself South Africa was engulfed by the second world war, and rational rivalry and strife be-

tween Afrikaaner and English

were raised to new heights. Vorster joined an organisation called the Ossewa Brandwag (Oxwagon Sentinel), a fascist organisation built on military lines with a view to taking over power by force, negotiating with a victorious Hitler and establishing a totalitarian racist regime in South

Africa. The future Nationalist Minister of Justice scorned the Parliamentary tactics of the Nationalist Party at that time under Dr. Malan, and committed himself to an organisation which conducted a campaign of sabotage and terrorism.

While South African troops were fighting and dying to make the world safe from Hitlerism, Vorster was, as an Ossewa Brandwag "general", parading his gangs of hooligans in secret and preparing them physically and ideologically for Der Tag.

ARRESTED

Today he claims to be fighting to save democracy and Western civilisation from communist subversion; but in 1942 he said:

"We stand for Christian versity, one of the cultural cen- Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you

In Italy it is called fascism,

in Germany nationalism, and in South Africa Christian

Nationalism". Vorster was arrested under the war-time Emergency Regulations in September 1942. He says he was kept in solitary confinement for forty-two days, went on hunger strike in protest and as a result was transferred to Koffiefontein interment camp where he was prisoner No. 2229/42 in Hut 3, Camp I.

He was released on parole in January 1944 and placedunder house arrest until the end of the war, needing a special permit every time he had to leave the town for any purpose. His experience of solitary confinement and house arrest was sufficiently bitter to lead him to use both weapons against his political opponents after he became Mi-

nister of Justice. After the war, Vorster again became involved in politics. The Ossewa Brandwag was absorbed in the Afrikaaner; Party of Mr. Havenga, which had entered into an electoral alliance with the Nationalist Party for the 1948 elections.

Vorster was nominated by the Afrikaaner Party for Brakpan, but ironically enough was voted by the Nationalist record would make him unacceptable to the electorate.

But Vorster eventually got the nomination, to be defeated by the English-speaking United Party member, A. E. Trollip, who was later to cross the floor and join the Nationalist Party on being offered the position of Minister of Labour and Immigration which he at present holds.

PERSEVERED

Vorster persevered and was later elected Member of Parliament for Nigel, but for many years remained an obscure back-bencher who was thought to have little hope of promotion because of his war record.

This, however, proved a handicap only during the period in which the Nationalist Party was anxiously wooing the English vote. Two factors combine to bring about a change.

The first was the outright Nationalist victory in the 1960 Republican referendum and the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961—both events tending to establish the absolute hegemony of the Afrikaaner in the electoral sphere.

The second was the 1960 State of Emergency, during which 2,000 top political leaders of the extra-Parliamentary opposition of all races were jailed without trail for periods up to five months, the newspapers New Age and Torch were temporarily suppressed, and the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress were declared illegal.

"OUT OF HAND"

The Pondoland rebellion of December 1960 and the emergence in 1961 and 1962 of the organisations Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo, reflecting the abandonment of the policy of non-violence on the part of ever-growing sections of the oppressed peoples of South Africa, made Prime Minister Varwoerd realise that the tra-

ditional methods of police control, and the personality of the then Minister of Justice, F. C. Erasmus, were no longer adequate to cope with a si-tuation which was fraught with the greatest danger for Afrikaaner Nationalism and White Supremacy as a whole.

Erasmus was sent packing to Rome as South African Ambassador, and Vorster was brought in, over the heads of party colleagues of far too longer standing, to serve as Minister of Justice in a Cabinet determined to stop at nothing in the fight for survival.

'MINISTER OF JUSTICE'

In his first speech as Minister, Vorster declared that "rights were getting out of hand in South Africa". In all his subsequent legislation he has acted to ensure that the rights of Government opponents were whittled down to nothing.

In this he has proved himself Verwoerd's most able and ruthless lieutenant. In 1962 he pushed through Parliament the rotorious Sabotage Act.

This gave him sweeping powers to restrict the political leaders of the people (house arrest, prohibition on publication of statements by banned people etc.) and made various forms of political activity ran-ging from the distribution of leaflets to outright acts of vio-lence punishable by a mini-mum of five years imprisonment to a maximum of death.

When this Draconic law failed to bring the sabotage campaigns to an end, Vorster during 1963 pushed the Ge-Party which felt that his war neral Law Amendment Act through Parliament.

This increased the range of political offences punishable by death and contained the notorious ninety-day no-trial clause which put an end to the rule of law and turned South Africa into an out-and-out police state in which the life and liberty of any person is placed at the mercy of any I lice officer, with the jurisdiction of the courts expressly excluded.

"I appreciate that it is not a measure which is proper in peace time", Vorster declared during the debate on the ninety-day no-trial Act. He knew he was opening the way to torture of political prisoners.

"The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition said that he had seen human beings being broken (when he was a prisoner of war). It is not a very nice thing to see a human being being broken. I have seen it and he has seen it. The man taking these powers must take the responsibility for

In his own words Vorster must take the responsibility for the ghastly crimes against humanity which have been perpetrated by his police force during the last seventeen months. Here is the tally:

* About 800 people of all races have been held in solitary confinement without legal right of access to lawyers, relatives or friends. At least sixty have been held for more than ninety days, and eight, including three women, for more than 180 days.

About 400 have been charged in court, but more than 300 have been released without being charged. About fifty have given evidence for the state under promise of indemnity.

* At least forty-nine detainees have complained of assaults by policemen or warders-twenty-six alleged kicking and hitting, nine-teen said they were kicked, hit and electrically shocked with sacks tied over their heads.

mitted suicide by hanging in their cells and in September 1964, a third, Suliman Salojee, threw himself to his death from the window of the seventh floor room at Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg where he was being March of this year. "interrogated".

* At least five detainees have been examined by psychiatrists or been admitted to mental hospitals.

Latest "interrogation" techniques are more refined. Electric shock torture has been apparently abandoned, following exposure and international protest. Today detainees are kept standing indefinitely until they drop or, their minds broken, agree to make statements.

"It is not a very nice thing to see a human being being broken," said Vorster. At this moment about 100 men and women are under ninety-day detention. The room on the seventh floor from which Salojee threw himself to his death has had bars placed over the windows. It will be more difficult for detainees to commit suicide in future. But the

mind-breaking which drives South Africa last year. them to suicide goes on. And Vorster justifies it.

"History taught that nothing so destroyed a great charged. Their fate was: nation as weak leadership", he told a symposium on "The challenge of leadership" at prisonment; 894 sentenced to Stellenbosch University in a total of 5,713 years impri-

And in May he told a Republic Day meeting in Rustenburg: "It is no secret that the threats against South Africa are drawing to their climax. Ask me what we should do when this climax' comes? There is only one thing I can say to you: If you lie down you are finished'."

BOASTS

Vorster has consistently refused opposition demands for a judicial inquiry into the allegations of torture of political prisoners, saying he has full confidence in his police force. He had equally refused to withdraw the ninety-day no-trial law, saying he is not willing to "chop off the hands of my police".

He boasts of the results of his work: under various security laws, 3,355 people of all races, including 592 in the Transkei, were detained in

Since March 1963, there have been 111 political trials in which 1,315 persons were sonment; 340 acquitted; one sentenced to six lashes; four sentences unknown; eighteen

remanded. In the maximum security prison camp on Robben Island, seven miles off Cape Town, about 15,000 prisoners. including about 1,000 political prisoners, are incarcerated under abominable conditions.

The raids and arrests, the beatings and the tortures continue. Daily new political trials come before the courts.

The Dutch Reformed Church Minister Dr. Vorster says of his brother Balthazar: "He is one of the most humane persons I have met. Few people know it, but he is sincerely interested in people who have served jail sentences. Most of his servants are ex-convicts and at one time he had a former murderer as a cook".

No doubt he is also passionately fond of the music of Bach and Beethoven.

VENGEANCE

Big strong smiling Mini and Khayinga and Mkaba who loved life no less, have been robbed of their most precious possession, life.

Our comrades fell in Verwoerd's Pretoria bitten in the neck by the hangman's knot.

Have you seen life slipping away? I once saw my mother die on the sharp sand at Sharpeville.

I hear Babla my brother cry and his body hitting the concrete one hundred feet down from the interrogator's window.

Have you seen the face of a man being beaten up? In prison when you hear the noise your heart-beats race.

But worst of all is the sigh or shriek or cough or —or nothing

just escaping air as life slips away. How did Mini and my brothers die in that secret hanging place? You may ask—please let me tell you-I know.

Singing? Yes—but how they sing! Big firm Mini a smile at the lips perhaps but the eyes grim always grim when facing the enemy.

Heads high they walk strong united together singing Mini's own song will get you-"Watch out Verwoerd" the people have taken up this song "Watch out Verwoerd" the world sings with Mini.

And meeting Death in their front-line trench the three heroes shout into the grey teeth of the enemy "We shall be avenged" and the people take up the shout "Our heroes shall be avenged."

It is vengeance we want as the last precious gasps escape into the Pretoria air. Kumalo of the ANC

OCTOBER ASHES

It is done — The revolution, The revolution, the revolution; There is none For evolution, Cold evolution, slow evolution; When a man, In full illusion,

Slavish suppression, wicked oppression, Lives on the banks of a river, But has to wash his hands With spittle; Is a maker of waterpots, But has to fetch water With a basket In tsarist Petersburg; Lives under the sun, But must blunder on Like a moth Attracted by the candle light In a night. In whom are held and hidden,

But never for ever The unheard cry of the child Lynched in Mississippi, The mountain and the smoke, And the gnashing of teeth of him who, massacred in his youth Lies sparwling in the burning pool Of spilled Sharpeville blood.

And when man no more could wait, And no more would wait

For the desired earthquake of change, And October caught fire In the minds and hearts of men, Only October flames knew What October flames intended to do

And everywhere ashes lie -The ashes of the song And the ashes of the ears, The ashes of the palace And the ashes of the chains, The ashes of the moon And the ashes of the tree, The ashes of the sky And the ashes of the rain: The rain that fell And flooded and crushed away Our ram-shackle homes; The song we were forced to sing In Lobito and along the frarist Volga, While the dripping blood From our whip-crackled lips Mingled with the salty sweat Of the Sun-scorched faces. On us, us the people; The ears that refused to hear The silent and aged weeping Of the oppressed, the people; The palace we built But which we could not enter, We, the people;

((Continued on page 7)

We Mourn the Death of Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba

At the time of going to press the shocking news of the barbarous execution of three of our comrades— VUYISILE MINI, WILSON KHAYINGA and ZINA-

Spotlight on South Africa

KILE MKABA—was made known. It is with heavy hearts, deep sorrow and justified anger that we announce the execution of three brave South African patriots who were murdered in the cause of human freedom and dignity. We proclaim to the world that they have not died in vain-THEY SHALL BE AVENGED.

PRESS STATEMENT:

. The barbarous execution today of our heroes, MINI, MKABA and KHAYINGA, who were leading members of the African National Congress is a shocking act of murder which will never be forgotten nor forgiven by

What is alarming is the fact that the executions have taken place so shortly after their appeal was dismissed, and in typical Nazi-style the date of execution was deliberately kept secret to forestall world-wide protest.

Those who have defied the legitimate demand by the peoples of the world for the release of these valiant sons of our country, and have instead carried out this dastardly crime must know that nothing can save them from retri-

This brutal act reveals the very grave situation which now exists in South Africa. The fascists like vampires now demand the very blood of those who courageously oppose their wicked regime. The African people will no longer tolerate a situation in which the loss of life is on our side only. The systematic murder of our people will be replied to on the basis of a LIFE FOR A LIFE.

> (Sgd.) D. NOKWE, Secretary-General. African National Congress of South Africa,

P.O. Box 2239, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania 6th November, 1964

Portugal and

IN the first part of the review we examined Dr. Nogueira's asumptions about the United Nations and about anti-colonialism. We discovered that there is a basic difference between the Portuguese way of thinking and that of the majority of the members of the United Nations—especially on the subject of colonialism. It would have been far better if Dr. Nogueira had stated this fundamental difference and had worked out its natural consequences. He may of course have argued that the attitude of the United Nations (and its Charter) is wrong, dangerous or any thing else he may choose to say. But we would then have known that he was opposed to the ideals of the United Nations and therefore, that he does not really belong to the organisation.

Instead, however, of thus candidly and honestly stating that Portugal is in the United Nations under false. pretences. Dr. Noqueira attempts to argue that the United Nations, in trying to end Portuguese colonialism, has been (a) acting illegally because it has been acting contrary to the Charter and (b) acting improperly because its actions have been either politically inexpedient, dangerous or discriminatory. He therefore pretends to show, by 'legal' and 'political' arguments that the United Nations—and the anti-colonialist groups within it have acted improperly on the subject of Portugal's colohial possessions. In this part of the review we shall discuss and refute the "legal" argument which Dr. Nogueira presents on behalf of Portugal.

gal, on the subject of its co- pression is used in the Charter lonial possessions is in brief of the United Nations. That this: "That Portugal does not the Portuguese posses sions rial unity of Portugal constihave any colonial possessions overseas are not colonies tutes intervention into her in-

The legal position of Portu- in the sense in which that ex-

but integral parts of the Portuguese nation. That the Porguese constitution provides for this: and that no one has the right to challenge the constitutional composition of the Portuguese nation. That even though by reference to the criteria approved by the United Nations these territories are non-self-governing (colonies) Portugal does not accept that the United Nations has the competence to decide such a question, that the Charter leaves it to the exclusive determination of each country to decide whether or not it has colonies and that for the United Nations to challenge the constitutional and territo-

by Dr. Thomas A. Mensah

ternal affairs and is therefore contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter."

A number of subsidiary and allied arguments are occasionally put forward, but the above, fairly completely states the 'legal' case of the Portuguese. We will take each of these points in turn, elaborate them fully and show how untenable they are and to what extent they are based on fallacious reasoning and downright distortion of fact and

PORTUGAL HAS NO COLONIES?

The first argument is that Portugal does not have any colonial territories, that the overseas possessions are not colonial possessions but overseas provinces which together with the Metropolitan Provinces of Portugal, formed the "Portuguese nation". "Portugal in fact, as enjoined by its constitution, is politically a unitary nation; sovereignty is undivided and the organs of sovereignty are the same for the entire national territory. The Portuguese constitution (does) not recognise the existence within the nation of nonself-governing territories, and it would be unconstitutional for some parts of the nation to have one international status and other parts a different one". (p.78). Nogueira stated this position with the full knowledge that the facts were very different from this 'legal' and constitutional position. Portugal knows (to use Dr. Nogueira's own words) that the central (administration) authorities in respect of all her "overseas provinces" were in Lisbon and that only these authorities in Lisbon "were responsible for taking final decisions without the people concerned being heard or represented".

Dr. Nogueira admits that "from the political point of view, and given the existence of an institution such as the INDEGENATO (or the native second-class citizen) in the "overseas" territories, the majority of the "overseas" peo-ples could hardly be said to participate on an equal footing with European Portugal in making and applying laws.

Jurisdicially, the distinction between citizens enjoying full rights and non-citizens with limited rights placed the latter in a position of inferiority". Dr. Nogueira also admits that "economically the overseas Portuguese territories were not only less developed than Metropolitan Portugal, but also relegated by the structure and organisation of their economy to a secondary and subordinate position" (p.74).

PORTUGUESE CONSTITUTION SACROSANCT!!

He admits all this, but still insists that the constitution of Portugal should be treated as sacrosanct. That in spite of the obvious difference between the facts and the formal' statement of the constitution, the International Community. should accept the Constitution as the basis of its actions and decisions. Dr. Nogueira evenacknowledges the fact that until 1951, when the status of the then Portuguese colonies was changed-by a "constitutional amendment" Portugal had colonies. But he insists that once this constitution has been promulgated the external world must accept what it

He does not pretend to claim that the so-called constitution of Portugal was accepted by the peoples concerned, (p.75).

thing can be made of the fact that the relationship between the "overseas provinces" and Metropolitan Portugal is "arbitrary" inasmuch as the political unity had not been endorsed by (the peoples of the overseas provinces)- who did not have the rights of citizenship and thus had no share in making the fundamental law or in electing or designating the organs of sovereignty" (p.88). He considers this argument "fallacious".

Decolonisation

In his view "political unity (is) a formal concept and a norm resulting from a juridical order; what counts in the formation of this order (is) not only the will of a certain part of the population, whatever its present position in the....community, but the will of the community taken as a whole. To deny (Portugal) the right to formulate the basic norm of its national life because some of its members (do) not yet have full citizenship ... (is invalid) (pp.88-89). According to Dr. Nogueira therefore, a part of the adult population can, without reference to (in fact to the positive exclusion of) other members of the adult population, arrogate to themselves...the right to establish a basic norm (constitution) and to choose the organs and personnel of sovereignty for the whole population.

SPECIOUS ARGUMENT

This curious political doctrine has at no time been espoused by anyone who was not also against popular democracy. Dr. Nogueira believes that this is an argument worth making to an international organisation that has declared that all peoples have the right of self-determination. The United Nations answer to this specious argument has of course been simply this: We cannot accept Portugal's characterisation of a situation when such characterisation flies in the face of the obvious facts. This is especially so since Portugal is an interested party in th dispute and since she has undertaken international obligations in respect of the matter in dispute.

To this Dr. Nogueira answers: The United Nations has no right to challenge the characterisation of Portugal because:(1) This is a matter entirely for the Portuguese government to determine in accordance with its constitution. (2) For the United Nations to attempt to challenge the decision of Portugal on this score would amount to interference in her internal affairs. (3) For the United Nations to challenge the Portuguese determination when it has not challenged the determination of other members would involve unwarranted discrimin ation against Portugal and finally (4) Portugal does not have any obligations in respect of such overseas territories.

In answer to the first objection it must be said that while the Charter and the United Nations do not seek to impugn national constitutions, what the organisation and its members say about its constitution and internal organisation must be accepted without question even when the facts show clearly that this is not so and when the state concerned is quite clearly in breach of its obligations. Since Portugal contends that she does not have any obligations in this regard, the real dispute is shown to turn on whether in fact there are any such obligations.

gument, i.e. that for the United non-self governing territories

Nations to investigate the constitutional set up of Portugal would amount to interference in her internal affairs, the answer is the same—that if she accepts obligations in respect "domestic matters", she should expect that the organisation to which she owes the obligation will insist on ensuring that they are fulfilled. The important question then is still whether Portugal has any obligations.

third argument, which claims that since the United Nations had, until Portugal's admission to membership—accepted the statements of other powers about the status of their various territories, the organisation must accept Portugal's statement that her overseas territories are not colonies. To do otherwise would be to discriminate aganist Portugal. This is contrary to the provisions of the Charter that the United Nations believes in the "sovereign equality" of all its member states. (p79). The answer to this of course is two-fold.

One, that the United Nations has never abdicated its right to examine the statements made by members. In 1946 when the question arose for the first time, the General Assembly decided to "note for the time being" the answers given by colonial powers as to which of their territories were non-self-governing. There was no question of the Assembly accepting as final and conclusive, the answers of governments on the point. In fact in the debates preceding the adoption of the resolution, the Australian delegate had emphatically stated that the Assembly would have the right to question any answers it did not consider satisfactory. There can therefore be no support at all for the statement that the Assembly had accepted the statements of some members without chal-

OBLIGATIONS

In any case, this argument

lenge.

is untenable; for assuming that the Assembly had in fact not challenged some replies, this is no reason why it should not challenge others. Surely Dr. Nogueira does not wish to assert that all the members of the United Nations have the 'equal sovereign right' to violate the Charter of the United Nations. If Portugal has obligations under the Charter then she is not absolved from fulfilling them simply because some other state has not fulfilled her obligations or because the United Nations has not insisted on that country fulfilling her obligation. The important thing for Portugal is the fact that she has some obligations under the Charter. If she should seek to fulfil them and not look round for "partners in in crime".

The important quesiton to be decided therefore is whether Portugal is under any legal obligations in the matter of her overseas territories. Dr. Nogueira asserts that there are no such obligations, while the majority of the General Assembly members believe that there are. What are the arguments by which Dr. Nogueira hopes to prove that his country does not have any obligations to the United Nations in respect of her overseas possessions?

He does not, of course, deny that the Charter imposes obligations of a far-reaching nature on member states which administer non-self-governing territories (i.e. colonies). If In respect of the second ar- Portugal therefore administers

then, he admits, she will be under an obligation to the United Nations. But, he says, Portugal does not administer any colonies. Her overseas provinces are not colonies and her constitution quite plainly says there is only one unitary state. The United Nations generally has maintained-by reference to a number of criteria-whose appropriateness, adequacy and usefulness have been challenged by Dr. Nogueira and which we shall consider later on—that Portugal in The same may be said of the fact has colonial territories, that inspite of what her "consstitution" says, these overseas territories are really colonies.

The issue then become a question of (1) the interpretation of the term "non-selfgoverning territory" and (2) who has the right to give a final definition. Portugal claims that she has the sole competence to define the term 'non-self-governing colony' in so far as her own territories are concerned; and that her definition must be accepted by the United Nations. "Portugal claimed the exclusive competence to interpret and apply its own internal legal order" (p.65). "The interpretation and application of its constitution was a question each government alone, and the Portuguese government denied the United Nations the least competence in the matter." (p.78). What is the justification for this strange proposition?

NO JUSTIFICATION

There is none in the Char-

ter. So Dr. Nogueira proceeds. very ingenuously but dishonestly, to produce one from the Charter. The Charter states in Article 73, that members who have non-self-governing territories (i.e. territories whose people do not have full self-government) recognise certain principles and accept certain obligations. This is stated plainly without any mincing of words. It is true the Charter does not define according to the accepted practice and theory, the organs of an international institution are the competent bodies to interprete its provisions (Kelsein: The Law of the United Nations p.v.) Dr. Nogueira knows this, so he cannot leave the Charter provisions as they are, since this would mean that the United Nations has the competence to define and apply the term 'non-self-governing-territory'. To avoid this, he makes the Charter "give" to each member the competence to decide whether any given territory of that member is or is not a colony.

Article 73 reads as follows: 'Members of the United Nations which have or assumes resonsbilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of selfgovernment recognise the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants . . . etc."

In place of this, Dr. Noueira gives a completely new Article by inserting in the article, words which the Charter does not contain but which will make his case plausible. In place of the above, he gives Article 73 as follows: "Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not attained a full measure of self-government recognise the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and, IF THEY SO DECLARE, accept etc." (pp. 21-22).

(Continued on page 8)

OCTOBER ASHES

(Continued on page 6).

The heavy accursed iron chains That about our sore feet, Held us in bondage, While we tilled the stony Unyielding and endless plains; The moon that brought out Her touch only to illuminate The path of the select few, Rejecting the path of the others, The people; The tree we planted and nursed, But of whose fruits We could not even taste, We, the people; The boundless sky, under which There was no shelter for us, Us, the people; And everywhere ashes lies.

And everywhere ashes lie -And the ashes of the sea, The ashes of the dream And the ashes of the hand, The ashes of the fence And the ashes of the wind: The wind that chose to give wings to the kites Of a selected few, rejecting The kites of the others, the people; The wailings that escaped The tight and dry lips Of the starving children; The sea whose breeze refused To cool the toiling man's world; The hand that wielded the paddle That rowed the boat conveying From our native shores Our bound bodies; The hand that raised and threw Overboard from the slaveship, Into the all-accepting embrace Of the bottomless exit-less ocean, The dying bodies Of our people, the people; The fences the scramblers planted To divide and scatter a family; The dream that came and went And returned with nightmares Of the stark marrows held In the womb of the dreaded future. From the October ashes rise, And from the ashes blossom The temples, gardens and streets, Whose soil shall equally accept The feet of all in Alabama; The sea whose water shall hold The fishes for all wishing cooking pots, And not for a select few in Odessa, From the October ashes rise, And from the ashes blossom The sun whose rays shall equally seek To reach and touch and warm The wanting and waiting bodies of all, But not just a few in Johannesburg. And from the October ashes rise, And from the ashes blossom The Volta, Victoria and Volga falls The Sahara's oil, Kasai's ore and spaceship And the young mother's breasts Upon whose milk man must grow In Angola, Siberia and Harlem. No falling . . . no falling

Of a million cataract-falls, That on rock faces, fall Can fracture and chisel And split away From the rocks hard face, The gravel-pieces,

O revolution, Of your glory!

No coursing . . . no coursing Of a million covetous clouds, That across the sky, course, Can cover and conceal Or change Within the sky, The colour, O revolution, Of your giory!

No passing . . . no passing Of a million ravaging rivers, That upon the earth, pass, Can corrode and detach And wash away From the earth's surface, The soil, O revolution. Of your glory!

No raging . . . no raging Of a million goring gales That upon the earth, rage; Of a million rayaging rains That upon the earth, rage; Of a million strangling storms That upon the earth, rage, Can capsize And roll away In the waters of the sea. The canoe, O revolution, Of your glory!

No running . . . no running Of a million heated hurricanes That across the plains, race; Of a million voracious volcanoes That from the mountain tops, race; Of a million tearing tornadoes That across the lands, race; Can blow down And sweep away From the village and cottage, The hamlet. O revolution, Of your glory!

No barking . . . no barking Of a million trotting trains That along the raillines, weep; Of a million digging dogs That upon the earth, bark: Of a million terrific thunders That across the skies, wail, Can swallow up and overshadow And dim down, to the depths, The voice of the choir Chanting the anthem, O revolution. Of your glory!

No breathing . . . no breathing Of a million scorching suns That upon the earth, breathe; Of a million stone-raking sandstorms That on all desert, breathe; Of a million furious bush fires That within the jungles, breathe, Can devastate And burn away In the blooming garden, The dewy flowers, O revolution, Of your glory!

- by John Okai (Ghana) He does not think that any-

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

red States into retreat, to stop her manipulation of the United Nations Organisation, to stop her beha-ving as if the U.N. were simply a rubber stamp for her aggressive acts. The independent African states face a decisive challenge inside the Councils of the United Nations. They must brand this for the aggression it is, they must force the U. N. to act, not in the interests of imperialism but in the interests of the liberation forces of the world.

Above all the Congo situation emphasises the dire need for a Consitnental Union Government vested with the powers to raise an all African force capable of repelling aggression on the contnent of Africa.

The Organisation of African Unity must immediately brand the aggressors : make the demand for their withdrawal and be prepared to act by sending in African forces to keep the peace while political initiatives are taken to restore some kind of normality in the country.

The African states must firmly reject American or any other imperialist presence in the Congo and be prepared to take on the heavy responsibilities of maintaining peace there themselves and create a situation in which the Congolese can settle their problems on the basis of real independence. Fudged up compromises, wavering and hesitations will only strengthen the hands of the Belgians, the Americans and their imperialist stooges in the Congo. The Organisaiton of African Unity must now boldly demonstrate that the independent states are prepared to use their political power to stop this naked aggression against people of the Congo. The Organisation of African Unity must state quite clearly that there are Congolese elements so degenerated, so corrupted by their alliance with imperialism that it will have nothing to do with them but will work to bring together those honest antiimperialist elements who will honestly maintain their country's real independence, and internal peace.

While the world waits, while different elements in the situation observe each other and begin to take up their stands and postures, imperialism has won a temporary advantage: the patriots of Stanleyville are in terrible danger, the world cannot stand by while they are butchered.

We know that in the end the Congolese people will win, will gain real liberty, but the price they pay will be terrible and horrible if we do not act now. The Congo is a challenge to Africa, to its new power, to its honesty and faithfulness, to itself. We urge all forces of progress to unite now to save the Congo and world peace.



1th NOV, WEDNESDAY: KENYA: The Kenya Senate has unanimously passed a constitution amendment bill making Kenya one-party republican state on December 12.

The majority required was 75 per cent, but unanimity became automatic when Mr. Roland Ngala, leader of opposition Kenya African Democratic Union Party announced the dissolution of his party in favour of a one-party state.

SUDAN: The resignation of General Ibrahim Abboud, head of the Sudan, is being demanded by the two main political parties in the country.

In a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Serr El Khatim Khalifa, a spokesman of the Independence party-said "to conform with popular wishes we ask you to dismiss General Ibrahim Abboud from his presidential functions.

The Unionist Party in a seperate note to the Premier called for President Abboud's re-

GAMBIA: The Gambia independence bill has been presented to the British House of Commons by Colonial Secretary, Mr. Anthony Greenwood.

Gambia, Britain's oldest and last colonial territory in West Africa, is to become independent on February 18.

CAMEROUN: Speaking to reporters at Yaounde on his return from the first meeting of the governing body of the African Development Bank in Lagos, Nigeria, Mr. Victor Kanga, Cameroun Minister of Finance and Planning, said "the bank-a financial body set up by Africans for Africans—will only be able to fulfil its mission in so far as it is untouched by foreign interference which will harm its chances of success."

2th NOVEMBER, THURSDAY: GHANA: Ghana's permanent representative at the United Nations, Mr. Alex Quaison Sackev. has emerged as the front-runner in the contest with two other leading delegates for the presidency of next month's U.N. General Assembly.

The other contesting candidates are Mr. Omar Abeel of Sudan and Mr. Nathan Barnes of Liberia, who are seeking the approval of the 33-nation African group at the U.N.

The full group is expected to receive a report within the next few days from a sub-committee whose members are from Algeria, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Mali and Uganda.

SOUTHERN RHODES IA: A High Court in the racist regime of Southern Rhodesia has ruled that nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and 16 other African nationalist leaders were being detained illegally by Ian Smith's government.

The judge ordered that the orders restricting the men be set aside.

Judgement, however, was suspended for a month to give the Rhodesia regime time to decide whether they want to carry the case to the Privy Council.

CONGO (Leopoldville): A New York Post Correspondent in Congo has said that American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has been helping to recruit soldiers for Premier Moise Tshombe from among unpatrio-

'tic Cuban reactionaries. The correspondent said that the Cuban counter-revolutionaries who underwent military training in the U.S., opened fire on artisan defences from a V-26 aircraft, during the recent attack on Kindu.

Over 3,000 Congolese were reported killed in this attack alone.

LGERIA: A Trade and Payments Agreement has been concluded in Algiers between Algeria and Guinea.

Under the terms of the agreement the two countries will exchange goods up to the value of ten million Algerian dinars

13th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY: GHANA: Opening the new ex-

next year.

tensions to the African Regional Headquarters of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in Accra, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Kojo Botsio said "United Africa firmly believe that with patience, good faith and the will to make the United Nations work on all sides, it will become a strong and effective organisation we all desire".

The Minister expressed the hope that all workers in the annexe would be imbued with a keen sense of Pan-African understanding and a determination to banish hunger from the African continent.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Stanleyville Revolutionary Government has refuted the allegation that guerilla forces leader, Nicholas Olenga, has been killed by white mercenaries who captured him.

The Revolutionary Government also announced that the Congolese freedom fighters would never accept reconciliation with Congo (Leopoldville) Prime Minister Moise Tshombe, and would continue to fight.

TANZANIA: Leaders of African Liberation Movements in Dares-Salaam have condemned the United States and other Western imperialists for plotting to subvert the United Republic of Tan-

Tanzania's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Oscar Kambona, on. Wednesday announced a Western plot to overthrow the Tanzanian Government and subvert the nationalist liberation movements based in the Repu-

14th NOVEMBER, SATURDAY: ZAMBIA: Addressing African Students at a reception given by the Council of African Organisation at the African Unity House in London, President Kenneth Kaunda dismissed the wrong notion that a Continental Union of Africa now was premature, and not feasible, as an imperialist propaganda.

President Kaunda said "African Unity is a big feasibility and we are working towards

He added that Africans should not be dismayed by such imperialist propaganda.

SUDAN: Sudanese President General Ibrahim Abboud has announced his resignation as President and Commander in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

Radio Omurman said the Sudanese Cabinet had provisionally taken over the functions of the Head of State following General Abboud's resignation.

KENYA: The Federation of Labour has decided to sever its ties with the Brussels-based reactionary, anti-African International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The decision was taken at the federation's general Council meeting attended by more than 100 delegates.

It came in the wake of strong protests from political and trade Union circles calling for the federation to disaffiliate from the

16th NOVEMBER, MONDAY: MALAWI: Police were rushed to the Palambe area of Southern Malawi following week-end incidents in which one person was killed, 20' people-mostly Jehovah's Witnesses-were beaten up and houses hurnt down,

TANZANIA: Five leaders of a counter-revolutionary organisation have been executed following death sentences passed on them by the people's liberation army court for plotting to overthrow the Tanzanian Covern-

SOUTH AFRICA: A 30-member international committee has be-

gan a public trial of South African fascist leader Hendrik Verwoerd in New Delhi, India, for pursuring his vile and evil policy of apartheid.

An appeal to people who had suffered from or experienced apartheid policies to give evidence at the trial was made by the committee set up last September by the World Youth Forum in Moscow.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Southern Rhodesian African nationalist leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and sixteen others have been released from preventive detention in Gwelo jail and sent to a restriction camp 400 miles from Salisbury.

The detention of Mr. Nkomo and his colleagues was last week declared illegal by a Southern Rhodesian High Court which ordered that they should be set

SOUTH AFRICA: The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson has told the British Parliament that his Government has decided to impose an embargo on the export of arms to South Africa, but the already signed centract by the former Tory Government to supply 16 Buccaneer aircraft to the republic is still under review.

GHANA: Speaking in Accra of the opening of the fifth general assembly of the Union of National Radio and Television Organisation (URTNA) at the Ambassador Hotel, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. A. E. Inkumsah, called on the Union to work for

total African independence,

unity and a Union Government. Mr. Inkumsah told the delegates that if they would all participate in the discussions of the business between them with the true cause of African Unity first and foremost in their minds, there could be no doubt, whatever, that the assembly would be a great success and would have contributed its due quota towards the creation of the Union Government of Africa which we all desire so much to see come into being, even now.

The meeting is expected to last five days

U.A.R.: President Nasser of the United Arab Republic (UAR) and President Modibo Keita of Mali have had a two-hour official meeting in Cairo.

A U.A.R. spokeman said the two Presidents had reached "complete understanding" on all issues they discussed, including the struggle against imperialism.

The spokesman said President Nasser would visit Mali next year at President Keita's invitation.

18th NOVEMBER WEDNES-.

DAY: GHANA: A letter from the Government of the United Arab Republic has been received by Kwame Nkrumah, thank in g him for his generous gift of £5,000 to the Coptic Museum in

Cairo. The letter from the U.A.R. Government expressed the hope that excavations at the Deier El-Kasier in upper Egypt would reveal important facts for the progress and enlightenment of Africa and humanity.

The donation was made by Kwame Nkrumah when he visited the Coptic Museum in July this year, during the Summit Conference of Heads of State and Governments of the Organisation of African Unity in Cairo.

ETHIOPIA: The African air transport conference going on in Addis Ababa has recommended the establishment of multi-national airlines and training centres in each African sub-region.

This, the conference said, would serve as a preparatory step towards the formation of a single Pan-African airline as called for by Ghana and Guinea to handle all international air services to, and from and in Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA: India has announced in the United Nations that it was prepared to give £1,743 to help people persecuted by the racist South African administration because of their opposition to apartheid policy.

The decision follows an appeal by the chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on apartheid.

Portugal and Decolonisation

declare" do not appear in the Charter. Dr. Nogueira puts them in his text merely because he wishes to argue that the Charter leaves the declaration to the discretion of the members. And like a real wily fox, he does not put any of this in quotation marks. He does not want to be caught red-handed! But he nevertheless proceeds to argue as if those four crucial words were in fact in the Charter. Thus he says that the "wording (of Article 73) clearly indicated that it (the Article) was addressed to member governments and not to the United Nations as an organisation, to

Again he says that Article 73 "expressly indicated that it concerned a UNILATERAL

which it gave no responsibi-

lities and therefore no rights"

Now the words "if they so act to be performed by such government AS DESIRED TO DO SO IN WHAT-EVER WAY THEY SAW FIT" (p.77 italics mine). This in spite of the fact that the Article says clearly that members RECOGNIZE a certain principle and ACCEPT certain obligations! The Article does not even say that "members of the United Nations who declare that they have or have assumed responsibilities for the administration (of non-self-governing territories)". It says plainly that members "who have or assume responsibilities".

DISTORTION OF A PUBLIC DOCUMENT

The decision whether member has or has assumed

Charter. It is this interpretation which Portugal has sought to arrogate to herself. But this is not an interpretation of her "constitution" Dr. Nogueira does not deny that this is the basic question. He says that 'the question of interpretation (is) of paramount importance" (p.141). He says again that "Article 73 is in the Charter, it is a written provision, and no interpretation whatever is valid unless it is based on it (i.e. the Charter). It is to make his interpretation square with the Charter that Dr. Nogueira so blatantly distorts the Charter by inserting his own words to

a public document.

(Continued from page 7)

When his dishonest device is exposed it becomes clear that he does not have a case, that the Charter does not give such responsibilities is clearly to members any discretion to a matter of interpreting the apply Aritcle 73 as they wish apply Aritcle 73 as they wish. It becomes clear that the Charter imposes obligations on all members who govern colonies, that Portugal as a member has obligations if she administers colonies, that the question of interpretation, and that by all accepted rules and practices of International Law. Portugal does not have the right to interpret a multi-lateral agreement unilateraly as she claims. Portugal's legal argument against the United Nations falls to the ground. The United Nations, through her appropriate organs, has the competence to define and interpret the Charter terms and provisions. In the next and concluding part, we shall examine the United Nations definition and Portugal's objections to that definition.

CORRECTION

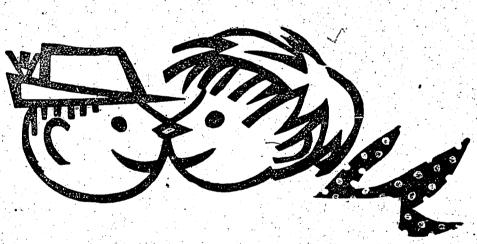
Dear Comrade,

I deeply regret that, writing under considerable difficulty. I misplaced a sentence in my article "Forty Seven Years". The phrase—"and Lenin, who was still alive at that time, commented that these, indeed, were a British form of Soviet", should have referred to the nation-wide committees of the "Hands off Russia Campaign" of 1921, and not to the Trades Councils in the general strike of 1926, when Lenin had been dead two years.

All the same, the words would have been even more true of the Trades Councils in the 1926 general strike than of the "Hands off Russia Committee" of 1921.

Yours, Pat Sloan London

Spark, Accra. P.S. I'm not the only one who makes mistakés. "The Kremlin" on p.3 is the new Mos cow University!



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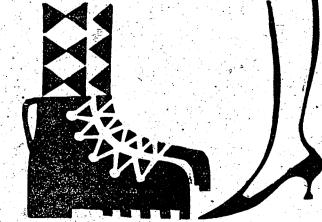
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