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## EDITORIAL

### STANLEYVILLE

HOW long is the world 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?

Nobody should shrug 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 concentration camp and chemical warfare methods against defenceless people, despicable characters in the Congo betraying their own people for money and power, the British

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 dregs of violence, racialism and plunder can be passed off as representing anything that could benefit the Congolese people?

This latest act of aggression 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 an 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 anti-imperialist 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 commercial 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.

As is the case in all developing economies, Ghana's foreign trade is a major source for raising the vast sums of money needed to support industrialisation and the modernisation 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

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 1961.

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.	£85.8m.	£51.3m.
Capital goods and industrial raw materials including fuel etc.	£72.1m.	£60.7m.	£78.9m.

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.

This however is a long-term 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 1954.

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 suffering 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

place, shady deals undermine 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 problem 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 functionaries.)

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

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 trade.

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## NO COMMENT

It is my duty to inform you, sense to realise that and behave accordingly.

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

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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 of learning and teaching, these are the qualities of a real, of a living University.

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

# Socialism Without Science is 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 be equipped with the greater scientific knowledge and the means to give richer service to our people and to Africa.

Nearly three years ago, we decided to build an Atomic Reactor in Ghana. We were fully aware 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 unnecessary proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and with equal consistency for the abolition of such weapons.

Our sole motive in reaching the decision to build the Centre which you now see rising before you, is to enable 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 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 many-sided problems which face us in all the spheres of our development in Ghana and in Africa.

We know that doubts have been expressed concerning the wisdom and practicability of our decision. Many important but inconclusive reasons have been advanced to persuade us 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 preceded us in the scientific revolution.

## THE FLEA

Allow me to remind you of the 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 infinitum**. 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 common heritage of mankind. Beginning so loftily as we do, there is no reason for us to be timid in joining the forward march of knowledge.

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

to the building of an industrialised socialist society. We cannot afford to sit still 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 void.

## 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, 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 knowledge and training.

We have now embarked on the second stage of the project. 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 ancillary buildings which such 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 made.

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 strengthened 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 the Agency visited Ghana, and 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 development 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 it is confidently 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 groundbreaking 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 preoccupations.

## 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 industrial use.

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 of 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 and danger of our nuclear predicament, and their own special responsibility and involvement 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 obligation 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 of 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 science 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 heterogeneous 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



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

Ghana in the application of radio-isotope techniques in the study of plant protection from weeds and insect pests, and the uptake of fertilisers by plants under local conditions.

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 study of radiation genetics. Through these researches it will become possible to find a way of inducing genetic changes in plants and animals to 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 to many problems in agriculture and in medicine. During the coming year, the 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 planning.**

This is another of the many compelling reasons why we in Ghana have made a persistent appeal for the early establishment of a Continental Union Government of Africa. 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 demand, we must apply the

latest scientific techniques. We, 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 enough Ghanaian scientists and Ghanaian technicians of all kinds for the work we have on hand. Even the finest laboratory, the best equipment or, indeed, the best reactor, 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 established 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 exhibits was most encouraging.

The projected National Science 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 everyday 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 seven-year national programme for the promotion of science in Ghana. This plan, which is ready 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 proposed the name "Science City" for this community. It will have a main central building to be known as the "Palace of Science", containing a whole range of laboratories 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 industrial plants to be established, but to make the necessary economic appraisal of the proposed industry.

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 lives.

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 Gentlemen, 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 peace.

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



# 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."**

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 materials.

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 foreign private investment under this plan (the Seven-Year Development Plan) is on furthering the change in the direction of such investment in favour of productive ventures and securing a rapid augmentation in its volume."

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.

Productive enterprises and technical services which we have seen contribute greatly to economic development demand heavy initial capital outlays. In other words, industrial undertakings demand far greater investments of initial capital than trade and commerce. This is due to the plant and machinery (and in most cases in the developing countries the training of skilled labour) involved. Besides, such enterprises are generally only profitable when undertaken on a large scale.

## CAPITAL

Because profits on manufactured goods are generally very small compared with the profits that the average Ghanaian businessman wishes to make on his small capital outlays in trade. The fact often escapes would-be entrepreneurs 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 outlays of capital.

There is thus a vicious circle. Large profits cannot be made, unless large investments are made. But paucity of capital is proverbial in the developing countries of which Ghana is one. The local private entrepreneur is therefore, handicapped from the start. Since capital is so very scarce it is also very dear and interests on loans are extremely high in countries such as ours. There is also the fact that it takes a long time for industrial enterprises to get established and begin to yield profits.

Again, foreign countries pursue policies which are inimical to the fledging industries in the developing countries such as Ghana. I refer to high tariffs on manufactured goods from countries such as ours. Thus prices of goods imported from the developing countries into the advanced countries must necessarily be very high. A case in point is the prohibition of the importation of cotton

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 attractive to the local would-be entrepreneur. These in fact, are some of the reasons why capitalism can never succeed in Ghana and in the other developing countries. Realizing the bleak prospects of productive ventures, would-be capitalists generally turn to trade and commerce, where disadvantages mentioned above do not apply. Requiring no plant, elaborate machinery and skilled man-power, a little capital goes a very long way.

We may observe here in passing, that the inexorable economics of these facts made the colonial capitalists, who came to exploit, concentrate on trade and commerce and the exploitation of raw materials. They exported the raw materials 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 colonialism: Its preservation therefore, is the perpetuation of colonialism, only it is in a different form. Local entrepreneurs who undertake such ventures are, therefore, helping perpetuate colonialism since their interests coincide with the interests of the capitalists. It is the height of neo-colonialism. 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, therefore, if when political 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 relieved 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. In the first place colonies are the sources of raw materials which feed the manufacturing industries in the imperialist countries. Export trade in raw materials therefore, helps to

maintain this colonial system. Besides, since the products are exported in their raw form, their exploitation offers very little employment of 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 country gains at both ends.

In the second place, colonies are maintained as the dumping ground for the manufactured 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 employment in the country.

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 the establishment of productive 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 accompanied 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 few years of independence are sufficient testimony for this 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 Nkrumah has given us superb roads and beautiful offices. Once a taxi driver in admiration of the Kanda residential area exclaimed: "By God, whoever in buildings like these". He thought black men would live

by

**OBOTAN AWUKU**

was rightly amazed; for the buildings compare favourably 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 from the country. In the

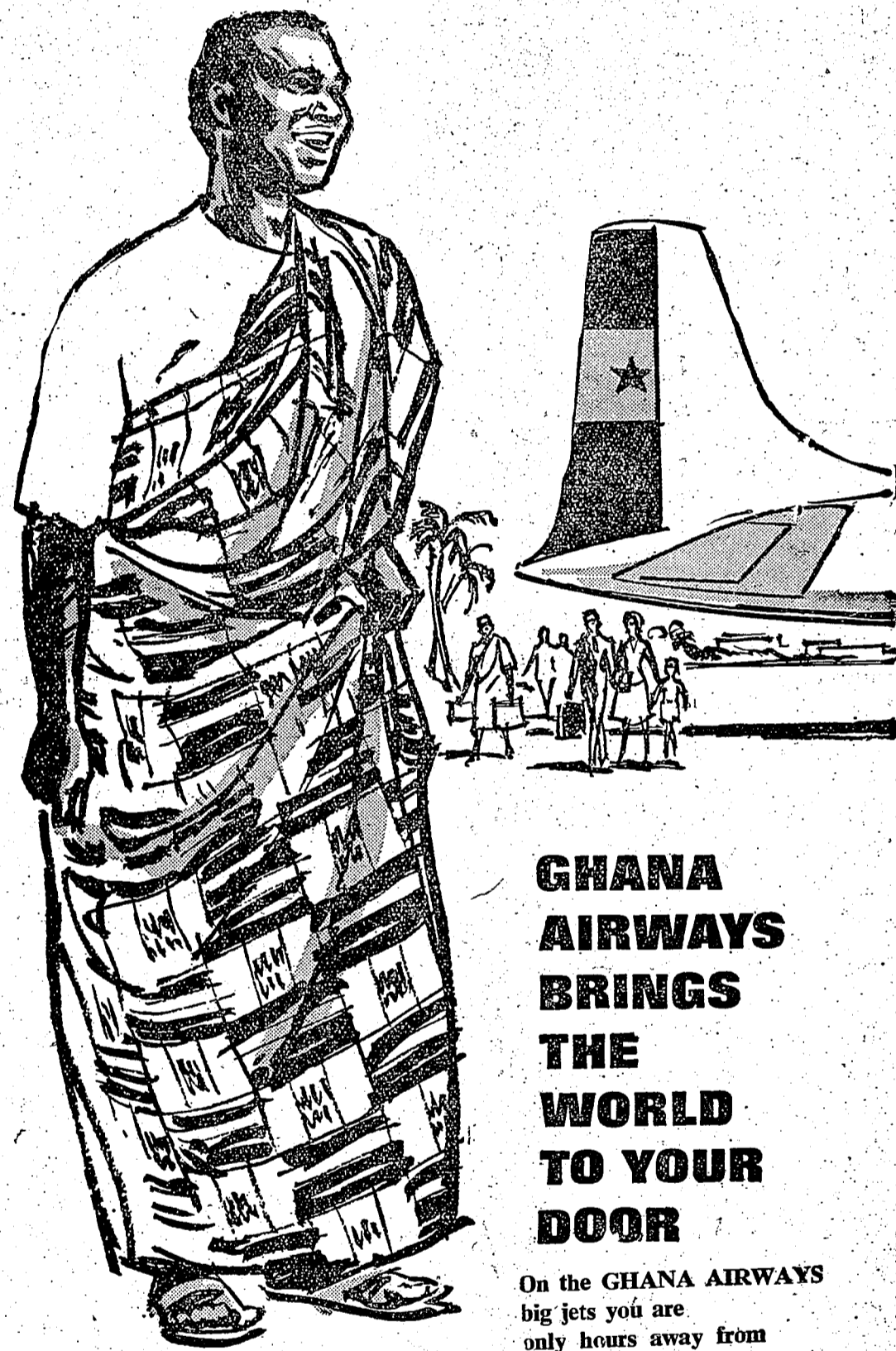
meantime we have started building our own industries to supply us the things we want. A thing that was undreamed of in colonial days.

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 called the local private sector

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 short-run, therefore, with such government direction, it is good policy to encourage foreign private investment.



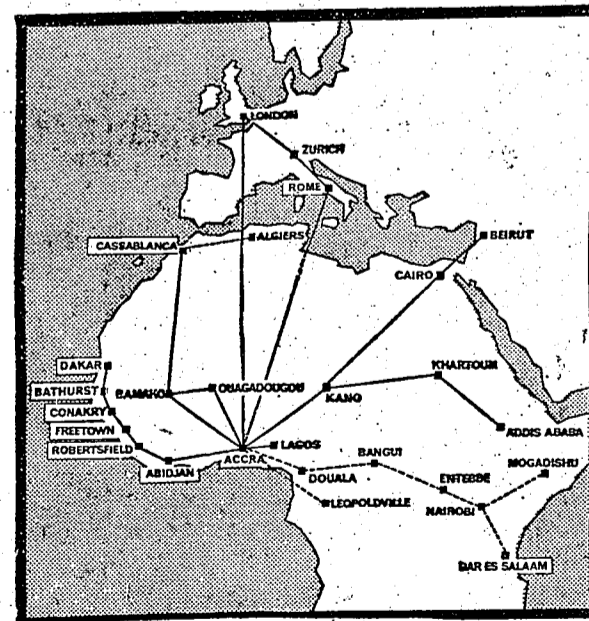
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# The Socialist Revolution in Africa (2)

## IMPERIALISM

SINCE the ending of the second world war, many new independent states have 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.

If those who believe this, look at many independent countries with a certain bewilderment we should not be surprised. They see independent countries not only in Africa but in Asia and in Latin America too, whose economic and social problems are just as acute as they were before this alleged disappearance of imperialism. They see the politicians of these countries dancing still to the tune of the powerful capitalist countries of the world making important concessions within 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 dominant 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 us.

### IMPERIALISM DEFINED

Those who believe imperialism is dead will find that they struggle to be free of a particular imperialism with which they have had a colonial relationship only to fall into the trap of another imperialist country with all the terrible consequences of continuing poverty, insecurity and 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 illusions.

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 empires for example, but modern imperialism in the 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 subjugation and the economic exploitation of a people or another 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 capital."

The second person quoted is Albert Sarraute, a Colonial

Secretary for France, "What is the use of painting the truth? At the start, colonization was not an act of civilisation, was not a desire to civilise. It was an act of force motivated by interest. An 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 distant continents are thinking primarily only of themselves and are working only for their own power and 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 searching and penetrating analysis of economic imperialism.

Lenin explained how because of the conditions of censorship operating in Tsarist Russia, he was able to deal only with the main economic aspects of imperialism which is nevertheless the objective basic aspect of this worldwide modern phenomenon. He was unable to deal with many political and social 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 readings.

### 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 and Holland. In the 17th century traders aimed to buy cheap and sell dear. They 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 Asia, and of course they discovered in Africa an even more valuable commodity—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 wonder 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 own 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 Africa.

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 ESSENTIAL CONTENT NAMELY THE SUPER EXPLOITATION OF THE WEAKER COUNTRY BY THE STRONGER DEVELOPED CAPITALIST STATE.

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

In giving his work this subtitle 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 basic 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 markets.

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 capitalist countries. In addition the monopolies 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 where they sold their manufactured goods as expensively as possible.

### 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 already 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 communication, 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 extracted 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 world. When Lenin was writing "Imperialism" monopoly

capitalism was a A WORLD SYSTEM. Its operations involved the bankers and stockbrokers in every major capitalist country in the world, it exploited the industrial proletariat 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 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. "Watchword", that favourite expression 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 way.

### SHARPENING OF CONTRADICTIONS

Social production grows, extending over vast areas, involving millions of people but the numbers who own and control it for their 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 masses 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 on a world scale for the re-division 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 profit.

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

In addition, the Ministry of 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 trade.

The organisation of internal retail trade is of great importance 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 department.

We have to admit, however, that such a machinery readily keeps prices under control in the big and medium stores in the townships. 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, etc);

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 first 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 imperative.



# Portugal and Decolonisation (2)

by Dr. Thomas A. Mensah

IN the first part of the review we examined Dr. Nogueira's assumptions 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. Nogueira 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 colonial possessions. In this part of the review we shall discuss and refute the 'legal' argument which Dr. Nogueira presents on behalf of Portugal.

The legal position of Portugal on the subject of its colonial possessions is in brief this: "That Portugal does not have any colonial possessions in the sense in which that expression is used in the Charter of the United Nations. That the Portuguese possessions overseas are not colonies

but integral parts of the Portuguese nation. That the Portuguese 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 territorial unity of Portugal constitutes intervention into her internal 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 provisions.

## 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 non-self-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" peoples could hardly be said to participate on an equal footing with European Portugal in making and applying laws. Jurisdictionally, 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 even acknowledges 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 says.

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

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".

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 the 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 discrimination 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.

In respect of the second argument, i.e. that for the United

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 of "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.

The same may be said of the 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. Portugal do otherwise would be to discriminate against Portugal. This is contrary to the provisions of the Charter that the United Nations believes in the "sovereign equality" of all its member states. (p.79). 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 challenge.

## OBLIGATIONS

In any case, this argument 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 crime".

The important question 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 Portugal therefore administers non-self governing territories

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 fact has colonial territories, that in spite of what her "constitution" says, these overseas territories are really colonies.

The issue then become a question of (1) the interpretation of the term "non-self-governing 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 for 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 Charter. So Dr. Nogueira proceeds, very ingeniously 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 the terms of Article 73; but according to the accepted practice and theory, the organs of an international institution are the competent bodies to interpret its provisions (Kelsen: 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 assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government 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. Nogueira 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 illumine  
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 —  
The ashes of the waitings  
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 waitings that escaped  
The fight 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 slavenship,  
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 glory!

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 ravaging 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 railines, weep;  
Of a million digging dogs  
That upon the earth, bark;  
Of a million terrific thunders  
That across the skies, wall,  
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)

