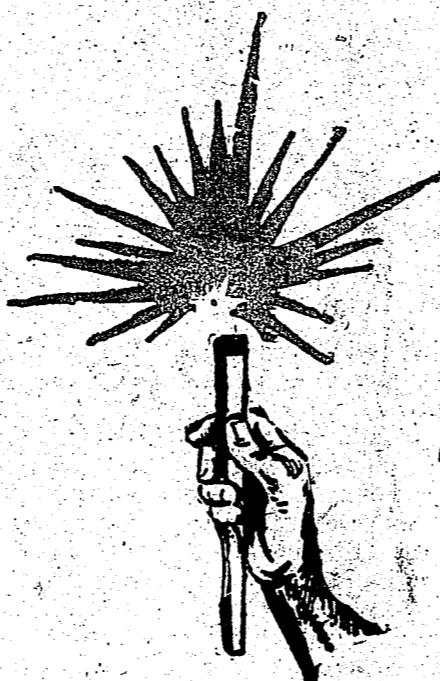


THE SPARK



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THE MECHANICS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

EDITORIAL

RACISM

THE English Midlands town of Smethwick is rapidly earning itself the unenviable reputation of being a centre of race prejudice and hatred. There are reports of a campaign to prevent an Indian family moving into a Council house there to which they are legitimately entitled.

Four weeks ago, after a campaign based on the most backward and brutal racial prejudices of the electorate the Tories succeeded in gaining the Parliamentary constituency.

Mr. Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister did well to denounce Griffiths, the racist Smethwick Member as "a Parliamentary leper". When Griffiths spoke in the British House of Commons, Labour members boycotted him by complete and utter silence... his fellow Tories, needless to say, used the opportunity to demonstrate in his favour.

During the General Election campaign Sir Alec Douglas Home was challenged to repudiate the racist campaign of the Smethwick Tories. He shuffled off the challenge and by his prevarications tended to support the racist lies about immigrants being responsible for the housing shortage, for overcrowded schools, for health problems.

After 13 years of Tory rule, Britain is in the throes of a housing shortage, working class children are still being taught in overcrowded schools, the health service is still not capable of coping with sickness and hospital overcrowding, but we fail to see how a few hundred thousand people, newly arrived in a country of 47 million, have managed to produce such chaos.

Over 120 years ago Frederick Engels was discussing how capitalism in Britain had produced an acute housing shortage, how the health and social well-being of the British people was undermined by new industrial capitalist relations and conditions in Britain. At that time there were no Indian, African and West Indian citizens of the British Commonwealth on whom the blame could be laid by the bosses and capitalists and their own Tory politicians.

In the Old Testament we read how people would periodically transfer their sins to a goat which they then sent out into the desert, this was the scapegoat. The Tories are using the arrival of a few people from other parts of the Commonwealth as their scapegoat for their own incompetence and inability to solve the acute social problems of the British people.

But the ground for such racist propaganda has already been prepared over a much longer period than 13 years continuous Tory rule of Britain.

Racism is the bitter fruit of imperialism, the ideological poison spread to justify inhuman exploitation and oppression of peoples outside the metropolitan country. It is used in the United States to ensure the existence of a section of workers who can be super-exploited, who will be the source of higher and higher profits for American capitalists.

For generations the people of Britain have been fed, sometimes crudely, sometimes more subtly, by their ruling class with superstitious nonsense about race. Such concepts as 'the white man's burden', 'the white man's civilising mission', 'the Western way of life', 'the yellow peril' are expressions of fully developed theories of racial superiority. How otherwise

A 28-page pamphlet, "The Truth About Komla Gbedemah", is the handwork of a frustrated associate of the self-exiled former Finance Minister of Ghana. The author's name is withheld for obvious security reasons. But since the pamphlet originally came out in French and contains minute details which only a local man can pick up, there is strong suggestion that the author is Togolese. The value of the pamphlet lies in its lucid exposure of the inner workings of counter-revolution.

The Anglo-U.S. origin of the plots; the rivalries of U.S. and British imperialism over the choice of a new "leader" for Ghana; the objective of throwing Ghana open to "unlimited freedom of free enterprises"; the use of both opposition politicians and members of the ruling political party, the use of neighbouring neo-colonialist states as jumping off ground for the saboteurs and assassins; the employment of dignitaries including even church personalities, the co-ordination of plans from the embassy of the imperialist countries—these have all been given us, in this racy narrative as the elements that go into making a counter-revolution. This pamphlet adds flesh to the analysis we made in THE SPARK on August 2, 1963. It is a factual corroboration of the theory of counter-revolution.

Once it came to the conclusion that Ghana was travelling the road of socialism and that the people were united behind Kwame Nkrumah in this drive, imperialism saw its last hope in a *coup d'etat*. The point, however, to emphasise is that Nkrumah is not to be eliminated because he is a 'bad' man. Rather, he has to go because he has built up and leads a movement whose economic objectives, if realised, mean the destruction of imperialist interests, not only in Ghana but throughout Africa.

FROM THE INSIDE

We shall follow the narrative and piece together the ingredients of counter-revolution as engineered by imperialism. The first element in the counter-revolutionary plot is the choice of the political forces within the country to lead it. The British chose Busia's United Party because it opposed the Convention People's Party from the right. In other words, because it is a Party representing business or capitalist interests. In addition, Gbedemah was selected in order to broaden the base of the opposition to the C.P.P. The choice of someone within the C.P.P. leadership clearly reflects the imperialist technique of fighting strong popular parties from the inside rather than from the outside.

Another reason for selecting Gbedemah is his economic interests and connections. He made money out of government deals with the West; owned a poultry farm with an annual turnover in the region of £50,000; was personally involved in huge government contracts with British and U.S. companies.

CONTACT MEN

Gbedemah obviously had supporters within the CPP leadership. For all later evidence has shown that he manipulated certain well placed

individuals in both the government and the public service of the country in more attempts to stage a *coup d'etat*.

The generalisation is irrefutable. Wherever strong political regimes serving the interests of the people contain business or capitalist elements in their hierarchy, imperialism will fasten on to such capitalist elements in an effort to subvert the people's political power.

The second element in the imperialist engineered counter-revolution is an organisation within the country to be assailed. This comprises contact men directed from an embassy with the key operative as an embassy official holding one of the usual ranks. The Ghana organisation included contact men like Victor de Grand Frempong, personal assistant to Gbedemah, Bishop Andrew van den Bronk, and local CIA agents "who worked as clerks in American firms and representation in Ghana" (p.11). This internal organisation was headed by Mr. Bint who went around as "the labour attache of the U.S. Embassy in Accra" (p.9).

OUTSIDE ORGANISATION

The third element in the conspiracy is an organisation outside the country. In this case, the organisation was made up of all exiled political opponents of Nkrumah. Busia and Gbedemah shared the leadership of this outfit. "Busia was responsible for propaganda in preparing the *coup d'etat*. Gbedemah headed all terroristic operations" (p.21).

This external organisation must enjoy the active support of one or more neo-colonialist African states. In this case it was Olympio's Togo. The assistance rendered include:

1. training of militants at the Tsevi camp;
2. full cover by the Ministry of the Interior in Togo with

both Teophil Mally, Togo's Minister of Internal Affairs and K. Dekon, Togo's Commissioner of Police, as aides to the organisation;

3. free movements of arms and money.

This external organisation enjoyed free movement in Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Liberia. It was directed by George Davis, alias Leonard Desimus, who is a known CIA agent. He resided in a Lome house, postal address B.P. 20, owned by Ghanaian exile Salifu Inoro.

FUNDS FROM IMPERIALISTS

Funds came in from imperialist sources. "While visiting Hamburg in June 1962, Gbedemah received 20,000 Ghanaian pounds from an American representative and another 50,000 from London. Later on the U.S. Ambassador in Lome gave him another 50,000 as well as a special 'manual' on the organisation of *coup d'etat*, as well as weapons" (p.17).

The fourth element in the conspiracy is propaganda. It used leaflets and anonymous letters. It also used carefully planned terrorist attacks meant to create semblance of disorder within Ghana and to break the morale of the populace.

The fifth element is imperialist diplomatic support using pro-west African states as well as other pressures, mostly economic. It was agreed that "a campaign would start in the West in support of Gbedemah's regime" (p.11); that "Togo and Liberia would immediately recognise the new government" (p.11); that there will be "a report from Washington announcing signature of the agreement for financing the Volta Project" (p.11). It will be remembered that there was a protracted delay before President Kennedy finally agreed on U.S. loans for the

BY

JULIUS SAGO

Volta Project. In fact, Kwame Nkrumah had to fix a date line for America's support to be announced. In short, pressure was needed to break America's delaying tactics which were linked, we now know, with Gbedemah's plans for a *coup d'etat*.

REASONS FOR OUR TRIUMPH

As we all know, the plots against Kwame Nkrumah and the people of Ghana have all failed. This does not rule out the possibility of renewed attacks in the future. But the reasons for our triumph in the past must be known in order that our vigilance in the future could be strengthened. As the pamphlet puts it:

"In 1961, Ghana demonstrated that she can develop independently and not only without guidance on the part of Europeans but even in conditions of imperialist resistance. The "Ghanaianisation" of the state apparatus and the army has been carried out in the country. Great changes were carried out in Ghana's economy as a result of nationalising a number of large enterprises engaged in the mining of gold and diamonds, foreign trade, the purchasing of agricultural products, etc. The living standards of the population showed a steep rise and proved the highest in tropical Africa. Measures taken by the government to create the state sector of the economy and restrictions put on foreign capital provided opportunities for starting planned development of the country. The country's constitution introduced by the British was revised. Parliament began to play an active role. Of special interest in Ghana is the establishment of the Auditor-General's office. The Auditor-General enjoys complete independence and controls the entire financial activities of governmental institutions. The reports of the Auditor-General, very often critical of ministers and government departments, are published regularly.

"All these measures ensured popularity for Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party, the latter doubling the number of members from one to two million

people in 1960-61. By that time opposition had no serious support of the masses to speak of. It was backed in Ghana solely by Nkrumah's personal enemies who were striving for power and enrichment, as well as by heads of some tribes who sacrificed the general interests of the nation for clannish ones."

USE OF ARMS

This inside account of the process of hatching a counter-revolution has shown that *coup d'etat* is but a form of the struggle between imperialism and the oppressed peoples of the world. We must expect it. And so must all newly emerged nations who have taken the road of uncompromising opposition to imperialism.

The moral is clear. Imperialism does not scruple to use arms in pursuit of its interests.

The oppressed peoples of the world must know this; and must be prepared to use arms if need be, in defence of their rights to independence, to self-determination and to the use of their natural resources for their own well-being.

The most effective reply to counter-revolution is a vigilant and united people moving rapidly to complete victory of the African Revolution.

At home, we need a united party whose members embrace one socialist ideology. We need a purification of the centres of power—namely the Central Committee and the Cabinet. We must not continue to carry at these centres individuals, however servicable they might have been in the past, who no longer share our socialist objectives because of their material interests.

Abroad, we must roll back neo-colonialist regimes from our borders. For the further away we roll such regimes, the more we deny imperialism the jumping off ground for attacks against our revolution. In the final analysis, such neo-colonialist states must be pushed off the African continent. Hence African political Unity, continental in scale and socialist content.

STUDIES IN CONSCIENCISM (1)

The Nkrumaist World Outlook

By
HABIB NIANG

This article is an extract from a fuller article. It deals with the concepts of space-milieu, categorial space-milieu and categorial space, and their relationship with the outlook of the blackman living outside Africa.

"WE live in a changing world. Out of the conflict of vested interests, a new international community must emerge. The process may be slow, but it is inevitable and unmistakable. This new international community can only serve mankind if it is firmly established on freedom, equality, and inter-dependence among the nations".

But "practice without thought is blind". Therefore, what is called for is "a body of connected thought", a philosophy which will stimulate and guide the process which is inevitable and unmistakable. But the change which is taking place in the world today is not only political or intellectual, it is also technological. What is then called for is a philosophy which is harmoniously linked up with modern science on which modern technology is based.

The philosophy that must stand behind this social revolution is Philosophical Consciencism.

"With regard to space, relativity and Philosophical Consciencism are mutually consistent". Relativity's merging of space-time constitutes the well known theory on which modern science and technology are based.

It is necessary to follow this up with the necessity to throw more light on the attitude of Consciencism with regard to space and time.

SPACE AND TIME.

We know that for Consciencism, matter's life in space and its movement in time are not snuffed out with the merging of space and time. On the contrary, matter's life in the inside and its movement in the outside are essential for a true dialectical evolution. I have suggested before that this may explain why the Afro-Americans and the Black men of the West Indies are still echoing the colour of the African milieu and dancing with the sound of the African music. But this needs to be further elucidated.

First of all we may say that as those Afro-Americans and West Indians are no more living in the African milieu, the life of the African society can only then find its milieu in space. We may therefore call this phenomenon a space-milieu.

This phenomenon is a horizontal portion of space and its inside is the thought of a given milieu and its outside is the history of that milieu.

By milieu we mean an optimum entity, that is to say, an optimum zone for self-induced development or a quality of that milieu. By history we mean the exteriorisation of the milieu.

The fact that this space-milieu is still alive in the inside of the Afro-Americans and the Black men of the West Indies shows in unmistakable terms the power of man as matter as such and at the same time centre of the life of matter. When, through a leap, a new category is born out of this centre (a category which gives birth to a moment in the history of the space-milieu) we call that phenomenon a categorial space-milieu. This phenomenon has its inside in the inside of an individual and its outside is symbolized by a historical moment. This categorial space-milieu is a vertical portion of a space-milieu and a historical moment.

Space-milieu and categorial space-milieu "are nothing but sensory surrogates of quantitative dispositions of matter". The first is derived from social consciousness and the second

from individual consciousness intimately related to a social milieu.

Perhaps these concepts (space-milieu and categorial space-milieu) may help to understand why Pan-Africanism as a concept is born out of the conflict of vested interests in the United States of America and the West Indies. Marcus Garvey and W. E. Du Bois are both categorial space-milieu, that is to say "sensory surrogates of quantitative dispositions of matter". But history has shown that as far as Africa is concerned neither the 'Black Zionism' of Garvey nor the 'Pan-Africanism' of Du Bois has been successful. This fact may be explained by the very fact that the life of the African society within the space-milieu contained in the inside of the Afro-Americans and the Black men of the West Indies has landed outside the African continent. For a categorial space-milieu to be an efficient cause for a visible transformation in society in particular it is necessary that his inside be part and parcel of an optimum zone for self-induced development.

Therefore, in their struggles to attain self-government and self-determination the African leaders could not have had the task of building upon the ideological foundations laid by Dr. Du Bois, the 'father' of Pan-Africanism. Perhaps it is because George Padmore did not feel the phenomenon which becomes the concept of space-milieu that in his well-known 'Pan-Africanism or Communism', he called "the younger leaders of Pan-Africanism to the task of building upon the ideological foundation laid by Dr. Du Bois, the 'father' of Pan-Africanism".

LENINIST CONCEPT

The general trend of 'Pan-Africanism or Communism' shows that the author did not really grasp the Leninist concept of "Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism".

"Africans are quite willing to accept advice and support which is offered in a spirit of true equality, and would prefer to remain on terms of friendship with the West... If, however, they are obstructed they may in their frustration turn to communism as the only alternative means of achieving their aims. The future pattern of Africa, therefore, will, in this context, be in large measure determined by the attitude of the Western nations".— (George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism). We may ask ourselves if George Padmore consulted the documents of the Manchester Conference when he was writing those lines. For in the DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL PEOPLE OF THE WORLD written by Kwame Nkrumah, Approved and Adopted by the Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England, October 15—21, 1945, we read:

"The object of imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to the colonial peoples to govern themselves, they are defeating that objective".

Again on page 53 of Ghana Autobiography, of Kwame

Nkrumah he has pointed out:

"Although this Conference was the fifth of its kind that had taken place, it was quite distinct and different in tone, outlook and ideology from the four that had preceded it. While the four previous conferences were both promoted and supported mainly by middle-class intellectuals and bourgeois Negro reformists, this Fifth Pan-African Congress was attended by workers, trade unionists, farmers, co-operative societies and by African and other coloured students. As the preponderance of members attending the Congress were Africans, its ideology became African Nationalism—a revolt by African nationalism against colonialism, racialism and imperialism in Africa—and it adopted Marxist Socialism as its philosophy."

Moreover in the Preface of "Towards Colonial Freedom", Kwame Nkrumah has stated that:

"Those who formulate the

colonial issue in accordance with the false point of view of colonial powers, who are deluded by the futile promises of 'preparing' colonial peoples for 'self-government' who feel that their imperialist oppressors are 'rational' and 'moral' and will relinquish their 'possessions' if only confronted with the truth of the injustice of colonialism are tragically mistaken. Imperialism knows no law beyond its own interests".

TRUE EQUALITY?

Is it the interests of the imperialists to offer "in a spirit of true equality" their friendship to the colonial peoples for the purpose of preventing them from turning to communism?

This is not only a complete negation of the Leninist concept of Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, it is also a complete negation of "Towards Colonial Freedom". In the same way, we may say that in 'Pan-African-

ism or Communism' George Padmore has rejected "avant la lettre", the Nkrumaist concept of 'neo-colonialism' the latest stage of imperialism, when he wrote that "in the coming struggle for Africa, the issue, as I have already inferred, will be between Pan-Africanism and Communism". The simple truth is that in Africa today the issue is between the African Revolution and Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Moreover, today, as when George Padmore was writing 'Pan-Africanism or Communism', the working men of all countries are behind the "PEOPLES OF THE COLONIES" in conformity with the assurance given by Kwame Nkrumah when, in Towards Colonial Freedom, he called the "PEOPLES OF THE COLONIES TO UNITE."

In Africa today, "neo-colonialism has created a situation in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed

revolution and guerilla struggle".

So history has shown that George Padmore was not like Marcus Garvey and Dr. W. E. Du Bois, categorial space-milieu, nor like Kwame Nkrumah, a categorial space.

By categorial space we mean a vertical portion of space and a historical moment. The inside of this phenomenon lies in the inside of an individual and its outside is a surrogate of a moment in the history of mankind.

CONSCIENCE OF A GIVEN MELIEU

A categorial space-milieu is a surrogate of the conscience of a given milieu, and during a given moment of the history of the milieu. A categorial space is a surrogate of the conscience of mankind during a moment of history.

A categorial space-milieu represents a turning point in the history of that milieu, and

a categorial space symbolises a turning point in the history of mankind. For example, Einstein, being the symbol of a turning point in the history of modern science, is a categorial space-milieu.

A categorial space-milieu realises the transformation of his milieu by becoming a reflection of the colour and sounds of the milieu.

But for human history to realise, as a whole, a turning point, it is necessary for the inside of the categorial space to release a loss of mass capable of transforming human thought through space and time.

Truly Philosophical Consciencism in the latter half of the 20th century is the surrogate of that loss of mass.

N.B. The above quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from Kwame Nkrumah's most recent Cairo Speech, "Towards Colonial Freedom", and "Consciencism".

Positive Action And Negative Action

By Woungly Massaga

FOUR notions may be considered as underlying the philosophical thought of Kwame Nkrumah as it appears in 'Consciencism'.

These notions are: the idea of positive action and negative action which symbolizes the dialectic of 'Consciencism'; the notion of categorial conversion which is the general law of movement at the core of the dialectics; the notion of interiority and exteriority which makes the movement indispensable from categories, to others, whether material or not; and finally the law of optimality which enables a self-induced development.

Here we shall make a few comments on the first of these notions. The question that arises first is why Kwame Nkrumah came to symbolize thus the social dynamics and even the general evolution of phenomena when there is up till now recourse, in the sociological sphere, to the Marxist theory of class struggle; and, in the natural sciences, to special laws.

On reading Consciencism, one is struck by its world outlook; a revolutionary one and therefore necessarily devoid of mysticism. For, a society and a people in revolution constitute, above all, a society and people who have parted with mysticism and who are conscious of the fundamental lines of forces in social dynamics; they are a people conscious of the schema of their interaction.

MATHEMATICAL SYMBOLS

Here, the mathematical symbols, in spite of their grim appearances, are the best instruments for combatting mysticism, since they help strip the social phenomenon of its magic and its myths by reducing its evolution to rational level.

The government, the driving force of the modern society whose complex way of life inspired the most epic myths, rids itself of every mystery in the light of philosophical Consciencism. In the last analysis, it is the relationship of forces between "pa" and "na" (to cite only one example) which is the basis of electoral phenomenon and of the very notion of representation; it is the relationship of forces also go-

vern the autonomous life of all social organs as well as the relationship between the organ and its milieu.

It can be observed here that in proportion as there appears a sort of polarization of interests and of individuals in society, this notion of positive action and negative action identifies itself, in the sociological and political spheres, with the Marxist notion of class and class struggles, and with the bourgeoisie-proletariat opposition.

VIEW OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION

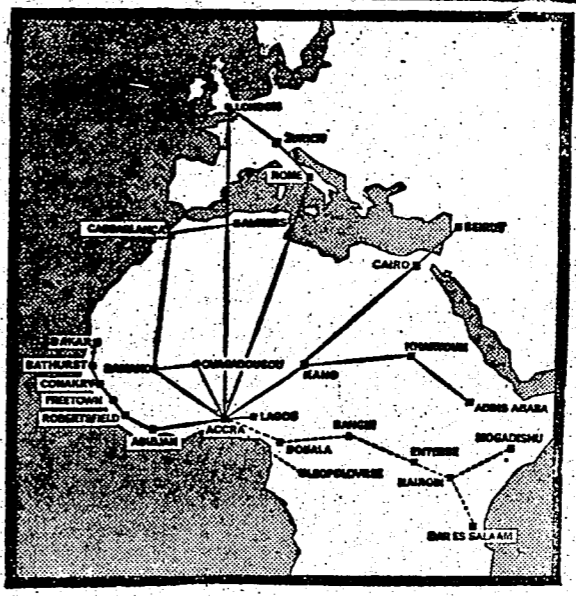
And so, Nkrumah arrives at a sort of mathematical view of social evolution in which the dialectics of the bourgeoisie-proletariat appears as a special illustration.

But the necessity for these symbols is not explained by the need for rationalisation alone. The fact is that the phenomenon of social dynamics cannot always be reduced to a contradiction of its simplest expression, to a linear contradiction, so to say.

The developments of Mao-Tse-Tung on contradiction and, notably, the theoretical distinction which he systematised between fundamental contradictions and secondary contradictions express the theoretical effort to overcome a politic-social situation which could not develop within the framework of a very restricted sphere of bourgeoisie-proletariat opposition.

Therefore, with Mao-Tse-Tung, we depart from the Marxist theory to the search for its development.

Continued on page 6



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A Case for Continental Union Government: (1)

WE, THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA

KWAME Nkrumah said some time ago that Africa is not poor; it is Africans who are poor. The poverty of Africans in comparison with the riches of certain others is indeed startling. Various foreign agencies distressed at this contrast have initiated countless schemes aimed at a redress. But hardly any foreign agency has been prepared to acknowledge that foreign exploitation of Africa has first to be attacked. Fortunately, we hold in our own hands the means whereby we can cancel our poverty.

We joined battle for our economic emancipation a long time ago. In wresting independence, we reached the first definitive staging-post on the road to our reconquest of human dignity and social justice. The work which was begun by us when we asked for independence remains unfinished. We have not yet conquered economic power; but we are in possession in parts (but by no means all) of Africa of a truly significant weapon, namely, political power.

The revolution upon which we have embarked in Africa is a great sociological one, a revolution aimed at the liberation of man, for as Kwame Nkrumah also said, the emancipation of the African is the emancipation of man.

It is a decree of history that the pursuit of social justice shall involve a liberation struggle. Kwame Nkrumah has suggested that such a liberation struggle can be from an external subjection or from an internal subjection. Unfortunately, it can even be a struggle against subjection from both sources.

The national liberation struggle must always be an aspect of the struggle for an equitable society, for the people in backing a liberation struggle are not putting everything upon a hazard, merely in order that they should be subjected to a more deadly because more insidious neo-colonialism.

JUSTER LIFE OF SOCIETY

In the context of Africa, political autonomy, which belongs to the people, must be used exclusively to pursue and defend the better and juster life of society. It is consequently of the first importance that the exercise of political power should be channelled through the agency of those who are truly and uncompromisingly committed to the pursuit of social justice. It is only in this circumstance that the gaining of political independence will also represent the conquest of political power by the people. The people of a nation can have no political power to speak of for as long as they wither under organised neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism and independence are about as compatible as the wolf and the lamb.

We, the people of Africa, are not completely lord and master of our land and its capital resources. This is the next target of our revolution; and its conquest calls for more than a coalition of our progressive forces. It calls for a unitarian consciousness and a unitarian purpose directed at African unity. The forces of exploitation and injustice are today more international than ever before. They cannot be decisively checked by piecemeal local action. A simultaneous and co-ordinated assault upon neo-colonialism by us all over our continent will see its end in Africa.

But before such an assault is feasible, certain tasks have to be performed. First, it is necessary for the wielders of political authority, namely governments, to exercise that authority only in consonance with and on account of the true welfare and social emancipation of the people. Second, we must ourselves master all the forms of combat, for the assault on neo-colonialism has to be fought on simultaneous fronts and at simultaneous levels. Lenin wisely pointed out that the working masses must themselves master all the

forms of struggle in order to sustain and protect the socialist revolution. We, the people of Africa, must likewise master all the forms of struggle and combat, in order that we should sustain and protect the revolution for the true emancipation and development of our people, in which we are even now engaged. We must safeguard our revolution by mastering political, intellectual, sociological, industrial and cultural forms of struggle.

In choosing the means of struggle at any time, we must not only reckon with African institutions, customs and traditions of our various countries, factors which may be lumped together as our inertia-system, we must also reckon with the ideologically infected habits whether economic, sociological, intellectual, cultural, or industrial, through which those who seek to exploit and dominate us channel their influence. At the same time, we must also form a correct estimate of political developments both in Africa and in the objectively progressive strata of neo-

colonialist countries; for their alliance with our united African forces may be necessary to hasten the elimination of the neo-colonialist kraken from the African scene. In our self-address to this, we must make sure that we have, in Africa, mass parties which are imbued with a suitable dynamic ideology; the ideology of African unity and social justice. These mass parties should be the organs whereby we the people express our entire political power. The mass parties must therefore be comprehensive enough to embrace us all. Through our direct membership in the mass parties, the parties can impart to us most effectively, that political education which is required to foster and sustain our unity of consciousness, purpose and action.

SOCIALIST LINES

With the conquest of political power, we should be almost set to bring about our own economic emancipation and development along socialist lines, the only lines of development compatible with social justice. One does not deny that economic progress of a nation is possible under capitalism; but what we require in Africa is not mere economic progress, but economic development with social justice. We seek not merely the creation of a developed economy, but the formation of a dynamic, positive and just society.

By KOJO ABRAHAM

Men who have built the great economies of the world have sometimes done so upon the ruins of their people. The atrocities of nineteenth century economic development in Europe and America form some of the goriest passages in the economic history of the world. We in Asia and Africa have, as the world's most bitterly rapaciously exploited, also supported those capitalist economies upon the ruins of our society. This is why we speak of re-construction.

High-production economies often have been founded upon the ruins of social complexes. Indeed, so pervasive is this feature of high-production economies that when we say that we are able to attain high-production standards without self-ruin, we are accused of seeking development without wanting to pay the price for it.

If we should today name a European capitalist country and say that in a very few years we shall overtake it and pass it, we would not mean that by that year we should have turned Ghana into a more successful capitalist economy. It is possible for two economies to attain the same levels of production without thereby being similar economies or thereby generating similar social structures. The difference between a capitalist economy and a socialist one is not in their levels of production but in their manner of organisation, in their motivation, in the ownership of means, in the method and spread of distribution etc. Those who expect Africa to turn into a new ma-

for capitalist economy are frightfully egoistic. It is only egoism that can lead one to conceive a developed economy exclusively in terms of capitalism, a developed society exclusively in terms of capitalism.

HUMANE PATTERN

Though our economic development, because it is socialist in form, will follow a humane pattern, we must still recognise that we are changing our techniques of production with revolutionary speed. This has a consequence that certain values to which some of us may have anchored our way of life have to be jettisoned for the sake of a higher ideal. In Europe, while aristocrats thought that it was wrong for a really free man to engage in useful work, they had to live with their growing poverty, as rent from land quickly appeared insignificant compared with other possible incomes. Once they abandoned this curious ideal, they found it possible to start selling cabbages and thereby maintain at least a decent living. At the same time, though the acquisition of new techniques of production and methods of increasing social wealth, will cause us to abandon certain ideas which we hold as ideals, it will be found that we have deep-rooted ideals and values which are socialist in inspiration and which we can defend in a modern form.

In capitalist economic development, the concepts and desiderata of social justice play little part in the beginning. In Africa, we intend to relate

economic development to precisely such concepts and desiderata. It should therefore be as surprising as it would be disappointing if in the process of developing our society, we should reproduce the social evils encountered in the development of Europe and America.

Indeed, we have already departed from capitalist social-economic history; for although in parts of Africa, our economic development and educational attainments are less than those of England a hundred years ago, yet our social legislation and the social values embedded in that legislation are far in advance of anything known in England then, and indeed are far in advance of many things possible in other European countries today. We can count legislation in the fields of education, health, industrial relations and social benefits.

ECONOMIC TOTALITARIANISM

In capitalist countries, the economic revolution, which was brought about by the industrial evolution, was not a popular revolution. It was neither a revolution which the popular masses accepted emotionally or rationally, nor was it one which was aimed at the popular or general welfare. It soon proved to be a revolution by means of which economic elites sought to impose an economic totalitarianism upon their societies.

Whether an economy is developed for the sake of society as a whole or only for the sake of a section, depends upon the degree and effectiveness of the social consciousness of society. An economy derives real

strength only from a strong and vigorous society; and a strong and vigorous society is held together and activated by a revitalisation of its humane aspects and a dedication to principles of social justice. Both are secured through social education which is of necessity, ideological in its content and form. Constant and up-to-date ideological education is essential to maintain the informed and responsible citizenry which provides the supple and reliable framework within which progress and development can take place.

GENUINE HELP

In our progress and development we shall need the assistance of all who are prepared to give us genuine help. But we must not delude ourselves into thinking that capital is the only crucial factor required, that skill and, if necessary, other labour can always be imported in one degree or another from elsewhere. We cannot hope to combine economic development with social justice, if we resign ourselves to vicarious development. Our capacity for absorbing even our own capital is gravely affected by the extent and level of our educational attainment, by the degree and intensity of our social consciousness, by the reliability and tone of our apparatus of government, by the clarity and purposefulness of our view of human resources. This point is constantly glossed over in some of our countries which are ideologically flabby.

An ideological uplift in such countries will create the necessary dynamics of consciousness and the will to progress

Continued on page 7.

Portugal and Decolonization

A Review of the recent book by Dr. Franco Nogueira—the Portuguese Foreign Minister—entitled "The United Nations and Portugal—A Study in Anti-Colonialism", London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1963.

by
Dr. T. A. Mensah

PART (I)

THE efforts of the international community dedicated to the liquidation of all forms of colonialism received a clearly noticeable impetus with the formation of the United Nations Organization in 1945. This was due to the fact (1) that the United Nations has been openly anti-colonial in orientation and (2) that most of the colonial powers and their supporters have come to accept, even if grudgingly, that the international community of states and peoples, has a legitimate interest in the 'colonial phenomenon', and therefore a legitimate role in supervising and controlling its operation.

Most of these powers have accepted that the colonial system is destined for a total and inevitable collapse—even though many of them have either hoped to postpone that collapse for as long as possible or have sought to maintain the system under a new name. Only one colonial power, of the classical imperial type, has openly challenged the propriety of the United Nations' interest in colonialism and therefore the legitimacy and desirability of the organization's programme for decolonialism. This one power is Portugal which has, from the time of her admission to the United Nations in 1956, tried to 'put the brakes' on the processes begun in 1945.

She has used all sort of arguments to attack the United Nations' stand and to defend her own position, and her government has resorted to strategies of all kinds to push through her plans. In all this exercise the chief spokesman for and architect of the Portuguese 'counter-decolonization' efforts has been Dr. Franco Nogueira, her Foreign Minister and the leader of her delegations to the annual sessions of the General Assembly. It is not surprising therefore that Dr. Nogueira should have decided to publish a book in which he seeks to put the Portuguese case more forcefully, perhaps more completely and certainly to a much wider audience than he has ever had

the occasion to do previously. The case he puts is not a strong one by any means, in spite of the considerable vehemence he exhibits and the undoubted—if openly Machiavellian—ingenuity he employs. But because the subject he treats is so important and so topical, because the issues he raises sometimes transcend the (admittedly weighty) problem of colonialism to touch on the character and very existence of the United Nations and of the whole decolonization process, it is both necessary and desirable that his subterfuges be exposed, that his dangerous tinkering at the United Nations Charter (tinkering which is nonetheless dangerous for being ingenious) be

shown up for what it is, and that the "crisis of confidence" in the United Nations which he alleges be shown to exist only in his disturbed imagination.

Much damage has already been done to the image of the United Nations—and the principles and ideals on which it operates—by persons and groups who find that they cannot make it cater for their selfish interests, and who therefore are willing to wreck it by any means, fair or foul. Those who believe, in the United Nations should come to its defence, not indeed to prove that it is perfect—as indeed who can prove that about any organization of men?—but that it has been true to its ideals and purposes; and that it represents a force which only the greedy blind can seek to discredit. Those who believe in decolonization and in the view that the United Nations has a mandate to help in its progress must show that neither the concept of decolonization nor the United Nations' programmes dedicated to it are contrary to the original and unfolding purposes of the organization.

The purpose of this review

is to answer the charges which Dr. Nogueira levels at the United Nations and (really) at the anti-colonial position. This review will attempt to answer, as fully as space will allow, the 'political' and 'legal' arguments with which Dr. Nogueira seeks to bolster up the reactionary position of the Portuguese government on colonialism. In one sense this is likely to prove very helpful. For rather fortunately, Dr. Nogueira's book states, in detail, all the arguments which the Portuguese Government has ever brought forward against the United Nations and anti-colonialism. His book therefore presents us with the opportunity to answer the 'Portuguese case' completely.

The book is divided into two main sections. The first section provides the background to the whole controversy. In the second section, Dr. Nogueira attempts to state the case for Portugal—both legal and political. This review will follow this arrangement as much as it is possible. In this first part we shall examine the adequacy (and implications) of the background which Dr. Nogueira provides for the problem of colonialism and anti-colonialism in the United Nations.

He begins with a historical excursus into the 'Colonial Policy of the League of Nations'. He rightly points out that after the Berlin Conference of 1856, the principle of 'internationalization' (of the colonial system) acquired a validity

which it became difficult to question" and that this principle (that the colonial problem is an international problem) "came to override the national interest of the colonizing state" (p. 15). He notes that the League of Nations, when it was formed in 1918, accepted this principle.

But this was nothing to worry about, as far as the western colonial powers were concerned. For ever though the League aimed at universality, the League being mainly European in membership was 'European and Western in inspiration' and was 'cemented by a unity of ideals' despite the fact that it extended beyond the frontiers of Western Europe (p. 15). To bring the colonial system under the supervision or control of the League was not, therefore, likely to adversely affect the interests of the western colonial powers since the interest of the colonial powers and of the League were probably identical and certainly inspired by the same ideals.

Nothing could be more accurate than this description of the ideological character of the League of Nations. Dr. Nogueira, of course gives this description with considerable and noticeable nostalgia. He finds it difficult to swallow the fact that the community of states which operates the United Nations does not have that "monolithic" ideological orientation which made the "internationalization" of the colonial system as innocuous and

unobjectionable to the Western powers as it was under the League of Nations. In the League the 'ideological dictatorship' of the West made it possible to hide the predatory nature of colonialism under the facade of "collective control over the administration of overseas territories".

Casidly—perhaps too candidly, and unwittingly so—Dr. Nogueira exposes the hypocrisy that was the League of Nations' 'colonial policy'. He shows the staggering difference between the stated policy and the facts this was designed to obscure. He states bluntly that the League's attitude to the colonial problem reflected a compromise—a compromise BETWEEN the "interests of the colonial peoples" and the material and strategic interests of the "Great (Western) Powers, between the rights of the colonial peoples and their progress" and "the political aims of the colonial nations".

This was of course no compromise if we realise that there was really only one party and not two as would appear on the surface. The 'basic ideological unity of the League' and the "spirit of the Concert of Europe" made the so-called 'internationalization' of colonial administration nothing more than a cruel farce. For, as Dr. Nogueira admits, this international control and supervision... "had mainly in view the interests of Europe" (p. 18).

Continued on page 8

With the Freedom Fighters of South Vietnam

THIS IS AN EXCERPT FROM A FORTHCOMING BOOK BY AN AUSTRALIAN JOURNALIST, WILFRED BURCHETT, WHO HAS RECENTLY TOURED LIBERATED AREAS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. HE GIVES A LIVELY ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE AMERICAN INTERVENTIONISTS AND THEIR PUPPETS.

Vietnam



... U.S. imperialism futilely attempts to "dominate" the world by setting brother against brother ...

I WAS musing over the image of a nearly full moon repeatedly shattered by our little sampan into a million stars only to reform into a shimmering, golden orb within seconds of our passing.

Framed in the delicate profile of bamboo leaves glinting in the dark where the moonlight touched them, everything looked polished and gleaming like a Vietnamese lacquer painting.

Suddenly there was a warning signal from our guide; the outboard motor was cut and we veered sharply towards a bamboo thicket on the river bank.

There was the sound of many more outboard motors coming from the direction in which we were heading, and this was disquieting. We were supposed to be in "safe" territory.

Cigarettes were doused, conversation reduced to whispers. Within a few minutes the first couple of a double line of sampans rounded a bend about 500 yards distant, followed by more and more. They were still rounding the bend when the first couple was only twenty or thirty yards from our hiding place.

But long before that, we had heard the sound of women's voices and as they

grew nearer we caught glimpses through the leaves of sampans filled to the water line with women and girls.

Each was holding a stick with a papered-over frame on which slogans had been scrawled in big letters and in every sampan there were a few cloth banners with boldly printed slogans, stretched between two sticks.

Our sampan slid out again into midstream and jocular greetings were exchanged as our motor started up again and we moved on downstream past the convoy. By the way the sallies were shouted back and forth and the bursts of laughter that followed some of them, it was clear we were really in "safe" territory.

"They're off to the district centre for a demonstration," said Huynh, my very knowledgeable journalist-interpreter.

"There are about half a dozen villages represented here, but there are other convoys moving in by road and river by other directions".

THE SLOGANS

I asked what the demonstration was about, and after a few more exchanges with the boats, he explained that a village in the district had been bombed a few days previously and a new school and library had been wiped out, as well as half a dozen houses.

No one had been killed, but they were going to protest

about destruction of public property, as the school and library had been built by the villagers themselves.

Huynh translated some of the slogans. Apart from those demanding an end to bombings, and end to the destruction of "government" and "public property" and compensation for the damage done, there were others, such as: "Higher pay for our sons in the army," "Regular leave for army men," "Pensions for wounded soldiers," "Compensation for wives and mothers of army men killed" and "wounded in action."

"An end to beatings in the army."

"Which army?" I asked.

"The puppet army, of course," he replied.

"But the people are from the Liberation Front areas?"

"Almost all of them are."

"And they are demanding higher pay for the soldiers that come and shoot them down and burn their villages?"

"It's a correct tactic," replied Huynh.

"First of all the population never admit to being 'Viet Cong.' They all claim to be loyal subjects of Saigon with the right to 'protection' from the Saigon government.

"If there are 'Viet Cong' around it is only because the 'legal' government has run away, but this is not a reason to bomb their villages.

"Secondly, being themselves on a strictly legal position,

they can claim the Saigon army is 'their' army and should protect them.

"Also it conforms to the general Front policy of winning the sympathy of the puppet troops. Such slogans give the troops the idea that they are being badly treated and adds to their discontent.

"But as a tactic for the actual demonstration it is also very effective. Troops find it difficult to repress demonstrators when they are demanding better conditions for the troops themselves.

MATERIAL HELP

"But it is much more than just a temporary expedient. The Front has a whole policy for such things," he said.

"In cases where there are families in our areas whose sons or husbands have been killed or incapacitated while serving with the enemy forces, we give them material help."

"We give less than we do to families of our own troops, but we do help them. We have a special organisation that visits bereaved families—including those of puppet troops—to explain Front policy and check up on their material needs."

"All that is part of the political aspect of our struggle, to which our leaders pay as much, or more, importance as the military side of things."

I probed Huynh about further illustrations of political strategies and tactics and the nature of politico-military struggle.

"You've already seen for yourself," he continued, "that in many areas there are posts that we could easily wipe out.

"But if the garrisons are quiet; if they lay off shooting and plundering and listen to the explanations given by the population, we don't shoot. If they shoot—we shoot and we win. They know that.

"But it is useful for us to keep them there as a target for the explanations. Almost the whole population—except for our armed forces—takes part in this. It goes on day and night.

SAIGON TROOPS FORBIDDEN

"In theory the Saigon troops are forbidden to have any contact with the local population, even their closest relatives. In practice there is contact all the time.

"The top brass is so worried by the disaffection rate that the garrisons are rotated every three months. But our people can do a lot with them in three months and, in any case, in the area to which they are transferred, there are others to carry on the good work.

"Our people live among the enemy or, more exactly, they live among us. Land reform has been carried out and our peasants, by and large, work for themselves. The puppet troops are peasant conscripts.

"When they see this free life going on around them; the landlords and tax-collectors either non-existent or under control—you think this doesn't have an effect?

"Our liberated areas sometimes reach within a hundred or so yards of a post and the garrison has to depend on air-dropped supplies, because we will shoot down helicopters if they try to land and we've destroyed the roads.

"We could starve them out if we wanted, cut off their supplies altogether. But we allow two or three—no more—to come out and pick up the supplies.

"We take the parachutes because we need the cloth. But food supplies we let them have.

The troops appreciate this attitude.

"We always make it clear we are against Vietnamese killing Vietnamese and so they are glad to adopt our live and-let-live attitude.

NO CHOICE

"Our leaders take the view that these are conscripts who practically have no choice but to serve Saigon, but who also don't want to die by being forced into combat with us.

"The population is well educated by the Front not to stick their necks out," Huynh continued, "always to be tactful and non-provocative. For instance, the garrison chief often knows who are the Front 'activists' in any village.

"The posts are built on elevations, the garrison chief has his binoculars. He can see people sticking up posters, writing slogans on the walls, addressing meetings and so on.

"If it is an area where he can move out and take a patrol into the village to question people, they will reply: 'Sure—there are some Viet Cong here. Come and arrest them if you like. But in fact they do no harm. And if bullets start flying innocent people may get hurt. You might get hurt too because it seems they have good military training; know how to handle their weapons.'

"If troops do come and kill someone, the body will be carried to the post and the whole village will turn out in a protest demonstration. They will let the troops know they are in for a bad time if they set their foot outside their post again."

Huynh who is famed as a skilled propagandist himself, and a veteran of the war against the French, explained that such tactics were only necessary and possible because, although the people opposed the administrative, political and ideological positions of Saigon, they still technically were in Saigon-controlled territory and they had to maintain a correct legal status to remain alive.

CHANGED RELATIONS

"So we encourage them to tell the officers at the post all sorts of things," he continued.

"A garrison commander may ask if there are guerillas in the village. 'Yes,' someone will reply. 'We have guerillas here. My son is a guerilla. My husband is a guerilla. Yes—they have guns.'

"But when they are asked what is the strength of the unit, where the guns are hidden—this they don't know. We encourage the villagers to pass on certain facts that for-

merly the torture squads could never have wrung out of them. With the changed relations of strength, such facts make good propaganda today. But they never reveal the strength of units or location of weapons.

"The enemy know, for instance," he continued, as we lay stretched out on the bottom of the sampan under the white brilliance of the stars, the water rippling by and the outboard motor softly putting away, "that virtually everybody in every village takes part in making spikes for traps".

"If they are accused of this, they will speak up: 'Yes', the Viet Cong make us do this. We have to obey them. You are not here to protect us—what can we do?"

"If they are asked where the spikes are kept, they will show one or two, but not the real stock. 'These are rejects,' they will say, 'the Viet Cong refused to pay for these—all the good ones they have taken away'.

"They can reply like this now only because of our strength. The real breakthrough came, however, only when the people themselves started punishing the worst of the bullies."

Our sampan headed into a little cove and we started reaching for our knap-sacks. Huynh continued his story.

"This political work never lets up," he stressed, "and it helps to compensate a lot for the enemy's superiority in arms".

Listening to Huynh, I realised that the South Vietnamese were displaying real ingenuity in the art of guerilla warfare.

THE BEES

There are Front-controlled villages—in Mo Cay District of Ben Tre Province, for instance—the defence of which is primarily entrusted to bees.

Chi Nguyet (Sister Moonlight), a madonna-faced beauty with a mischievous smile, told me of how from 1960 on the Diemists tried to convert her village into a strategic hamlet.

"A lot of us girls went in protest to the provincial capital, but they arrested us all and beat us up," she said. "Then all the women of the village came to Ben Tre with their children and demanded our release.

"They kicked up such a row and started organising so many other women from Ben Tre to support them, that the governor was glad to get rid of us.

"But then the Diemist troops had it in for our village. They kept coming, stealing pigs and chickens and always trying to force us to build fences and dig moats and wells in our village.

"But we refused. In our area, as in many other parts of South Vietnam," she continued, "there is a specially big

and ferocious type of bee. They don't store honey, but their sting is terribly painful; half a dozen of them can kill a fully-grown man.

"We studied the habits of these bees very carefully. Among other things they have four sentries on permanent duty in daylight hours. If they see something they don't like, they call out the whole hive and they will attack whatever disturbs them.

OPENED HIVES

"We learned to handle them very carefully; by pasting sticky paper over the hive entrance we could move the nests about.

"One day we had word that an enemy platoon was heading our way, so we set some hives in trees near which they had to pass; dug some traps in the road and attached strings to those leading to the hives.

"The patrol came along and sure enough one fell into the trap and tore the paper off the hives. The bees attacked immediately and the troops ran like mad buffalo, some stung by the bees, others falling to our spiked traps.

"We were sure they would send for help, so we set up some more hives. Sure enough, a company of troops started out by road and some more landed near the village by helicopters. They could not come too close because fields just around the village were spiked with poles.

"When the enemy troops came near, they saw piles of earth as if from freshly dug traps. The officer in charge must have ordered the earth cleared away to uncover the traps—which is what we had expected.

"The hives were hidden in the earth and were actually broken up by the troops. There was a terrible commotion when they were disturbed in such a rough way.

"They attacked like dive-bombers, many hundreds of them. In no time at all, the troops were racing back towards the helicopters, the bees after them until they had taken enough revenge, I suppose," she said with her charming mischievous smile.

"We were very encouraged by this victory and started to rear the bees especially for our defences and for those of neighbouring villages. When I left," she concluded, "we had over 200 hives set up and the enemy had not dared to come near us for a long time."

I doubt that any general staff in the world could plan fronts on top of the use of such weapons. It is the grass roots nature of the struggle in South Vietnam that produces them. When people are defending their own homes and hamlets their resources are without limit.

continued on page 11



The Socialist Revolution in Africa (I)

It is a historical fact that only through the political leadership of scientific socialists has political power been won and socialism built. It is a fact too that the upsurge of the national liberation movements has been achieved and their successes won under the direct and indirect influence of the world socialist movement and that these developments have taken place in a world context where the power of Marxist influence is continuously extending.

In different parts of the world, quite frequently, the people have demonstrated their desire for a better way of life, for an end to exploitation, poverty and insecurity. Mass parties have been formed to give political expression to these aspirations but if they have rejected scientific socialist revolutionary principles, as many have, these parties have become second alternative capitalist parties, increasingly coming to terms with the very system they were founded to destroy.

An understanding of socialism is therefore absolutely vital to Africa's future. The adoption of it as an all embracing philosophy is not an academic question for a small group of intellectuals, it is a basic political question for the masses of the people. It is inextricably bound up with the direction their future will take.

Scientific Socialism is a developing science. It is an outlook, a philosophy which enables us to understand the laws of social change. Through our understanding we can influence, help to bring about the societies we want to see, namely, socialism. From being a product of the blind historical forces, social change becomes the outcome of conscious action on the part of the people. Marxism is not

merely a method of analysis. It generalises the total experience of mankind in its struggles for liberation. By 'liberation' we mean not only national liberation but economic, social and intellectual liberation.

This is indeed the essential pre-requisite for the whole mankind, who on winning a total liberation of this kind can surge forward to extend his control over nature and natural forces yet more effectively. Marxism generalises from practice, from the practice of millions. It is not a dogma, not a set of rules to be learned by heart and then applied mechanically to all circumstances. Indeed one of its most essential features is that it should help us to recognise what is new in any situation and to assess the relative

importance of what is growing and developing and what is disappearing and dying away.

It embodies general principles concerning the laws of social change constantly enriched by collective activity; it draws conclusions from the practical application of these laws by an organised group or section of the people, namely a revolutionary Party based on scientific socialist principles. This collective element in deciding what is Marxism, what is valid, in deciding to put theory to the acid test of practice can be embodied not in single individuals but in the experience and activity of thousands, even millions of people.

It is true that individuals sum up these experiences, and deduce general principles but their work can only be based on the all round activity of a Party or Parties whose experience by virtue of its wide field of operations reflects reality more clearly than any single individual. This is why Kwame Nkrumah exhorts us to be near the people to work with them, to be among them because he understands that this mass basis, this mass action led and directed on scientific socialist principles

is irresistible. Marxism is a living science because it draws constantly from practice. No historical situation ever repeats itself exactly, that is why every new revolutionary situation has unique features, new characteristics which constitute a challenge to the flexibility and creativeness of scientific socialists.

On the other hand the accumulated experiences of different peoples working to win political power and establish the same economic and social system, albeit in a wide variety of circumstances, hold valuable lessons for us all.

For this reason we must attempt the definition of what can be regarded as the basic evolutionary principles in relation to national liberation, the anti-imperialist fight and the construction of socialism and to show their relevance to African needs and stages of development. One of the profoundly moving aspects of Marxism is precisely that it links people of different lands, cultures and stages of development together because it is their common weapon in their fight to create a new world free from the ugliness of exploitation, free from the greed of capitalism and imperialism, free from poverty, ignorance and insecurity. These tasks face millions of people throughout the world, in Asia, in Latin America, in North America and Europe, as well as Africa. These common tasks and a common ideology is a source of the great strength of the revolutionary forces of the world, binding them together and giving them mutual inspiration and support.

There are three powerful detachments in the combined anti-imperialist front. They are the socialist world, those countries where the working class and peasantry and their allies have won political power and have either completed the building of socialism and are advancing to its next stage, Communism or are as yet still building socialism.

The second section of the front is the national liberation movement where subject peoples are still fighting for political power and control of the political life of their country at present foreign dominated, and the third section consists of all those elements in the capitalist countries, workers, farmers, intellectuals, all those oppressed and exploited by monopoly capitalism. Even within these detachments, there are all kinds of different sections with different strengths, experiences and level of struggle but their unity, and their conscious unity is absolutely necessary to complete success. The degree of unity between these sections will decide the relative ease or difficulty with which they achieve their goals. Division and disunity will make it infinitely more difficult for them to overcome their common enemy, imperialism. Unity and conscious co-operation and solidarity will give them additional power and strength.

Subjective attitudes which find expression in racialism, narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism act as divisive elements in this anti-imperialist front and are indeed encouraged by imperialism itself to postpone the day of

We begin in this issue of THE SPARK a new series of articles. The aim of the whole series is to demonstrate the relationship between the Socialist Revolution in Africa and the general world-wide advance of mankind towards full emancipation. We aim to show that full freedom in Africa as anywhere else in the world can only be realised through getting rid of exploitation and by creating a new society based on the common ownership of the resources of the nation. Pan-Africanism itself is part of the socialist revolution; it is based on the irresistible demand of the peoples of Africa for a new, developing prosperous way of life; which can be realised only through socialism. We shall therefore deal initially with the nature of imperialism, its characteristic features and its different forms. We shall show how this system is in crisis and what possibilities this situation holds out for the strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist forces. The problems of national liberation and the relation of this to nationalism and the fight for socialism will also be discussed and we shall endeavour to show how the very concept of liberation and Pan-Africanism involves the whole question of the reconstruction of African society on the basis of socialism, which is an economic and social system with common basic features wherever it exists or is being built. A guide in the exploration of these essential ideas will be Nkrumaism which brilliantly demonstrates the basic validity scientific socialism everywhere and which creatively applies its basic principles to the particular and special problems of Africa.

its inevitable demise. These views and attitudes take advantage of those who are politically immature, they foster illusions about slick and easy ways of winning a new life, they offer false short cuts to political power and new societies, they offer in fact political blind alleys and disaster.

There are such elements in the ranks of the African Revolution as well as in other sections of the anti-imperialist front and it is important to combat them.

We must combat them, not to castigate them as enemies of the African revolution or to suggest that they are conscious enemies of socialism but to present the constructive and realistic alternative to immaturity and sterile theories which can only serve as additional

barriers to our progress. We must consolidate the unity of the anti-imperialist front on the basis of a clear ideology which alone is the guarantee of success in the present complex world.

If we are to understand the need for this unity, we must understand what the common enemy is which we all have to struggle against, and we have to understand imperialism in all its different manifestations. We do not talk about imperialism as a convenient struffling off a concrete analysis of the world situation but it is a world system whose operations restrict and threaten the well being of the peoples of the colonial world, of the newly liberated, of the socialist world and of the mass of the people of the metropolitan countries.

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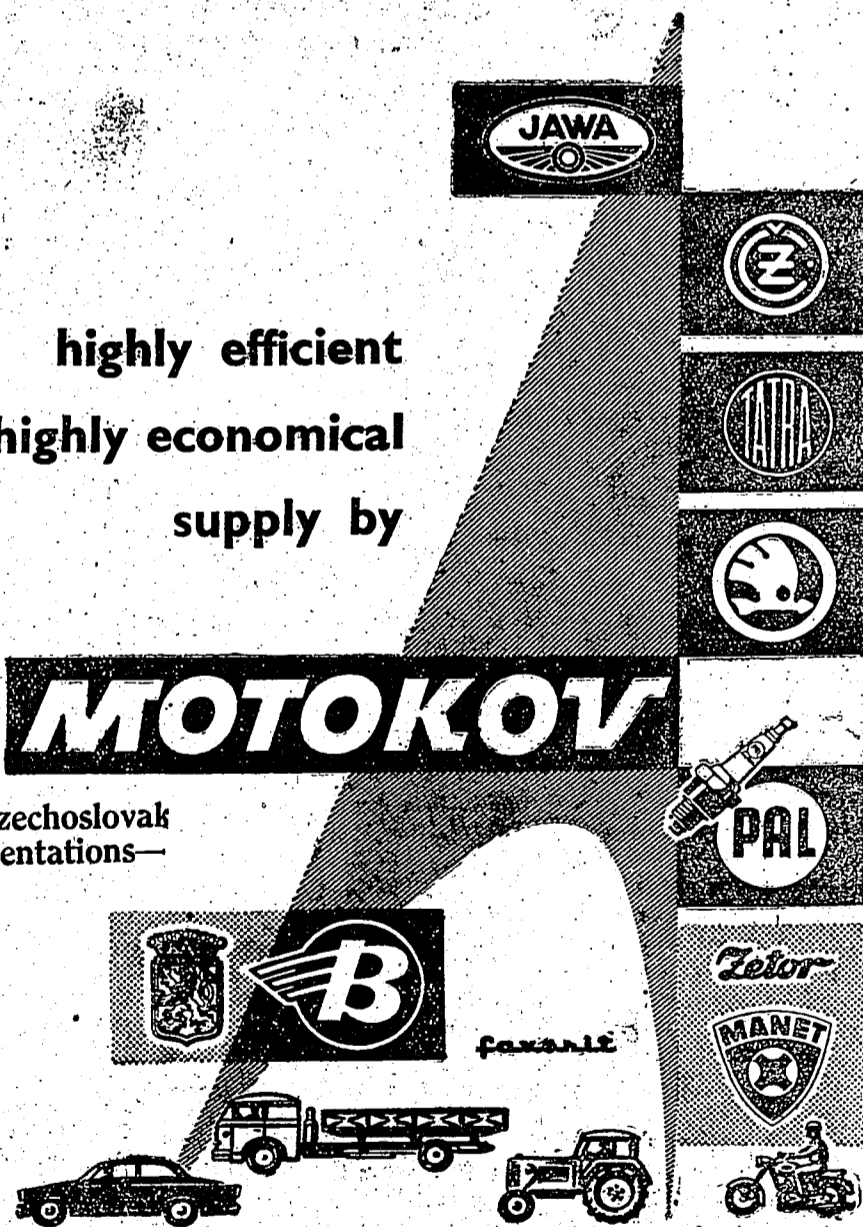
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INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER (VI)

THE CHOICE (b)

by
Obotan Awuku

EVERY wise decision involves a thorough consideration of all factors and related circumstances which have affected the subject under consideration in the past and are likely to influence it in the future. Such a critical examination of facts is even more necessary in decisions affecting the destinies of nations.

In the all-important problem of choosing between capitalism and socialism, therefore, it is imperative to take our cue from this common dictate of wisdom and seek the guiding hand of history. We need to examine the factors which have conditioned or dictated economic development in the past, examine the respective roles of each, consider their present importance and from the light of these determine the likely roles and scopes of these factors in future development.

These factors may be broadly divided into four main groups, viz: economic, political, sociological and technological, which may in turn be sub-divided into several other groups. We may consider them in order.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Theories of economic development tend to arrive at the consensus that an increase in per capita income is the consequence of relative inter-related increases in capital accumulation, population growth, discoveries of new resources and technological progress.

For our purpose a little indulgence in the examination of each of these factors is a necessity.

Capital Accumulation

The effect of this element is ambivalent. Each act of investment raises national income but retards further net investment. Profits tend to fall as capital increases. For constant economic growth in which we know capital to play such an important role, at least one of these factors must operate favourably.

Comparing the past with the present we may recall that the

curse of the developing countries is shortage of capital and that their savings and investment vary between 2 and 6 per cent of their national incomes, while those of the developed countries during their periods of most rapid growth varied between 10 and 20 per cent.

While we may accept the views that development can be increased with technology that is labour-intensive and capital saving, it is pertinent to point out that such machinery are at present not forthcoming. It must be observed, moreover, that the "trigger mechanism" of the industrial revolution did not consist in devices to absorb unutilized and underutilized labour employing known techniques but rather in a prolific production of new techniques in many fields more or less at the same time.

Population Growth

Population growth was one of the most important catalysts in the development of the now advanced capitalist countries but in most of the developing countries today, far from being an accelerator, it is a definite drag on economic development. In fact in most countries, e.g. India and China,

it may be said to constitute the major block in economic development.

We may broadly distinguish four types of population size: Firstly, population size may be below optimum in which case economic development in the sense of increased per capita income can be initiated merely by increasing the size of the population without changes in other factors crucial to economic development.

Secondly, we have a situation in which per capita income can be made to rise when other important changes are also made in the country.

Thirdly, there is the situation in which although the marginal productivity of labour is positive, per capita income will fall with any increase in the size of the population even though necessary changes are made in other directions towards economic development.

Fourthly there is the situation in which marginal productivity of labour is zero or negative. That is, population is so large that any increase in output is quickly squandered by the hungry millions.

Almost all the advanced countries of the capitalist world were in the first category at the beginning of their most rapid development. They were all centres of small population and with the tremendous technical progress, resource discoveries and their exploitation and an ever expanding world market, the level of optimum population grew steadily higher. Actual population therefore, was most of the time, below optimum.

Most Latin American countries are in the second category while most countries in Middle East and Asia fall within the third or fourth category. African countries fall mostly in the second and third categories, while a few, considering the arid conditions of their land, may be said to be in the fourth category.

Population growth becomes a stimulus to economic development when it is a response to it because it leads to increased investment (in a capitalist economy) in housing, transport, etc. Where population is above optimum size, however, further increases hinder economic development since such increases tend to lower per capita income.

The problem in all developing countries of today is a tendency for the population to exceed the optimum size. This is the result of two main factors: high birth rates and decreasing death rates. Birth rates in the developing countries are far in excess of what they ever were in most of the presently developed countries at their crucial periods of development. With increased medical facilities and improved living conditions, the high death rates characteristic of these countries are falling rapidly, with the result that there is a growing tendency for population explosion in these countries.

This is exactly opposite to the situation in the crucial periods of development in the now highly developed capitalist countries, where population outbursts occurred after the "take off" into economic development. When population explosions occur before the "take-off" increases in the national product are consumed merely to maintain the existing standard of living.

It stands to reason then that to achieve any development at all the developing countries must make much greater

efforts to obtain much smaller growth-rates than was the case in the comparable periods in the now industrialised countries. Besides, it is much easier to obtain higher increases in the rate of growth in the developed countries than in the less developed countries.

Another important point is that it seems certain that the highly developed countries never in a comparable period in their history experienced such low incomes as are now widespread in the developing countries of today, nor were they ever so far behind the economic leaders of their time as is now the case.

This means that the difficult problem of obtaining growth rates comparable to those in the early periods of capitalist development is made even more formidable.

Industrialization in the advanced countries was preceded by a long period of gestation during which capital was accumulated. The advent of industrialization was foreshadowed by great improvements in agriculture which facilitated mechanisation when the machines began to arrive. Besides, the proportions of the population in agriculture at their comparable periods were much smaller than they are in the now developing countries where between sixty and eighty per cent are employed in subsistence production.

Thus we see that while the means of making the necessary changes are much smaller, the changes to be made are much greater than they were in the comparable periods of capitalism in the West. The task, therefore, assumes tremendous proportions.

Discovery of Natural Resources

To keep investment and output on the increase or at least on an even keel, a constant rate of discovery of new resources is required. In the case of the capitalist countries which outclassed Britain and others, development was kept apace by the ever increasing discovery of new resources. This led to the Frontier Spirit, the heightened spirit of enterprise so essential to economic development, especially of the capitalist kind. And it cannot be gainsaid that the European countries kept their heads above water by being buoyed up by colonial exploitation. The direct consequence of this is that in all the developing countries today the resource discoveries which could have progressively boosted up development, have already occurred in the colonial era! We are therefore left without this important catalyst in capitalist development. Adopting a capitalist mode of development therefore, would be like attempting to make a car run without oil.

Technical Progress

Economic progress may be said to be largely the result of increasing application of increasing technical progress. And technical progress is a function of invention and innovation. Just before and during the period of their greatest development, technical progress was greatly enhanced in the advanced capitalist countries by the enclosures and the discoveries of new lands and new resources, with the consequent tremendous expansion of world trade. Nothing remotely like that is happening in the now developing countries.

Rapid technical progress, moreover, demands managerial, technical and labour skills, but there is also a great

dearth of these skills in the developing countries. Industrial and scientific researches are generally conducted not with the needs of the developing countries in view and the few machines that can be usefully employed in these

regions have a high rate of obsolescence. Besides, the importation of the machines means that the multiplier effect of a rise in national income will leak out of the country, while such heavy importations too lead to balance of payment difficulties. Furthermore, the importation of technicians inhibits the rapid increase of local ones.

Thus in this where we are generally held to have our brightest prospects, the sky is

so clouded with disadvantages that our rising hopes wanes very quickly indeed. Considering the economic factors of development as a whole, there is no hope that we can go very far with development if we follow the footsteps of the Western countries. While in the comparable period of the West population growth was below the optimum, ours is generally above the optimum, while in those countries in those times population pres-

Union Government

Continued from page 3

which, impelling a generally literate, vigorous and skilled people will bring about a better life for all. In creating this life over the African continent, we shall have to evolve and accept new forms of association among ourselves. The most effective development in our modern era of neo-colonialism calls for a political association which will give effective direction to our African will. The African revolution can be best protected only by a continental African government.

There is, as is well known, massive resistance to the creation of a Union Government of Africa. This resistance is connected at bottom with fear of the African revolution itself. There are many in positions of authority in Africa who cower at the traumatic changes which the African revolution entails, changes for which they are themselves unprepared. Individuals react to fundamental change in different ways. Some accept and welcome it, many become delinquent, a few even become insane. All suffer some strain and stress.

Quick social development is

a kind of traumatic experience, welcome for its results but exacting in its process.

Maladjustment occurs because revolutionary changes bring with them changes in social relations and networks. When people belong, as most Africans do, to societies in which the individual lives according to well-defined rules and traditions which express his relationships to others, their mutual duties and obligations, revolutionary changes which unhinge these relationships also weaken the social skill and confidence of some individuals. New forms of association bring with them new problems of adjustment.

The problem of maladjusted leaders is however not an intractable one. Ignorance breeds inertia; and education is in our age the greatest single force for change. Patient scientific and ideological education will solve for us the problem of maladjusted leaders and peoples, and help to conquer the fear which many harbour for new ways and new truths.

Education should mean for us a liberation from some of the limiting factors in our environment. Some of these factors are internal and could

be social and cultural. Some of them are external and arise from the enterprise of neo-colonialism. Education can liberate us from these factors if it is not restricted by class absurdities. A free, universal and compulsory education to a guaranteed minimum level is essential to Africa.

Social justice faces too many hazards in a community where educational levels are low, for only a conscious and alert people can compel social justice. The people must be the watch-dog of their own destiny. Ideological education is therefore an indispensable precondition of that stage of society in which every man counts for one and no man for more than one.

The African revolution must now address itself decisively to the struggle for the African mind. The African revolution must win that struggle. It is the duty of ideologically lively African countries to prepare the cadres who will continue to be engaged in that combat. Once the struggle for the African mind is won, the establishment of a union government will be inevitable; and the knell of neo-colonialism will once and for ever toll.

POSITIVE ACTION AND NEGATIVE ACTION

Continued from page 2

With Kwame Nkrumah, it is quite different. In Consciencism the point of departure is an autonomous effort of analysis and of general conceptualization.

We have, on one hand, a theoretical and fundamental contribution from Marxist science, and, on the other hand, a general theory which permits the re-evaluation of Marxist thought.

Kwame Nkrumah writes in Consciencism: "It ought to be recognised at the outset that the introduced terms of positive and negative action are abstractions. But the ground for them is in social reality. It is quite positive by means of statistical analysis to discover the ways in which positive action and negative action are related in any given society. The statistical analysis will be of such facts as production, distribution, income, etc. Any such analysis must reveal one of three possible situations: Positive action may exceed negative action, or negative action may exceed positive action, or they may form an unstable equilibrium."

The link between the fundamental ideas of "Consciencism" and the sciences should not, however, be limited to statistical considerations. It also appears in the link between the sciences, chemistry, thermodynamics and Einstein's theory of relativity, on one hand, and the fundamental law of Nkrumaist dialectics which constitutes the notion of categorial conversion, on the other.

We do read in Consciencism, these lines which are full of

meaning: "For in his theory, Einstein relies on a principle of Mach's about the conditions of significance to affirm that the properties of space are fixed by the masses of bodies in a gravitational field. This principle of Einstein's, like philosophical Consciencism, rejects the absolute and independent existence of space, relativity and philosophical Consciencism are mutually consistent."

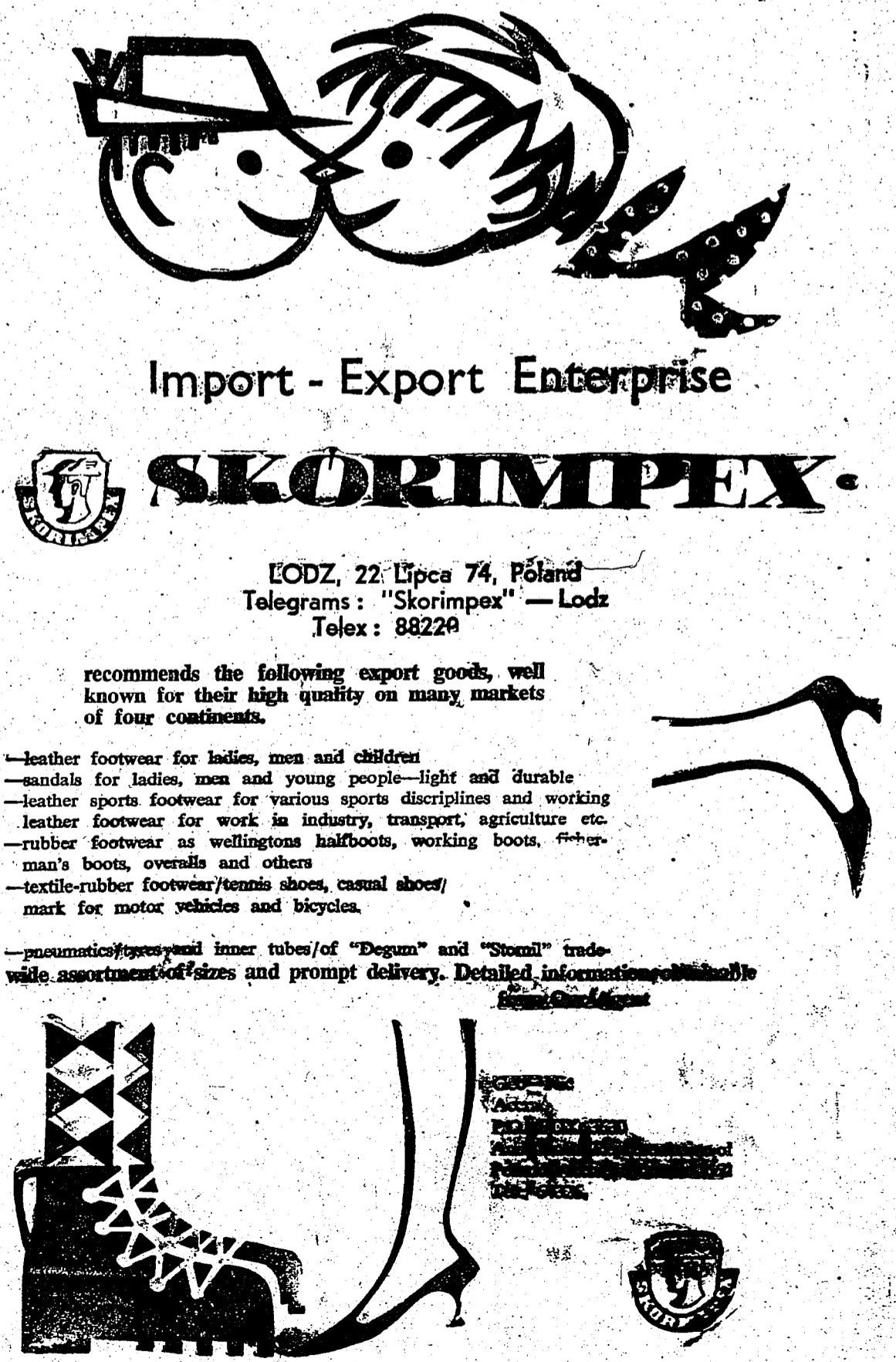
And furthermore, Kwame Nkrumah tells us:

"It is this reality of categorial conversion which prompts philosophical Consciencism to assert not the sole reality of matter, but its primary reality."

The numerous discussions which have already been made about Consciencism converge on one point, namely the emphasis on the peculiar interest of this philosophy in the solution of the relationship between the three sections which form the African society; they also focus on the attempt to know traditional Africa, Islamic experiences in Africa and Western Euro-Christian experiences in Africa.

Here we have primarily tried to show that the solution for a harmonious fusion of these segments of African society must be achieved on bases objective and not subjective, rational and not sentimental scientific and not magical.

In other respects, while drawing attention on the link between Consciencism and the natural sciences, we have tried to bring out the new harmony which Consciencism establishes between philosophy and modern science.



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Independence and After

ures were released by migration, the world has dwindle in our time and our surpluses have no where to go; while in those times men could always move to richer and bigger lands, we can only move to smaller lands, into deserts and into the sea. In those times the advanced countries could exploit our resources, our labours and our markets; today we have none to exploit and they raise tariff walls to shut out our goods. Surely unless we find another means we shall as certainly catch up with them as a crawling pygmy catches up with a running giant.

POLITICAL FACTORS

Politics of Advanced Countries

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the technically superior countries of the world were the United Kingdom, Holland, France and Germany. The United Kingdom, the leading industrial country of the time, followed almost religiously a free trade policy. This contrasts sharply with the high tariff policy of the United States and other advanced countries of our time. High tariffs through monopoly and labour pressures prevent developing countries from yielding much needed high earnings on their export products.

Again, compared to the period under discussion, the advanced countries of our time are very poor importers of the less developed countries. While U.S. imports from abroad amount to a mere 5% of her national income, the United Kingdom, as leading industrial country of the world was importing as much as 25% of her national income. Vis-a-vis the U.K. as industrial leader, the U.S. is also very miserly; for her lending is extremely meagre compared with U.K. aid in the nineteenth century. An imitation of U.K. lending policy in those days would require the U.S. to increase her foreign aid and investment as much as 10 times! There was no chronic shortages of sterling during the period of the most rapid development of the U.S., Canada, Australia etc. but there is "chronic dollar" shortage in our time.

Clearly then, despite their all their blustering and trumpeting, Western countries are by no means creating any thing like the atmosphere in which their system flourished

for the developing countries of today.

Politics of Developing Countries

We have proved how the capital build-up in the developed countries was done through pillage, and exploitation of foreign resources supported by forced labour and expropriation of properties at home. Far from following such a policy nearly every developing country has set the welfare of her people as the criterion for development. Instead of the grossly unequal distribution of wealth and the resultant concentration of capital in the hands of few capitalist entrepreneurs, a characteristic feature of capitalist development, the wealth of the nation is widely diffused in the developing countries. In contrast to the absence of income taxes, and institutions for workers benefits during the developing periods of the capitalist economies, we have today in the now developing countries all the social benefits which became possible in the advanced countries only when development had reached maturity.

Taxes in the past consisted almost entirely of customs and excise duties, thus falling heavily on the poor. Taxes on income and inheritance were unknown and government expenditure also benefited the rich. They went into subsidies for private enterprises, transport facilities etc. All these enhanced the flow of savings and investment. Government policies in the developing countries are direct antithesis of these.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

Consumption Habits

It is held by most sociologists that the puritan ideal— "Make what you can, but save what you can" — had much to do with the accumulation of capital which made the Industrial Revolution possible. Although some dispute that this inculcation of thrift and industry contributed as much as Max Weber the eminent 19th century sociologist upheld, it seems certain that it did in some measure enhance the accumulation of capital and the process of industrialization generally.

Whatever that may be, the prevailing attitude among the well to do at the time stands in great contrast with the ma-

laise for conspicuous consumption which so gravely afflicts people of the developing countries. The standards of living in advanced countries act as a demonstration effect on people in the developing countries who are tempted to imitate such mode of life with consequent dissipation of resources.

Contrary to the normal functioning of the economic law of consumption, the marginal propensity to consume, in the developing countries, tends to rise with increase in income, i.e. increase in income fails to produce increase in savings because we tend to emulate the spendthriftness of "people in advanced countries rather than their thrift.

Family System

A sociological factor that has won considerable attention in discussions of economic development in the developing countries is the extended family system. This in all writings (from the West at least) is regarded with great disfavour, since it is considered to be inhibitory to great enterprise and drive. While sacrifices may be borne by man, wife and children alone, the rewards are always enjoyed by an endless chain of relatives, sometimes (especially in cases of the man's demise) to the exclusion of mother and children.

While this system may have its demerits in this regard, its merits may be very high indeed under different circumstances. In a socialist society the gregarious spirit which binds kith and kin together can be used to very great advantage in the farm, in the factory, and in every walk of life.

The adoption of capitalism involves a painful disruption of the social milieu, a disintegration of the existing social order and a creation of another in which the spirit of individualism will replace the fraternal spirit.

The spirit of individualism while greatly enhanced by the prevailing philosophies prior and during the industrial upsurge of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is in fact born of the social pattern from which capitalism evolved. In the ancient slave and feudal societies, the system of inheritance was such as to promote self-interest among people. This is dimetrically opposed to what has long remained in most of Africa where property is generally

held and used in common.

"Hence", as Kwame Nkrumah says in "Consciencism" P. 73 "socialism cannot develop from capitalism. Rather it stands for the negation of that very principle wherein capitalism has its being, lives, and thrives, that principle which unites capitalism with slavery and feudalism".

A change from capitalism to socialism requires a revolution. A change from communalism to capitalism will also require a revolution. But a change from communalism to socialism demands no revolution. Because as Nkrumah says: "Socialism stands to communalism as capitalism stands to slavery. In socialism, the principles underlying communalism are given expression in modern circumstances" p. ibid p. 73.

He makes clear, however, that revolution is necessary where the communal structure has been tampered with somewhat by colonialism which he says is "essentially ancillary to capitalism".

What is pertinent here is that our social system while it may be detrimental to the rapid development of capitalism, is just the right thing for socialism.

TECHNOLOGICAL FACTORS

Resource Endowments

The availability of natural resources in the developing countries today cannot bear comparison with resource endowments in the crucial moments of capitalist development. While the advanced countries in their time had all the world to exploit, we are now compelled to drain resources within national boundaries.

Besides the unfavourable resource endowments within these boundaries become apparent when comparison is made between countries like the United States and Canada on one hand and Libya and Mauritania on the other. Even where a developing country is reputed to be rich, closer examination reveals that although

it may be certainly better off than other developing countries, it is far less endowed with resources than the now advanced countries. And yet these countries, let us repeat, had in addition the whole world to exploit.

We see upon examination that the proportions in which factor endowments, land, labour and capital are available are quite unfavourable in the developing countries. The essence of economic development is a fall in the ratio of agricultural labour to the total labour force. But the proportion of factor endowments in the developing countries favours agriculture against industry.

In these countries labour is generally superabundant, land relatively limited, and capital very scarce. This favours agriculture more than industry because relatively better results can be obtained with techniques requiring great labour, while known techniques in industry apply more capital in relation to labour.

Inventions

It is pertinent to quote here Prof. Higgins: who writes on p. 258 of his "Economics Development, Principles, Problems, and Policies."

"Some recent analysis suggests that the techniques which would maximize total value output in underdeveloped countries even assuming that enough capital was available to introduce them, would not provide full employment. Here is a dilemma. Unemployment is a serious social phenomenon; yet maximum value product is needed, not only to raise standards of living at the moment, but in order to permit a ratio of savings and investment to income which would generate continued economic growth.

"As stated earlier technological inventions have been labour saving. In fact labour saving devices are synonymous with technological progress. The consequent absence of

suitable techniques for developing countries with superabundant labour constitutes a serious obstacle to development, an obstacle quite unknown in the comparable periods of the now advanced countries."

Large-scale Schemes

Moreover, conditions in the developing countries are such that significant progress can only be made with the undertaking of large-scale enterprises. But these schemes like the Volta River Project in Ghana, the Aswan Dam in Egypt and the Asahan Programme in Indonesia entail huge sums of money which cannot be afforded even by single governments let alone private organisations.

Furthermore, as Prof Higgins says "there is reason to suspect that a collection of small industries has lower 'leverage effects' than a single large one involving the same initial amount of investment. The construction of a railway, opening up new territory, facilitating population movements, and making necessary the development of new communities, is likely to have a greater aggregate effect on investment than a collection of shoe factories, textile plants, and the like, even if the initial investment is equally large in both cases. Again we are confronted with a vicious circle. It is difficult to industrialize without the increases in income which would provide the demand for increased output of industrial goods, but such increases in income are difficult to achieve without industrialization."

CONCLUSION

These then are the facts, by no means exhausted, and they are enough to show the Herculean proportions of the task before us. More than this, they constitute overwhelming evidence that our problems and those of the advanced capitalist countries are not the same. No one will prescribe stomach powder as a cure for toothache. Yet that is what capitalist "experts" advise us to do.

There is no doubt whatever that our problems are closely related with those of the socia-

list countries. Firstly their modern development can be dated as falling within this century. Although Russia after the Revolution had some economic development, she laid the foundations of her present incredible successes amid the most chaotic circumstances imaginable.

The ravages of war had resulted in the disruption of her communication system, a complete shortage of capital and a virtual stoppage of production. In the words of Maurice Dobb, famine walked in the streets of Moscow (and in the fields of the country side.) Added to this was the blockade imposed on her by the imperialist powers and the upheavals engendered by the civil war with the white Army which the imperialist supported.

There was, therefore, no question of aid or foreign investment for Russia and even trade was denied her. In this chaos was evolved a system that has effected a miracle surpassing by far the miracles wrought by capitalism.

As to the population problem, the astounding success of China is enough testimony of the efficacy of socialism to solve this problem. The recent explosion of China's atomic bomb has given the lie to capitalist propagandists who have for long been waging a campaign of lies against the economic policies of this ancient country with the greatest population in the world. Her successes vis-a-vis India's failures are eloquent testimony of the superiority of the socialist system over capitalism for developing countries today.

There is no doubt that the situations in the developing countries demand conscious direction of economic development, and that this direction to be effective must be comprehensive. But comprehensive planning presupposes the social ownership of the means of production.

We have no choice than socialism. To choose capitalism is to choose the way that leads to our doom. As the Akan proverb says: "No one sees black and steps into it."

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With the Freedom Fighters of South Vietnam

Continued from page 4

Writers, theatre workers and journalists, I found, engage in almost simultaneous politico-military activities.

Tran Huu Trang, the well-known Saigon writer and dramatist who is president of the Writers and Theatre Workers Association — also of the N.F.L. Central Committee, told me that members of the association, arms in hand, took part in all major attacks.

Journalists also collect their stories of military operations while actually taking part themselves and work almost literally "with a pen in one hand and a rifle in another".

A pig-tailed girl who was introduced to me as Sister Thien — not her real name because her family is still in Saigon and she goes in herself from time to time — told me something of the difficulties she and her colleagues have in producing a student paper for the Saigon-Gia-Dinh area.

"For a long time we printed secretly right in the centre of Saigon itself," she said, "actually in Diemist printing

shops. But things got too hot, so we bought a printing plant of our own and smuggled it out of Saigon to set up her in the jungle."

"Smuggled it out of Saigon?" I asked, knowing that Saigon is probably the most tightly controlled city in the world.

"Yes," she said with a cheery smile. "We took the whole thing to pieces. The print was taken out in the carrying baskets of scores of 'market women' — actually we girl students — the baskets topped off with unsold fruits and vegetables.

"The rollers and cog wheels and things were a bit of a problem, but we greased them well and attached them to the bottom of the sampans. They had a long ride in the water, but cleaned up all right later.

"We shipped the whole lot out in a couple of nights, right under the noses of the Diemist flics. Our problem was to print in Saigon and smuggle copies out into the countryside and other provincial capitals.

"Now it's the opposite. We print outside and smuggle the

copies into the capital. We publish 5,000 copies for Saigon and once they get down to our 'letter-boxes' — our liaison agents, they are quickly distributed and pass from hand to hand until virtually every student gets to read them.

"It is a very popular paper and our main correspondents are the students themselves, smuggling their articles out by the same network we use to smuggle them in. Of course we keep changing our communication channels to fool the police. So far we have had no mishaps."

And so it goes on. A ceaseless, relentless battle for the minds of everyone from students to soldiers; from peasants to government officials and high-ranking army officers, with never a trick left unplayed.

This battle is being won hands down by the Liberation Front. The Saigon regime — despite the U.S. experts on psychological warfare — has little to offer in return and no real means of counterattack.

Portugal and Decolonization

Continued from page 3

The mainsprings of this internationalization were the equality of access to raw materials, the competition for markets, the fair distribution of spheres of influence. Whatever 'compromise' there was, was between the conflicting interests of the individual western colonial powers and not between their basically identical interests and the interests of the peoples

whose raw materials and territories formed the objects for this infamous agreements. Their interests and views were kept completely in the background. "(The) legal origin and exercise of political power in the (colonial territories) were not questioned and care was taken to leave them out of discussion, international control... sufficed to clothe this political power in a cloak of legitimacy" (p.19 italics mine).

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

could millions of workers be persuaded to fight to kill and be killed for British imperialism, how could they be convinced of the need to risk their lives in foreign lands, in jungle and swamp to hold down other peoples unless they were somehow 'brainwashed', politically and psychologically prepared for such terrible deeds. How could the British people agree to go on bearing heavy taxes for re-armament unless there was a concurrent campaign of propaganda designed to persuade them that unless they defend their interests in the Middle East, Africa, or Asia, their living standards (not to say civilisation) will suffer.

Imperialism needs racist ideas and theories to give it ideological justification. This is why progressives in metropolitan countries have always in spite of opposition and attempts to brand them as unpatriotic, have always exposed and resisted racism and have shown how it is used to perpetuate the exploitation of both the people of the colonies and former colonies and the working class of the metropolitan countries.

The capitalists explained the poverty, sickness and misery of the colonial peoples in racist terms; they have tried to conceal their brutal dismantlement of the economies and wealth of these countries by pretending that there is innate in some people the tendency to misery, poverty and insecurity because of the colour of their skins.

In this way even many honest people were able to shrug off any sense of moral responsibility for what was happening in their name. In the depth of the world economic crisis, when millions of Germans were unemployed and near starvation, Hitler was able to persuade them that their troubles were caused by the Jews not by Krupps, Farben and their fellow monopoly capitalists who bled the German people while in their drive for profit. In enslaving and destroying the Jews, the German people fastened the fetters of Nazism on themselves and prepared the way for the second world war which killed millions of people, both German and non-German, Gentile as well as Jew.

As British imperialism finds it more difficult to make super profits from its former empire, it will have to try and increase the exploitation of the British workers. If the capitalist system still continues there, the British people will find it increasingly more difficult to improve their living standards and to solve the acute social questions which face them such as housing, health, education and other social services. How are they to be persuaded to accept this, or how can they be diverted from the real cause of their problems, namely the capitalist system under which they live? They can be told by the capitalist party, the Tories that their troubles have really nothing to do with economics, or politics, but with the existence of small easily identifiable, perhaps rather strange, group of new arrivals to Britain—coloured immigrants.

Griffiths of Smethwick is not a one wolf among the Tories, to save themselves they will resort to any kind of filthy racist tactics if they think it will pay off.

Smethwick is an ominous symptom, perhaps it will have come soon enough to rouse sufficient alarm and to mobilise people to stop example being followed.

We know that there are many thousands of people in Britain who campaign against this irrational and dirty poison which is being spread by Fascists and Tories. The pressure of the Labour Party in Britain, the Communist Party, the Movement for Colonial Freedom, the anti-Apartheid Movement and many other local organisations in the towns and cities is resulting in a fight back. The British Government's pledge to introduce legislation to make racist propaganda and race discrimination a crime is more than welcome. But it needs too a firm, principled campaign of re-education, an honest systematic exposure of the horrors of imperialism and its ideologies. It must be tackled not only as a British problem but as a world problem in which the governments of the world follow the lead of the African states against South Africa, pressurise the United States Government into fulfilling their duties to the Afro-American peoples and implement the resolution on colonialism. Only in this way, by an all-out attack, will the evils of racism be averted.

All this is only too true. How one wishes Dr. Nogueira had been as candid and honest in other portions of his book as he is here.

No one who studies the subject can fail to be impressed by the fact that the Western objection to the United Nations springs mainly (perhaps solely) from the fact that in the United Nations this "cloak of legitimacy" has been exposed and the real "interests of the colonial peoples" have been postulated as the main objective of the international control over colonial administration. This change in outlook was, brought about by the demise of the West's ideological hegemony over the international community, and the assertion, by the colonial peoples, of their rights and aspirations—loudly, clearly and without the garble of diplomatic double talk.

CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

In parts of his book Dr. Nogueira attempts to give the impression that this change in outlook is deplorable because it is illegal—or even immoral. When we read his own words, we are led to conclude that he is bemoaning the disappearance of a system which was attractive to the West merely because it advanced the interests of the West and permitted the West to dominate and stifle the aspirations of other peoples. He objects to the "anti-colonial character" of the United Nations precisely because the organisation seeks to "question the legal origin and exercise of political power" by one people over another without the latter's consent. If this is the United Nations fault, it has no apology to offer, and the anti-colonial forces in the United Nations can be proud that they have exposed a fraud and tried to help fulfil a promise.

When he comes to discuss the attitude of the United Nations to the colonial problem, Dr. Nogueira again puts his finger right on the point in many cases; but, again, he bemoans and distorts attitudes which none but a selfish and guilty mind could find fault with. For one thing the idea of "self-determination" is to him one of the dangerous ideas which the west has unwittingly accepted and imprudently applied in areas where it had no relevance. Whereas most right-thinking people believe that the right of self-determination belongs to all peoples everywhere (where there is disagreement, it is only about conditions and criteria of application and applicability) Dr. Nogueira thinks that 'self-determination' should have been confined to the territories "which lay in Europe and not held applicable to territories which... lay outside Europe" (p.19).

To him the principle of self-determination should not be claimed by or on behalf of "peoples who (have) never been independent" (p.19). He believes that such peoples have "no national structure of any kind and (are) ignorant of the meaning of 'nation'." Presumably he believes that people who belong to different tribes cannot feel that they belong to one larger nation. We of course know that this is false, and that it is based on either ignorance or a deliberate distortion of facts. But assuming that this be true, one may well ask:

If two Africans belonging to different tribes (tribes with obvious cultural, religious and political similarities) cannot conceive of themselves as belonging to one "nation", how does Dr. Nogueira and his government presume to claim that a white metropolitan Portuguese citizen and the black Angolan peasant, with neither race, culture nor religion to unite them, can think of themselves as belonging to one unitary nation? But of course Dr. Nogueira does not bother himself about

such trivial questions. So long as he can discredit anti-colonialism, logic and consistency many conveniently be sacrificed.

Even when he attempts to give the reasons why subject peoples oppose colonialism, he cannot but stigmatize their point of view. True he recognizes that anti-colonialism is born out of "resentment arising from age-old subjection, racial complexes and a sense of economic inequality and (desire) for the redistribution of raw materials and markets"; yet he characterises this resentment and the racial complexes as being in "search of violent expression", he describes anti-colonialism as arising from "an amalgam of new ambitious and aggressive idealism".

One can understand why Dr. Nogueira, having such a stake in the colonial system and not having suffered the humiliation of colonial subjection, should not understand the resentment of the colonial peoples: one may even pardon him and blame his lack of understanding on the conditions and circumstances of his birth and education. But one cannot easily understand or forgive his attempt to stigmatise the anti-colonialists as "violent", "ambitious" and "aggressive".

If there has been any unjustified use of violence, any inordinate ambition or any naked aggression, it has been on the part of those who have by deceit and guile, bribery and force, cajolment and blackmail, deprived other peoples of their independence and resources and resisted, by brutal force, their efforts to regain them. Of this group, the Portuguese nation whose pious spokesman Dr. Nogueira is, is perhaps the most guilty, because it is the one state which quite brazenly voices and stands by the arguments and notions long discredited and repudiated even by those who seek to revive them or to employ them with acceptable masks. Portugal is the only totally shameless member of a guilty club.

U.N. BASICALLY ANTI-COLONIAL

Dr. Nogueira sees (and states) that the United Nations is basically anti-colonial—not only in membership but also by motivation. Yet he attempts to chastise this anti-colonial character of the United Nations, and, what is worse, he seeks to reduce it to a meaningless "attitude" without any purpose or means to translate it into action. Apart from his patently dishonest attempts to distort the very provisions of the Charter (about which, more later) Dr. Nogueira seeks to belittle the role which the Charter gives to the organisation in the supervision and control of the colonial system.

Yet even in this exercise two very true and significant statements filter through Dr. Nogueira's apology. He notices that the Charter and the attitude of the United Nations make it clear that the "sovereignty exercised (by a colonial power) in a non-self-governing territory (the euphemism for a colony) has an external basis or origin and does not proceed from the territory; sovereignty in this case is (supposedly) exercised as if on behalf of the international community, and as a result it takes on a temporary character." While the League of Nations legitimized the exercise of this power, the United Nations "transfers the source from the (colonial state) . . . to the non-self-governing people itself. The legitimate sovereignty resides in the latter; it is only exercised provisionally by some one else until some time as the people concerned have developed the capacity for exercising it.

Once this stage is reached, the transfer of sovereign powers from the (colonial

powers) to the (colonial peoples) must take place automatically . . . there follows naturally from this a very strong presumption that independence or political autonomy of the (colonial) territories must be the final aim of the powers responsible for them. Any idea of perpetuating the colonial phenomenon or integrating the colonial territory in the colonizing state is ruled out on principle. We are far . . . from the old mandate system" (pp.22-23). This statement at least in its essentials, is one to which most people will subscribe. It represents the gist of the anti-colonial position although some serious reservations may be made about a number of its initial premises and assumptions. Be that as it may, it reflects the thinking of the International Community on the colonial problem.

PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

One almost believed that none would be found to question or object to it. It is clear now that Dr. Nogueira and his Portuguese government find this view objectionable and heretical. We who believe in the soundness of anti-colonialism are not surprised to hear that Dr. Nogueira and his government were outside the mainstream of International thinking on the matter. This has been too patent from their past actions. We are nevertheless shocked that he should state such despicable views so bluntly and so crudely. Sometimes we have some sympathy—howbeit small and grudging—for the criminal who is repentant. The unrepentant criminal we not only find beyond redemption but positively exasperating. Dr. Nogueira has clearly held himself and his country out as the most rapacious and shameless exploiters in the sordid history of colonialism.

In the section under review Dr. Nogueira makes a number of statements about the powers of the United Nations in relation to the colonial problem and about the living policy, of the United Nations organs, on colonialism: Most of these statements are false and many of them are based on deliberate distortions of Charter provisions and of United Nations resolutions and decisions. We shall have occasion to list these and show how false they are. For the rest of this part of the review we shall examine a number of propositions and assumptions on which he attempts to base his case that the United Nations has abused its powers and perverted its purposes in its anti-colonial campaign.

He believes that the Atlantic Charter provision which recognised the "right of peoples everywhere" to "choose the government under which they will live" was wrongfully applied to the non-European subject peoples. According to him the two statesmen who signed the Atlantic Charter in 1941—President Roosevelt and Premier Winston Churchill—did not have in mind any peoples other than the European victims of Hitler.

TERMS OF CHARTER

This may well be true, and indeed Winston Churchill himself declared later that he would not apply the terms of the Charter to Britain's colonies. But though the Charter may not have been MEANT FOR the non-European subject peoples, this is no reason to say that therefore the ideals it embodies cannot be applied to such peoples.

Only a person with the most perverted mentality can say (in print) that the "notions of sanctity of human life, of individual liberty and national independence, of the right of each people to choose its form of government and of the

free access of all peoples to raw materials and trade" were proclaimed for the German victims ONLY and cannot be applied to any other peoples. (p.40). Because the world which evolved after the 2nd World War was "not founded on the concert of Europe" became "Europe had lost its hegemony in the world" therefore Dr. Nogueira believes that ideas and notions which one thought applied to man, as man, should be withheld from some of the world's peoples.

CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

He states, with obvious disappointment, that "from the moment the colonizing countries accepted (the concepts of political independence, self-determination of peoples and self-government) as POLITICALLY VALID and saw in them a LEGITIMATE source of law, anti-colonialism was launched on its cause" (p.47). To him these concepts are not politically valid and cannot be legitimate sources of law. The Western powers, according to him, committed a terrible blunder not, to be sure, in accepting these concepts (for Nogueira agrees that they were valid and legitimate for the European victims of Nazism), but in accepting them as applicable to the other peoples who had not been affected by Hitler's tyranny. He therefore castigates the United States for having believed "on the basis of a false analogy, that every people has a right to revolt against its metropolitan government" (pp.47-48).

Did the United States ever really believe this, any way? One does not have to look very far for the nature of this "false analogy". It is plain from what he says elsewhere and from his words in the very context, that the false analogy consists in believing that what was good or acceptable for the European American colonists of 1776 is also good for non-European colonial peoples of the twentieth century. He says (footnote p.48) that to demand independence for the non-European colonial peoples is the same as if one had demanded independence for the American Redskins (Indians). And of course that is utterly unthinkable!

Dr. Nogueira says that a "parallel (has been) assumed to exist between the independence of the Latin American countries and that of the new states in other continents"; that this assumed parallel ignores "the fundamental difference between the two situations" (p.55). Again this "fundamental difference" is revealed to be nothing more than the fact that the Latin American colonial peoples were mainly European or of European stock and ancestry, whereas the subject peoples of the 'other continents' (Africa and Asia that is) are not of European stock or origin.

And yet Viscount Chandos (the former British Colonial Secretary Oliver Lytton) in his preface to Nogueira's book, describes the Portuguese as having no "colour consciousness" (p.9). If this is how their foreign Minister thinks (in public) about the significance of racial differences, it will take more than the assurances of an imperialist business tycoon like Viscount Chandos to convince any serious-minded person that "there is no racial problem in Portugal overseas" (ibid). To Dr. Nogueira the concept of self-determination and self-government was "blind acceptance" which resulted from "imperialist ideas" which is of course positively dangerous. Dr. Nogueira may have a way of blinding saying what he thinks. There is no doubt that what he says stinks!

To conclude this part of the review we will examine two (related) statements of Dr. Nogueira. He of course bitterly resents the now widely accept-

ed view that the existence of the colonial relationship "constitutes a threat to international peace and security" (General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960). He calls this view "outlandish" and one "without any justification in the Charter" (p.60). Naturally also he views with even more distaste the logical corollary to this: that the continued opposition of alien rule on an unwilling people does not only constitute a threat to international peace and security, but also that it "represents an unprovoked attack against which it is legitimate to react in self-defence". He considers this to be an "extremist conception founded on force alone" (p.60). If one had not by now become used to Dr. Nogueira's strange mentality, one would find it difficult to understand his objections and castigations of this view. But one understands why any bully should feel that his victim does not have the right to defend himself and why he should regard any effort at self-defence by his victim as a most unjustified use of violence. The colonialist is an international bully in every respect!

Again Dr. Nogueira finds most strange and totally unacceptable the view that "the colonial phenomenon infringes the rights not, as might be thought, of the local population nor yet of the international community, but of the stronger country who chooses to decide that its rights have been or are affected" (p.62). It looks like Dr. Nogueira is here giving recognition to the aggressive nature of colonialism and to the legitimacy of international concern with it. But perhaps he is merely doing so for the sake of argument.

In any event, he thinks that the worst part of this view is that another state can interfere in the side of a subjugated and brutalised people. Colonial territories and their peoples, in Dr. Nogueira's view, should be left to fight the unequal battle with their suppressors. If Dr. Nogueira had said (or would say) the same about Poland and the other victims of Hitler in 1939-40, and if he had described (or would describe) the British intervention on the side of Poland as being unjustified, there might be some point in his oblique strictures against those states who choose to come to the aid of peoples who are brutally attacked because they demand freedom. But perhaps it is too much to expect consistency of Dr. Nogueira.

DISCREDITED VIEWS

This section of the review has attempted to show that Dr. Nogueira's (and the Portuguese) position is based on untenable and decisively discredited views on the nature of colonialism and the rights of men and states. It shows that Dr. Nogueira's objection to the United Nations stems from a fundamental disagreement with the stated aims and purposes of the organisation and of the majority of its members. It was necessary to demonstrate this clearly because it is only by reference to this fundamental disagreement that we can hope to understand why and how Dr. Nogueira so assiduously attempts to rewrite the Charter, to put words in it and take words out of the Charter provisions and resolutions of the United Nations. In a sense he seeks to revise the Charter to suit his colonialist and racist wishes. In another sense he seeks to give to those who oppose him and his unholy cause the bad name so he can't talk them.

In the next section we shall see how Dr. Nogueira attempts to use distortions and subterfuge to prove his discredited case. We shall state and answer his 'political' and 'legal' case against the United Nations and anti-colonialism.