

# THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 62

2d.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper)

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1964

## EDITORIAL

### THE NEXT PHASE (3) THE PARTY

ONE of the major constitutional innovations for which the nation voted overwhelmingly in last month's referendum is the one national party. As a result the valiant Convention People's Party, the seasoned political organisation of the masses, has been raised to the level of a vanguard party of the people co-ordinating, mobilising and directing the initiative of our people in the march to socialism. This new status for the Convention People's Party demands a corresponding change in the nature, composition and style of work of the party.

What sort of a party does the new situation demand?

One thing it is not and simply cannot be is a party of the entire people. Socialism is not the desire of everybody. Nor do all of us who demonstrate support for socialism adhere to it with equal enthusiasm and doggedness. Therefore, an effective instrument for building socialism cannot be a mere meeting place of all and sundry.

To perform its historic role in Ghanaian society, the Convention People's Party must be a vanguard party. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "the party is nothing but the political vanguard of the people". It is "the hard core of those who are so dedicated to its ideology and programme that they take their membership as the most serious business of their lives."

This definition of a vanguard party is antithetical to the concept of a party for everyone. Of course, membership is open to all in the sense that anyone who tries hard enough can gain admission into its fold. But such honour will in fact be attained by a relatively small fraction of the entire population.

The criteria for membership are the grasp of socialist ideology, the level of political consciousness, devotion and dedication to the socialist cause, ability to organise, influence and guide the masses in the general direction of socialism, transparent honesty, unadvertised self-sacrifice and a life of simplicity.

By paying attention to these factors, it shall be possible to build the one national party into an organisation of activists, an army of dedicated men and women who in the various walks of life provide leadership and guidance for our entire people.

An important consideration in putting together such an army of activists is the class origin of the activists themselves. The truth must always be borne in mind that a party made up mostly of white collar workers, civil servants and middle class intellectuals will certainly not attain the national goal of socialism. Such an achievement can be the handwork only of the most revolutionary elements in our society, namely the workers, the peasants and the revolutionary youths. Therefore, much as we gladly welcome intellectuals and middle class elements, who make the grade, into the fold of the one national party, the bulk of the membership must be made up of workers, peasants and the revolutionary youths. This objective we can achieve only through a careful regulation of admission into the Party.

Following logically from this, we must exert conscious effort to see that leadership in the party branches all over the country passes into the hands of the workers, the peasants and the dynamic youths. It is intolerable (and it will surely open the way to defeat for our socialist cause) that we allow the most active socialist forces within the party

## REFERENDUM RESULTS PROVE: ONE UNITED NATION

by Julius Sago

ALL results connected with last month's national referendum on proposed changes to the constitution of Ghana have now come in. Even though it will take some time before a thorough analysis of the figures is completed, certain clear-cut trends have already emerged. And the central conclusion in all these trends is that out of the hotch potch of rival tribes with strong insular tendencies, conflicting economic and traditional groups with marked regional loyalties, and antagonistic religions that generate centrifugal forces within our society has emerged a social unit which can be accurately designated a nation in the modern sense.

What is more, the new nation has demonstrated marked unity of purpose. For it can be said with justification that sectional tendencies and loyalties which up to 1960 threatened disintegration for this country have now been subordinated to the concept of a new nation complete with its new ideology, its leadership and its will to make a success of its chosen course of historical evolution.

This does not mean that sectional interests and tribal feelings have become things of the past. Rather, it means that these traits in our society have now been sublimated and made subordinate to a new concept of society in which we see ourselves not as Akans, Ewes and Gas constantly stressing the things that divide us but as Ghanaians equal and free and nurturing the things that bind us together.

Before the referendum, it was possible to argue if, in fact, Ghanaian society has evolved in this direction. After the referendum, the evidence for it is overwhelming.

### OPPOSITION TO SOCIALISM

To assess the full value of the referendum voting we must have a clear idea of the issues facing our society and which the referendum was meant to resolve. The matter of taking positive steps in the direction of building a socialist society in Ghana was put squarely before the people.

It had become clear that powerful groups were opposed to socialism in practice though some were pre-

pared to pay lip service to the idea. The class of the "new rich" within the C.P.P. had fastened to the state machinery and was using it to fight socialism from within. The well-known enemies of the C.P.P.—the U.P. reactionary intellectuals and traditional elements—had resorted to open violence in an attempt to regain a political footing in the country. Agents of neo-colonialism had infiltrated into vital arms of state power, more especially the police and the judiciary and their activities extended to the universities and the upper ranks of the civil service.

Under such conditions, any impartial observer would expect a very stiff

branches to come under the control and direction of middle class, vacillating elements. This will dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and may even alienate them from the party.

Kwame Nkrumah rightly refers to the Party as "the rallying point of our political activity". We shall attain this level and move on confidently with the long and difficult process of building a socialist society only if we set up a vanguard party whose membership and branch leadership are firmly dominated by those forces with a vested interest in socialism. This is the indispensable first step in mobilising the people for the construction of socialism.

would like to have a say on how they are to be governed.

The breakdown of the voting figures in 1960 and 1964 by regions is shown in Tables I, II and III. As Table I reveals, while votes in support of the C.P.P. went up by 1,764,228 the votes of the opponents of socialism slumped by 128,941. Table II shows that 62 per cent indifference in 1960 dropped to only 7.5 per cent indifference in 1964.

Table III confirms that

of what is already a reality.

A look at Table I shows that opposition strength in 1960 was concentrated in the Northern and Upper Regions (37,246 votes), in Volta Region (26,790), in Ashanti (31,440 votes) and in Eastern Region (24,694). While Western, Central and Brong-Ahafo regions have maintained their overwhelming support for the C.P.P. the strength of the opposition in their traditional strongholds has collapsed dramatically.

The campaigns of 1956

TABLE I  
VOTING IN 1960 AND 1964 IN ABSOLUTE FIGURES

REGION	1960		1964		INCREASE OR DECREASE 1964 OVER 1960	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Northern & Upper	254,750	37,246	527,540	216	+ 362,890	- 37,030
Volta	106,262	26,790	261,393	677	+ 155,131	- 26,113
Ashanti	266,429	31,440	425,022	-	+ 158,593	- 31,440
Brong-Ahafo	162,721	6,093	368,309	-	+ 205,648	- 6,093
Eastern (including Ahafo)	157,360	24,694	532,508	1,559	+ 375,148	- 23,435
Western & Central	208,230	7,560	658,984	-	+ 450,754	- 7,560
TOTAL	1,009,692	131,393	2,773,920	2,452	+ 1,764,228	- 128,941

battle to get the people on the side of socialism. Because under such conditions the demand for socialism meant the eruption of open class war.

### HIGHER PERCENTAGE VOTES

The keen interest shown by every Ghanaian in the issues on which the referendum was conducted is reflected in the fact that 2,776,373 persons out of 3 million cast their votes. This compares with only 1,141,085 who cast their votes in 1960. Thus while only 38 per cent of eligible voters went to the polls in 1960, no less than 92.5 per cent went to cast their votes last month. The conclusion from this is that while in 1960 many Ghanaians were indifferent to questions about the constitution under which they are to live, this year practically all of them

there is also an increase in relative support for the C.P.P. While 88.4 per cent of all who actually cast their votes in 1960 supported the C.P.P. the corresponding figure for 1964 is 99.89 per cent. Conversely, opposition strength in 1960 which stood at 11.6 per cent of votes cast fell to the infinitesimal figure of .11 per cent in 1964. In short, the opposition has to all interests and purposes ceased to exist as a political force. The one national party will be a mere legal recognition

and 1960 showed that the bourgeoisie (capitalist) class depended on the forces of tribalism and religious bigotry. The 1964 voting figures show that these usual sources of support for the reactionary bourgeois class have swung to the side of the C.P.P. No doubt the personal appeal of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the administrative achievements of the C.P.P. are factors to be reckoned with. But it has to be admitted that the appeal of socialist ideals

Continued on page 4.

TABLE II  
PERCENTAGE POLL 1960 AND 1964

YEAR	YES	NO	TOTAL	% POLL	ABSTENTIONS
1960	1,009,692	131,393	1,141,085	38%	62%
1964	2,773,920	2,452	2,776,372	92.5%	7.5%

Registered voters = 3,000,000

# The Struggle in South Africa: A QUEST FOR UNITY

**THE** struggle in South Africa has been a long and bitter one. And every shrewd observer of the South African scene is satisfied that the country is on the threshold of big events.

It seems to us, however, that a condition for the African Revolution making big gains during the next round of battles is a basic unity of purpose and action among the forces of national liberation.

Accordingly we are convinced that there is urgent need for creating a common viewpoint which will serve to unite the efforts of the three principal arms of the national liberation in South Africa, namely the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party.

The article published here represents a view of how to achieve this unity of viewpoint. It is in this spirit that we publish it making it abundantly clear that we do not necessarily share all its conclusions. We shall be glad to publish other views on this crucial problem of unity among the various wings of the liberation movement in South Africa. We, however, reserve the right not to publish acrimonious articles which might serve only to widen differences and aggravate an already serious situation.

—EDITOR.

IN the emotionally-charged atmosphere which hampers clear thinking on the revolutionary front in South Africa, a babel of tongues waxes supreme in the ranks of the liberation movement at home and abroad. In this survey we will endeavour to maintain a cold, analytical approach to the issues involved, clearing away the chaff with clinical ruthlessness and without fear of pricking anybody's susceptibilities. It is only through honest appraisal of the position and frank discussion that there can be any hope of success in the quest for maximum unity on the revolutionary front.

Where problems of disunity arise because of the mere fact of the existence of different organisations in the country, as it is so often the case, it is well to constantly remind ourselves that ours is a life-and-death struggle for the liberation of a people, not an electoral battle for party political emoluments. This does not mean we should shy away from the controversial aspects of any situation and veer to appeasement. On the contrary, we should lay our cards on the table and be prepared to be judged **BROAD BASIS FOR UNITY**.

The unity desired is not—as it is often wrongly supposed—a super-imposed unity of basically distinct elements operating in an ideological vacuum. What is required is unity of thought, already a broad basis for such unity. That basis—in South Africa as in the rest of Africa—is the profound yearning of the African people to throw off the shackles that bind them politically, economically and culturally in their positive strivings for self-realisation and the attainment of nationhood—two basic African Nationalist aspirations.

Amongst the great long-suffering, politically-oppressed, economically-exploited and socially-degraded people of South Africa, these positive yearning for self-realisation and for the attainment of nationhood constitutes a powerful enough motive force to generate a full-blooded revolution twice over. A clear recognition of the nature of our struggle, with clear-cut goals based on those aspirations, is the key to tapping this latent but potentially most powerful force that can be amassed against the enemy.

The question we now have to ask ourselves is whether, in the many past decades of struggle, this objective has ever been earnestly pursued; and if not why not.

### KNOWING THE ENEMY

In "Nationalist leaders and African Unity," Teshome Adera, quoting George H. T. Kimble in part, tells us that "what is most indispensably required for the practical translation of Nationalist aspirations is a leader 'who can

release the latent energies of his people and give direction to their varied emotions, loyalties and desires."

As much required as such a leader or leadership is a body of theory that can adroitly interpret the aspirations of the people in relation to the objective conditions of their lives, giving them a sense of purpose and direction in their struggles.

The first essential is a practical knowledge of the forces that are arrayed against us. In South Africa the enemy gallivants under all sorts of garb. It is very important that the people know what they are up against. At first glance, the problem of knowing our enemy in South Africa appears to be a simple one. It appears to many people that all we have to contend with are the repressive policies of the Verwoerd Government which are based on the obnoxious doctrine of apartheid or race segregation.

That, however, does not go to the crux of the problem. It fails to take into account the rule of Imperialism and its root cause, capitalist acquisitiveness, as represented in our country by an alien white community. It fails, worse still, to spotlight, expose and lay emphasis on a cardinal crime committed by this alien group against the indigenous people—the crime of forcibly wrenching from us control over our land and its resources, a crime no true patriot can ever countenance.

This failure carries grave psychological and political implications in our struggle. First, it makes it possible for the aliens to claim the land as their own, as indeed they do, without a modicum

of shame. Only recently Dr. Verwoerd, replying to anti-apartheid world opinion in a major policy statement, said such opinion wanted the whites of South Africa to hand over the land of their fathers to what he called black domination. In this he was speaking for all whites in the country, and not just for his ruling party. All whites in the country, whatever their other political views may be, are averse to the idea of an African take-over the exceptions are so few as makes no matter of difference. Some resist this spectre of "black domination" crudely by means of apartheid; others do so in a hundred-and-one subtle ways.

### THE BURNING DESIRE

This resistance has had an effect even in the highest councils of nations: a dearth of appreciation of the profoundest of all African Nationalist aspirations, the burning desire of the African people to regain control of their land. The latest Danish move in the Special Committee on Apartheid of the United Nations is a case in point. Denmark, with the blessings of some other Scandinavian countries, presented a programme which, while keeping up economic pressure on South Africa, would ensure that the white minority there is not "swallowed up" by the African majority—a pandering to racial bigotry, at best.

The psychological aspect of this in relation to our struggle has even more serious implications. The African people of South Africa have suffered many a crushing military defeat at the hands of the Imperialists; but they have for long refused to be vanquished in spirit as well. The best way known to the minds and so create the ideal conditions of peace and stability in which the human as well as other resources of our land could be harnessed to their life's purpose, the amassing of wealth for self-aggrandisement or as a symbol of personal power. The measure of their success in this is the existence in South Africa of a body of opinion

among Africans who are prepared to sever the umbilical cord that binds the African to the land of his origin by conceding at least part European ownership of it.

### DOING IMPERIALISM'S DIRTY WORK

This intensive—ever so subtle—battle for colonisation of the mind might be said to have been won if half the leading Africans in South Africa were a party to a document known to its Black and creators as a Freedom Charter, which declares in its preamble that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." But this charter is no less dangerous because supported to a comparative few. That, as a document intended to have a bearing on the present situation, it is supported at all by some leading Africans is a tragedy—and an eloquent reminder that if we are looking for fools, the place to find them is not among Imperialists. Don't someone say that they will always find the negro to do the dirty work for them?

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it", is the platform of the sponsors of the charter, together with their handful of European allies. Nothing could be more calculated to dampen the fervour of the African Nationalist spirit, to smother the emotions and desires of the African people in a haze of confused goals, to blur their vision and blunt the revolutionary thrust of the struggle for national liberation. All this done in the name of multi-racialism! The enemy has chosen the battlefield for us, chosen the platform on which he wishes to fight: apartheid of racial segregation and discrimination. Many have readily obliged, consenting to be put on the defensive and protesting in a negative way against this or that piece of legislation because it discriminates against this or that group on racial grounds. Racialism, as an issue, has come to be accorded a place in the struggle which is out of all proportion to its importance in the altogether rotten social set-up, over-shadowing the fundamental issues which are inherent in Imperialism and constitute a basic conflict between the interests of an alien group and those of the indigenous people. Starting off from this false premise, the premise that all our woes are anchored in racialism, we have come to think of the struggle purely in terms of race, seeing racialism even in the concept of Africa for the Africans.

In the process even history was falsified. The bloody battles which our forefathers had so gallantly fought for the retention of their land and its resources—these glorious battles which had lasted more than a century and constitute part of our proud history and traditions—ceased to have a true political meaning or to be a source of inspiration in the struggle for liberation. The African Nationalist spirit was suffocated, suppressed and drowned in a pit of hollow multi-racialism and quasi-Christian polemics. Those

who advocated a purely African Nationalist approach to the struggle were branded black racials or chauvinists. Thus was created an ambivalence in the country in which the love-thy-enemy-as-thy-self sermon was being ardently preached among the people.

A few quotations from typical speeches will illustrate this general theme in the South African struggle. In discussing the views of those from whose speeches and writings we quote, it is without any malicious intent to reflect on their personal integrity. Following is from a speech made before his followers by Chief Albert Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress, the main sponsor organisation of a public assembly that adopted the Freedom Charter. It is typical of the man who has since been awarded a Nobel Peace Prize:

"Hate the things he stands for, but it is wrong to hate the man himself. Whether he is willing to recognise it or not, the white man is our brother. In the end in South Africa all the races will have to live together. Because our own people are in the vast majority, one day we shall be in power—then we must show that the black man knows how to use power fairly and with justice. When that day comes we must not be looking for revenge."

### SAFE-GUARDING WHITES' FUTURE

Whatever validity the Luthulian approach may have in the future (and one

concedes it may well be necessary then to cool the embers of hate and revenge) it certainly doesn't fit in the revolutionary struggle of the present. Too many of the leaders are being unduly preoccupied with safeguarding the future position of the white aliens who, at present, are sitting on the necks of a groaning mass of black humanity, and show no sign of willing to get off our backs without being rudely shaken off in an explosion of pent-up fury.

In the prevailing circumstances in South Africa, it is puerile to ask the African to "hate the things he stands for" but not the White man himself. It is rather like asking a wounded human to swear at the gun and not the man who pulled the trigger. It is un-earthy and unnatural to love the White man under present conditions, which is what we must do if we are to regard him as a brother. Since all these things cannot be done naturally, there can only be an unnatural response to the theme song that they have been made. In the struggle, that theme song has reeked havoc with the Nationalist spirit in a nebulous mass of conflicting emotions and postures.

On the other hand, this kind of approach to the struggle was regarded as the height of statemanship and earned our leaders accolades in the White settler press. The Chief, as Lutuli now came to be known, was showered with

praises as South Africa's "foremost African leader," "a Christian gentleman" who eschewed violence in his fight for "greater freedom" for his people. Later, the accolades are pouring off the Western world's printing presses, with a Nobel Peace Prize to boot.

### SLEEPLESS NIGHTS

As the Verwoerd Government tightened the screw of oppression, thereby undermining the influence of the so-called African "moderates" over the course of events in the struggle, those Whites who had taken a life insurance policy with the firm of Multi-Racialists (Racialism Multiplied) & Co., took flight. This came along with the emergence in 1959 of the Pan-Africanist Congress with a militant African Nationalist programme. Business increased and the firm prospered as the White "sympathisers" moved closer to the A.N.C., all joining in a rising chorus decrying what they called "Black racialism."

"For this, of course, the bludgeons of White supremacy are alone to blame," wrote A.N.C. Secretary-General Duma Nokwe apologetically. "The intransigence of apartheid must inevitably lead to Black intransigence equally demented." Black intransigence equally demented! Could this have been calculated to sharpen the African struggle, or to earn a face-wringing smile and a slap on

Continued on page 4



## Invest in absolute security!

We pay you 5% on your savings. Choose any of these targets

£G1 savings per month becomes	£688	in 5 years
£G2 " " " "	£G199	" " "
£G5 " " " "	£G340 10 0	" " "
£G10 " " " "	£G681	" " "
£G20 " " " "	£G1362	" " "

ONLY THE FIRST GHANA BUILDING SOCIETY offers you such attractive terms, so open a savings account now. Ask for the RED Passport



## FIRST GHANA BUILDING SOCIETY

Assets exceed £1,000,000.

Accra: Boundary Road, P.O. Box 2988. Tel. 62229, 65813.  
Kumasi: Maxwell Road, P.O. Box 827.  
Sema: Adzokpo Road, P.O. Box 30.  
Tema: Market Centre, Community No. 1, P.O. Box 431  
And Mobile Offices visiting many other towns.

# Regional Affinities and African Unity

THE opponents of African unity on a continental basis, generally, put forward as an alternative the idea of a set of regional groupings, which they claim would be easier to bring about, more likely to survive and on the whole more "natural".

The best intentioned freely admit the wisdom of unity, but only as an end to be achieved in the fulness of time. In the meantime to make sure of a realistic approach that can be seriously implemented and yield results, they propose a gradual step-by-step policy.

The first stage is to group the various states regionally, taking account of what they have in common geographically or historically or both. On this basis, if we go according to what the geographers and historians say, Africa can be classified into three large areas; the Maghreb, West Africa and East Africa.

## SOUND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

The main arguments advanced in support of this theory are the size of the African continental transport and communications and the need to achieve something that is at once practical, sound and economically viable. Of course, "The smallest grain of millet would suit as far more..." In point of fact we are up against an economic argument. If we really mean business and take a realistic view of things, we must admit that African unity and for that matter, the unity of any set of countries, must rest upon sound economic arguments, must in fact be based on a solid economic foundation.

This is certainly true, but does it necessarily follow that because there are distinct geographical and economic areas in Africa (and this is true up to a point), unity of movement, action and finally political unity on a continent-wide basis cannot be achieved here and now? This is the argument put forward by the "realists", the protagonists of "gradualism", or a step-by-step policy. It is just now a very topical theme, but the argument can hardly stand. It falls because in actual fact the difference between "natural" regional affinities of an economic character and a continental unity of a political kind, is more apparent than real.

## MODERN CONTINENTAL UNITS.

This is clearly exemplified in the case of large modern continental units like the United States of America and the Soviet Union. In the United States, for example, four large geographical and economic areas are to be met with (the industrial east, the modern agricultural Middle West, the old South which

is traditionally agricultural though being rapidly modernised, and the industrial West).

These regions are fairly well integrated. For instance, there is a belt of specialised agriculture in the industrial East which clearly exists in order to feed the large industrial urban areas. In the USSR the geographical and economic areas are perhaps even more integrated.

## FACTORS OF RESOURCES

Does such regional integration based on the physical factors of resources and transport, prevent the United States or the USSR from achieving unity? Not at all! Can it be admitted quite simply that from the economic point of view, the fact that these large areas are politically integrated with either areas (the United States or the USSR) is of little importance?

Not at all! The existence and prosperity of these areas depend directly upon the existence of the large national units which the USSR and the United States of America undoubtedly are. To give only one example, which is very typical indeed, let us take California. This State would certainly find it more difficult to produce electronic ma-

chines, keep its aeronautic production going, or even sell its Mediterranean fruits at good prices, if it were only a modest national state like one of the many Latin-American States.

Of course, there is no question here of ruling out, because of continental unity, a high degree of economic integration among large regional groupings, or rejecting out of hand as reactionary modern theoretical methods such as research into poles of economic development, which are necessarily of a regional character. It is clear that the development of the mineral resources of the Northern Sahara through-out the Maghreb as a whole, is most commendable. Undoubtedly a large modern port collectively built on the West Coast of Africa may serve a whole area of three or four states, and around that port a whole industrial unit would develop to subserve the needs of the port.

## PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS

It is not hard to imagine that a large dam on the Niger or one of the big African rivers, would serve a number of States. It must be admitted that the large land mass of Africa implies a certain degree of regional

planning so far as the economic development of Africa is concerned examples abound. It is hard to see how regional integration on a larger scale, which would promote industrial development by creating larger internal markets can run counter to a wider political framework. The frontiers of the United States of America and the USSR lie outside the large geographical and economic areas, and do not separate them.

## A COMMON VOICE

On the other hand, the advantages of African unity can be clearly seen so far as each individual area is concerned. Economically, all the areas would speak with a common voice in economic, financial and commercial transactions with the industrial powers. The various regions would not compete with one another. All the advantages enjoyed by the large areas would be reproduced throughout the continent.

It can also be clearly seen that Africa would be the loser, if she did not achieve unity now, and the idea of regional groupings were to win the day. If the industrial powers had to deal with a few political units slightly smaller in number than the present

thirty-four States, but somewhat larger and more powerful, though still existing as separate entities, they might easily continue their tactics of division. The results of such a contingency can easily be imagined, for there would be neither unity, nor 34 balkanised states but a division into four or five blocks. And so the economic argument falls to the ground.

All the frontier quarrels in Africa show that it is easier to have good relations with distant states than with one's immediate neighbours. Further, the experience of the past few years also indicates the fact that efforts at regrouping have been inspired not by geographical proximity, but by political direction, or a certain concept of Africa and African unity.

## REGIONAL GROUPINGS NOT VALID

In point of fact there is nothing, economically or politically speaking, which warrants the statement that it is easier to achieve unity first by way of regional groupings. It is possible, and even certain that some

may not care for unity, or be apprehensive about it even though they desire it, or desire it though they are afraid of it; but the argument for "regional groupings first" is certainly not valid. First, because the two things are not antagonistic and secondly because unity, at any level, calls for effort and courage. The dimension matters little. Unity is perhaps in "the nature of things" in Africa, and this means it is revolutionary.

Besides and this is our last point—a larger degree of unity can be achieved now more easily than tomorrow, because at the present time special situations and differences have not yet crystallised. A common past and common needs are factors making for unity, and not lightly to be set aside. Tomorrow, when the various states or regional groupings have moved in different directions their differences will become more accentuated, and their objective which is unity will thus have become not easier, but more difficult to achieve.

## UPC MESSAGE TO DR. NKRUMAH

IN a message of solidarity to President Nkrumah after the attempt on his life on the 2nd January, the "Comité de Base" (Basic Committee) of the UPC in Conakry expressed its angry indignation at this "further criminal attempt by the international imperialists and their reactionary Ghanaian stooges, who constantly hatch plots to truncate the African Revolution", and "warmly congratulated the African leader on having heroically escaped from that perfidious attempt".

After paying tribute to the "heroic Ghanaian officer who fell a victim to the bullets of the dastardly assassin who was the tool of the imperialists and their Ghanaian lackeys", the motion referred in laudatory terms to the "clearsighted and relentless action for the liberation and regeneration of Africa, for which the Head of the Ghanaian State has won the undying gratitude of all the peoples of Africa and all men who love peace and progress in the world", and reaffirmed "the unswerving fraternity that binds in their determination to fight imperialism, the people of Ghana with President Nkrumah at their head, and the people of the Kamerun who are fighting under the leadership of the UPC and its Revolutionary Committee".

In a resolution passed at the same meeting, in favour of President Nkrumah, the "Comité de Base" (Basic Committee) of the UPC in Conakry denounced the

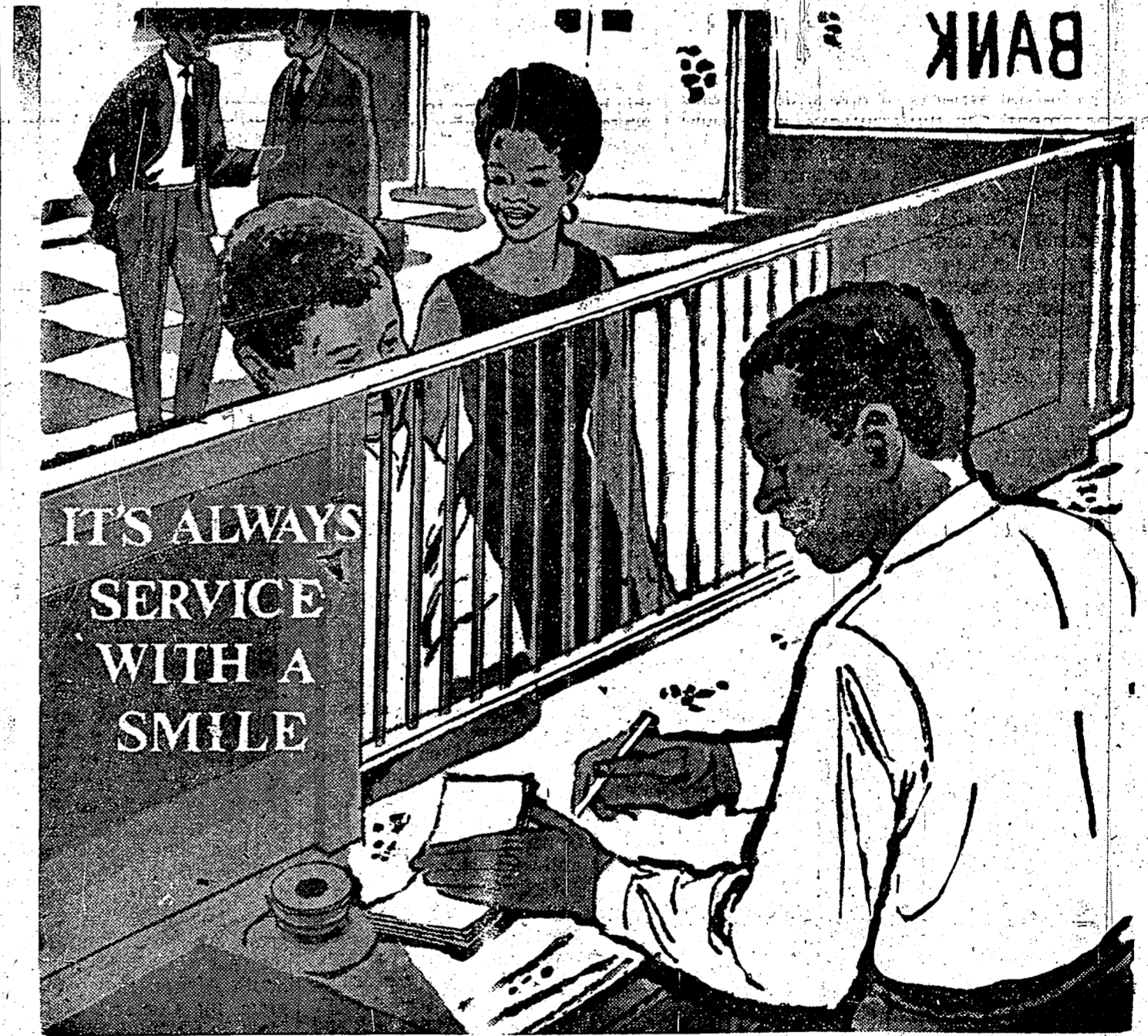
open alliance between the band of N'Tumazah and Osende Afana renegades and certain reactionary elements bent on sabotaging the Ghanaian Revolution, an alliance which aims at continuing to keep in detention about a hundred Kamerunian patriots, in order to undermine the mutual confidence that exists between the Ghanaian leader and all the African revolutionaries. The Resolution rightly places this attempt at sabotage fairly and squarely within the whole imperialist plot directed against the African Revolution. The attempt upon the life of the President of Ghana on the 2nd of January 1964 revealed the existence in the ranks of the Ghana police of some agents of the imperialist plot, with which the N'Tumazah gang had long been connected.

The "Comité de Base" (Basic Committee) of the UPC in Conakry rejoices at the release of some twenty of their fellow-countrymen, but would nevertheless like to point out that pressure is still being exerted against them by "certain elements bent on sabotaging the Ghanaian Revolution". Although the resolution pays tribute to the resistance being put up by some Kamerunian patriots (freedom fighters) to these pressures, it cannot but castigate certain others like Kingué Abel for capitulating. The resolution "particularly denounces the duplicity and blindness of Kingué Abel (former Vice-President of the UPC) who by rallying to the side

of the diversionists, gives the lie to the resolute prosecution of the revolutionary struggle by the people of the Kamerun and thus repudiates his own past as a fighter".

Pippointing the collusion that actually took place between Kingué Abel and the N'Tumazah gang, the Resolution protested strongly "against the diversionists and confusionists who, with the help of certain reactionary Ghanaian elements are endeavouring to organise in Accra a so-called UPC Congress". In this connection the Resolution emphasises with great stress the fact that "the struggle of the Kamerunian people as a people's struggle is being conducted first and foremost within the country and consequently, only the people who bear arms are the guarantors of the sovereignty of the revolution".

Basing their action upon this revolutionary principle which informed their deliberations when the Popular Assemblies met in the maquis on the 13th September, 1962 and the 25th April, 1963, the (militants) of the UPC in Conakry, and making common cause with all the Kamerunian patriots protest against any imperialist-inspired interference in the affairs of their party and reaffirm the fact that only the Revolutionary Committee elected by the people of the Kamerun actually engaged in combat, with Ernest Ouandié at their head, are the genuine spokesmen of the Kamerun Revolution.



People in all walks of life in Ghana SAVE with the National Bank because they are sure of earning more—3½% interest on their savings.

### Services include

- \* Savings Accounts
- \* Current Accounts
- \* Letters of Credit
- \* Travellers Cheques
- \* Documentary Bill Facilities
- \* Foreign Transactions

## GHANA COMMERCIAL BANK

Branches throughout Ghana

# A QUEST FOR UNITY

Continued from page 2

## ONE UNITED NATION

Continued from page 1

which seek to reanimate the traditional African view of society as each for all and all for each have provided a strong pull on the simple minds of our people. To the simple unsophisticated African mind, the tenets of socialism fall on very fertile ground.

Here it is useful to point out that 1,559 out of the 2,452 votes cast against the constitutional proposals (that is, 62.5 per cent of all 'No' votes) came from the urban area of Accra where it is natural to expect a concentration of all the social elements deeply imbued with Western culture and therefore largely alienated from the simple Afri-

The cosmopolitan working class areas were a hundred per cent C.P.P. (e.g. Nima).

Why has support for the bourgeois class been so small?

It is tempting to seek an answer in the view that these elements never undertook a co-ordinated campaign for the referendum. But they have themselves to blame, for there were no restrictions whatsoever on their campaigning.

### LOSS OF FAITH

The truth is that the machinery for such a campaign was not there. And a big factor in its non-existence is the masses total loss

YEAR	YES	NO	TOTAL	% SUPPORT	% OPPOSITION
1960	1,009,692	131,393	1,141,085	89.4	11.6
1964	2,772,920	2,452	2,775,372	99.89	1.11

can mind.

Conversely, the rural areas—the home of the unsophisticated African still strongly attached to his traditional view that the welfare of each is the responsibility of all—have recorded nearly one hundred per cent support for the constitutional amendments.

Here, it should be noted that two sets of forces were in collision. The first is the traditional view of African society referred to above. Opposing it are the efforts of institutional chieftaincy which seek to retain the element of privilege injected into the institution by colonialism. The chiefs however could not resist the people and so went along with them.

### BOURGEOIS CLASS EXPOSED

Even in sophisticated Accra, the bourgeois class has been exposed as lacking strong roots with the people. Table IV shows that while 65.5 per cent of all voters in the Accra area voted for the C.P.P. in 1960, the figure rose to 98.9 per cent

YEAR	YES	NO	% SUPPORT	% OPPOSITION
1960	19,264	9,748	65.5	34.5
1964	141,570	1,559	98.9	1.1

last month. Only 1,559 persons voted against the constitutional proposals.

A close check on the 'NO' votes as cast by various polling stations reveals something interesting. These votes came largely from wards with a high percentage of lawyers and intellectuals of that class (e.g. around Kwame Nkrumah Circle and parts of Adabraka) or wards with many civil servants (e.g. Kaneshie, Mamprobi). Significantly, the traditional opposition areas of Bokum Square went over to the C.P.P. though a small pocket in Labadi (Ako Adjei's constituency) voted 'NO'.

of faith in the United Party.

There is, however, a deeper reason for the virtual collapse of the bourgeois class as an independent political force. A good part of their wealth comes not from industries and other gainful economic activities set up by them but from the selfish use of their connections with the state machinery. The real bourgeoisie in Western countries, as distinct from the administrative bourgeoisie we have here, perform a social function through the factories, mines, etc. owned and operated by them. But our class of the 'new rich' performs no similar social function. On the contrary, society sees their wealth as an unjust extortion extracted from the people. It is this lack of useful social functions within our society that explains why a dynamic departure from the foundations of colonialism will inevitably lead to the demise of the bourgeois class anywhere in Africa.

In conclusion, the referendum has revealed a strongly united nation de-

the back from the handful of White "sympathisers" who spent sleepless nights over the upsurge of African Nationalism and, perceiving the inevitability of a Black victory, verged on a nervous break-down worrying about the future position of themselves and their kith and kin?

### THE LAND: OUR SUSTENANCE

"Black intransigence" about what, anyway? The victims of oppression, exploitation and degradation had nothing to be liberal or flexible about. Indeed, the time to take a granite stand had long been overdue. Through military conquest and the law of the jungle, the White Europeans had settled down as the overlords of a Black country, basking on the fat of the land of the subdued. Militarily defeated, it was of the utmost strategic importance that the African should not also be vanquished in spirit. In this he could derive no greater sustenance than in the knowledge that the land was his by right: Africa for the Africans. To call this chauvinism is to be on the side of the forces of imperialism.

What if the African, in the process of disentangling himself from the mire of oppression, took a course which would ultimately make it difficult impossible for the whites to remain in Africa or to live here in harmony with us? Ezekiel Mphahlele, A.N.C. spokesman and author of "The African Image", writes: "In Kenya, Tanganyika, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, there are multi-racial communities, where each racial group wants to be adequately represented in government. In these territories, as in Algeria, it would be plain madness to tell the whites... to quit, or even to occupy a status of sufferance."

Discussing the "danger" of an African Nationalist approach to the struggle, Mphahlele waxed eloquent as a champion of a rosy future for today's oppressors: "Let's carry the thing to its logical conclusion. Suppose you do win your freedom. It is bound to be on the basis of black versus white, the latter being in power. And all your talk about not being anti-white—in a multi-racial setting—is so much tongue-in-the-check stuff. In a Ghanaian or Nigerian setting, nationalism has taken the form of Africanism, since the Colonial power abdicated: it is now simply the feeling of being African, and being anti-white is irrelevant."

Granted that an African Nationalist approach—in a multi-racial setting—must necessarily lead to anti-whiteism, will these ardent preachers of post-struggle harmony between black and white tell us whether they rate a White presence in Africa above African freedom? One does not think they would answer that question in the affirmative; but the logic of all their thunder and fury is that we should, at all and any costs, preserve this White presence.

Mphahlele says it would be "plain madness" to tell the whites to quit, but advances no reasons beyond stating the mere fact of the existence of multi-racial communities in the countries which he lists as being in the category where "each

racial group wants to be adequately represented in government." We are not even told how adequate is "adequately."

In fairness to the author of "The African Image" it must be said here that elsewhere in his book he does say something about the future: "In South Africa, by 'freedom' we of the banned African National Congress mean a state of life in which there will be a non-racial society in which I can vote for any man, black or white, who speaks my language; in which all parties will be mixed and there won't be any need to talk of minorities."

The ultimate goal, in so far as non-racialism is concerned, is not in dispute. This would not be an issue at all but for people like Mphahlele who have made it one in their multi-racialist reaction to racialism. African Nationalism is not incompatible with non-racialism, but multi-racialism is, Multi-racialism, the theory that gives recognition to the existence of different race groups in a country and then subordinates all other considerations to it, is just as dangerous and deplorable as racialism. The African is not and has never been a racialist, but multi-racialists—because of White racialism—refuse to acknowledge that people are per se no-racialist.

### THE HUMAN RACE

Writing in "Voice of Africa" on the philosophy of race propounded by Africanists (Pan-Africanists) in South Africa, P. N. Raboroko, Secretary for Education in the Pan-Africanist Congress, points out that for them "the word race can never have a plural when applied to human beings, for the simple reason that they recognise only one race, the human race." He then observes tersely: "If recognition of only one human race together with its political implications is a monstrous thing, it stands to reason that multi-racialism, recognition of many races, together with its political implications, becomes a manifold monstrous thing."

In practice in South Africa Multi-racialism—a reaction to Verwoerd's racialism—has meant the watering-down of African demands lest they offended White "sympathisers", and the reshaping of them to suit the creation of an all-race front. Where the Pan-Africanists thought in terms of the human race and took non-racialism for granted, the A.N.C. and its allies actually practised multi-racialism. The latter created a multi-racialist front known as the Congress Alliance, comprising the A.N.C. (African), the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats (White) and the South African Coloured (of mixed blood) People's Organisation. The framework within which this alliance operated was called the Consultative Committee, a top-level co-ordinating body in which all the four organisations had equal representation.

The political implications of this were, of course, that no matter what the number of followers each organisation had, no matter how big or small the population group from which each had sprung, there simply had to be parity of representation. Even the principle of pro-

portional representation was sacrificed on the altar of multi-racialism. This policy is amply reflected in the Freedom Charter, which declares: "There shall be equal status in the bodies of state... for all national groups and races. All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride. All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs."

### NON-RACIALISM IN PRACTICE

Yet these people who maintained separate, exclusively African, Indian, European or Coloured organisations (manifest racialism in practice), condemned the Pan-Africanist Congress as a racist body because of its then exclusively African membership. It is significant that, while neither the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C. the C.O.D. nor the S.A.C.P.O. can claim membership of people other than those of each their own race group, today the P.A.C. can. Shortly after its inception the P.A.C. acquired Coloured and now White members—non-racialism in practice, achieved without altering its programme of principles based on African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism. If at first the P.A.C. could claim no members other than Africans, it was simply because there were no others then prepared to accept its programme laying emphasis on the concept of Africa for the Africans under which everybody whose only loyalty to Africa is regarded as an African irrespective of skin colour. The criterion for membership is uniform for all, black or white: the acceptance of its basic policies chapter and verse, no more nor less.

### THE PRESENT SITUATION

Referring to the present situation and to the African Nationalist in South Africa, Mphahlele writes: "It is a grave responsibility for a man to carry when he wants to be independent in a society built on the foundations of interdependence, even outside the master-servant relationships. Granted that we blacks have reaped less out of the situation than the white rulers. But the gravity of your responsibility lies in the fact that you, as a nationalist, are associating your brand of nationalism with that of Banda, Nkrumah, Kaunda (Northern Rhodesia), Azikiwe, Awolowo and so on, which has thrived in a totally different social and political climate from yours."

The flippancy with which Mphahlele, in the above quotation, glides over the position of the African—the political subjugation and crass economic exploitation of the blacks by the white rulers—exposes a grave defect in his make-up which not even his eloquence can shroud, a victim of sickly sentimentalism. The zealot he is in the cause of a European presence in Africa carries him off his feet to indulge in extreme over-simplification of the position of the African if by this he can advance his case for a multi-racial permanence. According to him, we blacks have simply "reaped less out of the situation than the white rulers." The gods

know there has been no harvest at all for the African in South Africa! Crumbs from the white men's tables, yes. After all, as labour units—even on half-empty stomachs we had to be kept alive in order to put in another day's cheap labour. Reaping there was none whatsoever. That, then, is the form of interdependence upon which the South African society has been built. The African would desire nothing less than to bring it tumbling down and to rebuild on its ruins.

### DIFFERENT BRANDS OF NATIONALISM?

Mr. Mphahlele sees different social and political climates in which different brands of nationalism thrive in Africa. The only merit that one can read into this statement is that it does at least represent a welcome retreat from the usual position featuring stock charges that brand African Nationalism as racialism. Mr. Mphahlele now talks of different brands of nationalism thriving in different social and political climates. But he runs into deep water if by this it is meant that nationalism is divisible, inherently different regionally. He runs into even deeper water when he suggests any fundamental difference in the social and political climates of different African countries, thus altogether misreading the inherently identical factors that have obtained in the Imperialist rape of Africa from coast to coast. In short, the author of "The African Image" displays an unparadigmatic ignorance of the nature, the role and the abiding forces of Imperialism everywhere.

It is fairly generally held among scholars that nationalism is essentially reactive in nature *reactive*, one must stress, *not reactionary*: It can be harnessed in a positive programme of radical social reform. Always latent, the nationalist spirit of a people becomes active in the face of threats to their survival which come through external forces either of a military, economic or other nature. Indeed, nations are known to have been welded from small different communities which came together because they could not otherwise win their battles for survival. The extent to which such threats to their survival are common to the different communities often determines their readiness or the degree of their willingness to submerge their hitherto separate identities in one whole.

### FORGING BONDS OF UNITY

Such a process in South Africa has resulted in the formerly divided—and sometimes warring tribes there burying the hatchet and coming together politically in the face of a common foe. Their common historical experience in their bloody encounters with the white invaders, and their continued friction with these aliens, are the media through which they have reached out one to the other, forging bonds of unity. The same process has taken place in many other African countries. Nationalism that thrives in different African countries is the same in nature. The degree of its sharpness depends on the extent of the threats to the survival of the people concerned. By its very nature it is bound to be sharper in South Africa than, say, Ghana, and vice versa. This would be so because of the absence in Ghana of

a settled, foreign oppressor group.

The forces of Imperialism have been routed in some African countries more swiftly than in others, not because they were in nature different in the former countries from those in the latter, but because they have been less entrenched there. Whereas in Ghana Imperialism was represented locally by civil servants and a sprinkling of the agents of adventuristic capital, in South Africa it has dug itself in by planting its forces there on a permanent basis. It does not become any less imperialism in South Africa because it has secured a firmer grip there. To regard it otherwise is to plead ignorance of the powerful Imperialist forces against which the alien white society is propped up. Without a knowledge and a keen appreciation of these factors, one hasn't even begun to understand the nature of our struggle.

### HOW ANTI-WHITE IS ANTI-WHITEISM?

We have thus far shown how a certain school of thought among Africans in South Africa is obsessed with fears that African Nationalism will develop into anti-whiteism, and also dealt with the efforts they and some whites have exacted in campaigning against this development. When the history of the South African struggle is fully written, the magnitude of the damage their efforts have caused in paralysing the fighting spirit of the people will become manifest. In this stage it is pertinent to pose the question whether there is any base for such fears at all? We have—and we hope adequately—disposed of the question whether or not anti-whiteism would be justified under present conditions, and the general conclusion is that the problem in South Africa today is not how not to hate the whites, but how to hate them enough to act on it.

Although everywhere in African Nationalism has been branded anti-white by the oppressors, nowhere has it resulted in the whites being kicked out of the country after freedom and independence. Even where a few individual whites have been ordered out, this has not been done simply because they were whites, but because they refused to adjust themselves to changed conditions. For the same reasons, some have left on their own. Few people—least of all the whites themselves—expected them to remain in Kenya after freedom and be happy about it. But many are staying on, and the Prime Minister, Mze Jomo Kenyatta, has assured them of a happy future. Yet the struggle in Kenya—one of the fiercest of its kind—has been waged on a purely African Nationalist basis.

The more deep-rooted the white settlement, the fiercer the struggle must become, and in the circumstances African Nationalism cannot but be anti-white without, of course, being congenitally so. The reasons for this lie in the nature of settlement itself, and this is uniform throughout white-dominated Africa, the last bastion of Imperialism, Colonialism and neo-colonialism. The basic challenge to the African people throughout the continent remains the same: to unite against both the crude and the subtler forms of Imperialism. These are the conditions in which African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism thrive.