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EDITORIAL

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

LITTLE more than a year has passed since the first meeting of the Heads of State at Cairo and we are now eagerly looking forward to their next gathering this week.

Many important developments have taken place in the past year under the impetus of the Cairo Summit. The forthcoming Summit has many solid achievements on which it can congratulate itself.

However it faces many serious problems. These are all projects of growth and change.

But we hope our leaders will look at what has so far been achieved in a realistic and critical spirit, so that weaknesses can be eliminated and mistakes avoided.

We know our leaders are courageous men able to look at even unwelcomed truths without flinching.

* * *

The report of the liberation Committee of the O.A.U. shows that we have more work to do in the struggle for the total decolonisation of Africa.

We are paying dearly for disunity, both among the free nations of Africa and within the national liberation movement in the colonial and oppressed countries.

It is depressing that in the face of the mounting campaigns of terror and repression being waged by the colonialist and racist regimes, the strength of the liberation movement in Africa is being sapped by factionalism and the all-too-frequently inadequate and ineffective solidarity movement.

Let us establish a basic principle. No African state can regard its independence as secure while imperialism or neo-colonialism influences any aspect of its activities.

Above all, the independence of no African state is secure while imperialism holds state power in some parts of Africa, ruling over our African brothers.

While one African is not free the rest of us can never be certain that the chains of imperialism will not be fastened on us again.

As Kwame Nkrumah has reminded us: "As long as a single foot of African soil remains under foreign domination the battle must continue."

* * *

This means in effect that till the major battle is won, all the resources of free and independent Africa must be marshalled to speed the attainment of liberation throughout the continent.

We should not be under any illusion. The imperialists will not give in easily. Those regimes still remaining are becoming more vicious and more desperate as their end approaches. They will fight to the last ditch. All our resources, skill and unity will be needed to defeat them.

The Accra Summit is our second chance to fulfil our obligations. The people of Africa look to the Heads of State meeting to rectify some of the mistakes and give resolute new lead in assisting the freedom movements to win the complete liberation under the canopy of a Union Government.

THE mass organisations of the African people—the trade unions, the organisations of women and young people and political parties fighting for freedom—are to play a more active part in the work of the Organisation of African Unity.

Delegates to the Council of Foreign Ministers now meeting in Accra underline that if the O.A.U. is to achieve its aim of the final liberation of Africa its efforts must be supplemented by the great mass movements.

Efforts to achieve unity in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism will be meaningless unless accompanied by efforts to forge direct links through trade union, youth, women's professional and other organisations.

They recall that the O.A.U. itself sprang from the efforts of such non-governmental organisations which, while colonialism still dominated Africa, sponsored the conferences which gave birth to the idea of African unity.

It is therefore natural that the peoples of Africa who provided the motive force to the freedom movement and the movement for African unity at a time when they had no representative governments of their own should now be able to make their contribution to the movement towards unity today spearheaded by their governments.

In his newly published *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, Kwame Nkrumah notes that it is the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, pro-liberation masses that alone make, maintain or break revolutions.

"With the utmost speed, neo-colonialism must be analysed in clear

and simple terms for the full mass understanding by the surging organisations of the African peoples," he writes.

"The All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) has already made a start in this direction, while the Pan-African Youth Movement, the women, journalists, farmers and others are not far behind."

For, he goes on, "when all is said and done, it is the so-called little man, the bent-backed, exploited malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence who decides. And he invariably decides for freedom."

In his earlier *Consciencism*, Kwame Nkrumah stressed the need for "an optimum zone of self-induced development" as a necessary and indispensable condition for the success of the African Revolution.

SINGLE ZONE

The analytic form XIII in *Consciencism* states in effect that the African continent as a whole can be regarded as equal to a single zone of optimum development, capable of bringing about complete decolonisation and self-induced development at a fast tempo.

Moreover, opposition to neo-colonialism is never really effective unless it is set within an optimum framework of development, capable of becoming an optimum centre of resistance.

As the analytical formula indicates, a centre of resistance cannot be really strong unless it is accompanied by strict ideological unity, which once secured, is bound to express itself in the form of a single political organisation which is

powerful and capable of mobilising the people, and in a position to demonstrate its cohesion, the firmness and effectiveness of its strategy and at the same time speed up its revolutionary activities.

Consciencism has set up the theoretical platform on which all forces of the African Revolution can be brought together into a continental mass movement.

Events in Africa have made it clear that just as organised pressure from below has been the most effective weapon against colonialism, so also are mass movements of the people the most potent instrument for bringing neo-colonialism and apartheid to their knees.

And now, as neo-colonialism is working on an all-African basis, the mass movements of the people must be co-ordinated on a continental basis and made to fight with a continental strategy.

The Addis Ababa Conference provided Africa with a single programme of action—the historic fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid.

But imperialism is directing its counter-offensive along three main lines.

1. It seeks to strengthen its grip, over some states. These regimes are becoming more reactionary with the ill-concealed approval of the imperialists who up to now have posed as custodians of democracy and the human conscience.

2. It seeks to divert Africa's drive towards liberation of the remaining colonial territories by deflecting our united efforts away from direct positive action and into

the path of negotiation with the colonial powers concerned.

3. By this method, imperialism hopes to replace colonialism with neo-colonialism either by making all our attempts at inter-African co-operation impossible or by giving them a form that permits of manipulation by the imperialist powers themselves.

These three objectives of imperialism on the African continent can be defeated by one pivotal action—a unified continental political machinery. This is why all leaders of the African Revolution must demand a union government for Africa now.

And this is precisely why imperialism has made resistance to union government for Africa the keystone of its strategy in Africa.

Our salvation lies in building political unity in Africa. This is the key that will open a new and higher phase for the African Revolution—the phase of complete independence and a fuller life for the people.

And sure victory for African political unity depends on the continental mass movements of the people, guided by a continental strategy, soldiered by the people and fighting uncompromisingly for a people's programme.

The general situation in Africa today, where the fundamental struggle is still a fight to free the continent from open and disguised colonialism, demands a continent-wide mass movement. To recognise this fact is one thing. It is quite another matter to give effect to the idea.

The continental mass movements in Africa must be perceived clearly

ly and described accurately through those social, economic and political forces that can support the revolution.

Principally, there are three main forces which, when brought together, constitute the peoples' movement which the situation in Africa demands.

In the first place, we have the African states of peoples' political power which have taken the road of non-capitalist development.

The second principal force of the continental peoples' movements is the popular organisations inside the regimes of neo-colonialism which fight against their "client" governments for radical changes in the status quo.

THE LINK

These are the radical political movements, the trade unions, the progressive intellectuals and students and the popular organisations which demand an end to foreign control of national life and a decent life for the masses.

The third set of forces to be grouped by the continental peoples' movement consists of the national liberation movements in the colonial territories and in South Africa, more especially the revolutionary wings of such movements.

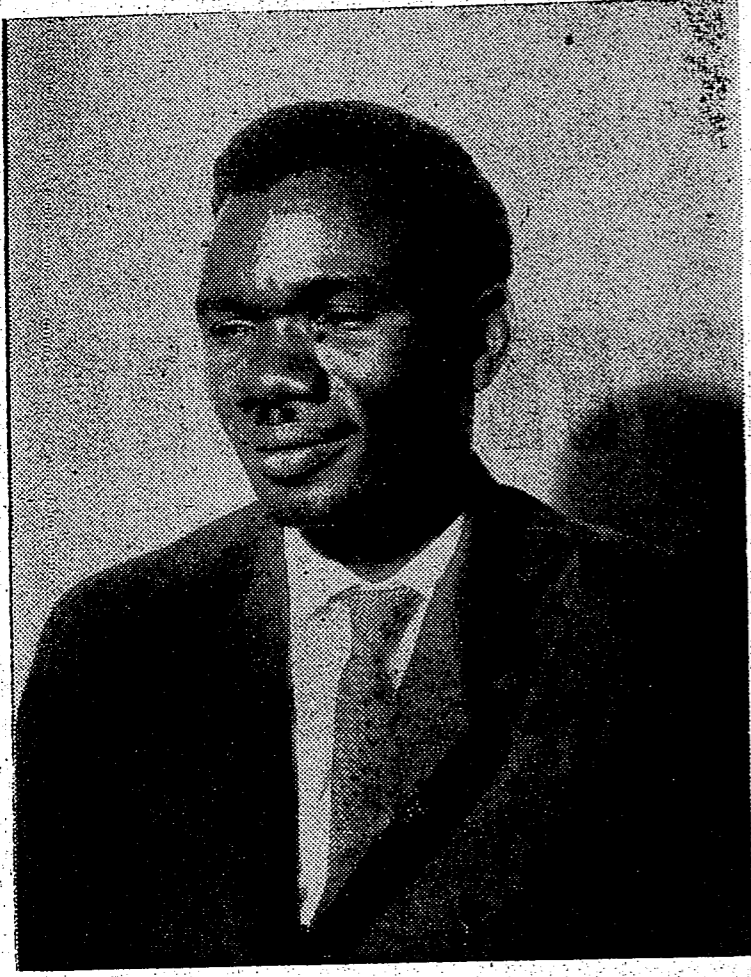
These three sets of forces cannot be mobilised at the governmental level. The link has got to be forged at another level—at the level of peoples' organisations.

Here the initiatives should be taken by the ruling political parties in all African states. This is a duty which history has imposed on them. And the discharge of this historical assignment permits of no further delay.

Providing More and Better Food for the People

GOOD FOOD MEANS GOOD HEALTH

Says H. K. BONI
(Minister of Food and Nutrition)



GHANA is known to have made great strides in many fields. Few however know that in the field of food and nutrition also our Government's efforts and achievements can hold their own against that of any country in the developing world.

The 1963 Conference of African Ministers held in Italy recognised that the increasing industrialisation and urbanisation in Africa are creating malnutrition problems that require early solutions.

They traced some of the causes to low crop yields, lack of education and facilities for preservation, distribution and marketing.

Four years before this conference, the Government of Ghana had already by an Act of Parliament established the National Food and Nutrition Board.

By 1962 the Board had completed countrywide nutritional survey as a prerequisite to the launching of its nutritional education programme.

Today, Regional and District Offices manned by qualified staff are established in all the regions of the country. The officers give lectures, demonstrations and advice, particularly, to expectant and lactating women.

Ghana can now boast of a nutritional education which has aroused acute awareness in the remotest part of the country.

The feeding of workers and school children during the hours of their absence from their homes is also a task for the Ministry.

Two years ago, on the direction of Osagyefo, a pilot scheme was instituted to determine the extent to which it will be necessary to subsidise a "Meals on Wheels Programme" whereby our workers will be fed during working hours at their places of work at a reasonably low cost. The pilot scheme was a success.

It is now planned to build during the next financial year a central kitchen as the first practical step to implement the scheme and also as a basis of starting school feeding in our cities.

For the meantime a well-equipped modern canteen capable of catering for about 3,000 workers daily is to be opened this month to cater for workers in and around the Ministries.

The problem of out-patients waiting for hours without food at our main hospitals is also being tackled vigorously and effectively. The Board's Hot

Beverage scheme has provided a fitting answer to the problem.

This not only affords the out-patient the right type of food, but also at a very low cost indeed. The scheme is subsidised by the Government.

It is also proposed to build in the very near future a rehabilitation centre to house discharged malnutrition patients for complete recovery through proper feeding.

For all these plans, we need well trained and efficient staff. A number of our officers has already been offered scholarships for studies both here and abroad in such courses as catering, Institutional Management, Nutrition, Home Economics and Dietetics.

Besides, the Ministry runs in-service training, seminars, conferences, refresher courses and workshops for its staff and personnel of various institutions involved in catering for schools and the general public.

The relationship between nutrition, on one hand and food production, distribution and marketing and also income on the other hand, are well recognised.

No one can be unaware of the Government's almost superhuman efforts to diversify and mechanise our agriculture.

In order to give expression to the government's awareness of the importance of Nutrition and Agriculture, public health, community development and social welfare, we established in each Region Nutrition Advisory Committees comprising Regional Heads of my Ministry, Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Education and Social Welfare and Community Development.

Out of this we hope to be in position to apply the correct and acceptable method of co-ordinating and purposefully directing the activities of the various organisations engaged in human-nutrition extension services.

Nutrition cannot be separated from food preservation, distribution and marketing. The Food Marketing Board was established in 1963 to be responsible among other things for the buying and storage of surplus foodstuffs for sale and distribution when necessary to areas threatened by famine.

The Agriculture Production Units and private individuals are however left free to market their own foodstuffs subject to a price control scheme to be instituted.

tuted". The Marketing Board has since made serious efforts to carry out its functions in the face of many difficulties. One of the greatest of these difficulties was the lack of suitable storage facilities.

It is gratifying, therefore, that the Food Marketing Board is presently building in Accra and in the regions giant silos and cold stores capable of storing and preserving thousands of tons of grains, cereals, beans, legumes, vegetables, meat

Food Buying Centres will soon be established throughout the country. The Board will not, however, in normal circumstances enter the food retail trade.

In order to help effective distribution it will rely on the consumer co-operatives, the Local Councils, the Groceries, the Ministry of Internal Trade and Registered Retailers.

While it cannot be denied that poverty is one of the main factors of malnutrition in most parts of Africa and other developing coun-

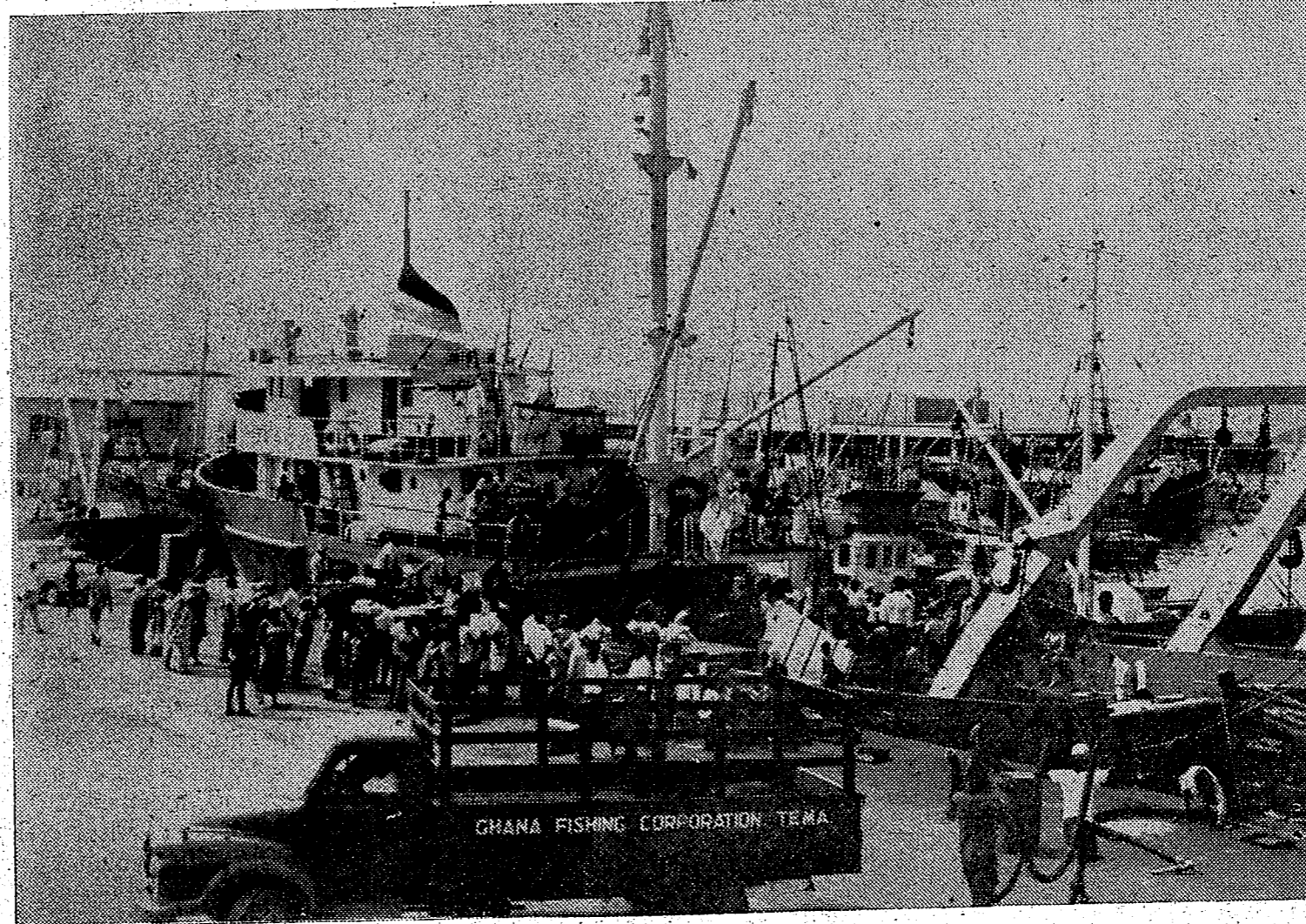
THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING... (3)

and fish.

Ready markets and guaranteed prices are among the benefits of which our farmers are assured.

Recent events have emphasised the need of strengthening the Board by expanding the scope of its statutory functions and I have already initiated action

for that matter, I can say without fear of criticism, that even with the present standard of living, the average Ghanaian with the right nutritional education can afford a simple, nourishing diet. It is only proper that my Ministry, which looks after the nutritional status of the people of Ghana, is also



towards this end.

I would like to see the Board give effective leadership in food distribution and marketing without itself becoming a monopoly—a board that will effectively control food prices and eliminate middlemen to a degree consistent with our socialist aspirations.

The Food Storage Centres represent perhaps one of the biggest challenges of the Government to our farmers and the State Agriculture Production Units.

With the provision of the preservation and storage facilities, our state production (Agriculture) Units will, I hope, be relieved of their present marketing functions in order to help them concentrate more on production.

made responsible for such Food Institutes as the Vegetable Oil Mills, the State Cocoa Products, and State Baker.

In co-operation with the State Enterprises Secretariat and the Chairmen and or Managing Directors, the products from these Ghana Food Industries can be depended upon to stand equal to the world's best in quality.

If a balanced diet means good health which in turn pays good dividends in high productivity and strengthens a country's economic foundation, then Ghana's heavy investment in nutrition and health extension services are worthwhile investments for the greater happiness and prosperity of our people.

Better Boats for the Fishermen—and more Fish for the people

by
Mr. B. A. KONU
(Minister of Fisheries)



ermen were encouraged to purchase outboard motors and larger fishing boats on easy credit terms. This move on the part of the Government has greatly increased the output of the peasant fishermen.

In order further to increase the production and distribution of fish and to reduce to a minimum and ultimately eliminate completely the importation of fish our progressive Government established the State Fishing Corporation on October 31, 1961.

The State Fishing Corporation concentrates solely on marine fishing and with such facilities, in the form of the fishing harbour in Tema, a fleet of steel motor vessels and technical know-how, as provided by the Government, the Corporation is stepping up the production of fish in the country.

It is envisaged that by the end of the Seven-Year Development Plan period the Corporation's target of 110,000 tons a year will have been achieved.

Exploitation of the fresh water fisheries resources in the Volta Lake (the largest man-made lake in the world), rivers, dams and ponds is still in the hands of the traditional fishermen who operate individually in family units or band themselves into co-operative units.

Thus the private and co-operative sectors also contribute their quota to our fishing industry. Here I would like to mention that these fishermen are assisted by the staff of the Ministry of Fisheries by introducing new techniques a year.

BIGGER BOATS

In order to help the private and co-operative sectors of our fishing industry to improve their method of fishing and to increase their production the Government has established the State Boatyards Corporation which builds motor fishing boats which are larger and better than the traditional canoes normally used by the peasant fishermen.

These motor boats, which are sold to the fishermen on very easy credit terms, have become so popular with the fishermen that the State Boatyards Corporation is finding it difficult to cope with the demand for them.

However, with the resources at its disposal the Boatyards Corporation is making tremendous efforts to build more bigger boats to meet the demand of the fishermen.

The success of the efforts of the Ministry of Fisheries and its allied organisations can be appreciated by the reader in the fact that the production of fish has been steadily increasing from 33,978 tons in 1961 to 70,988 tons in 1964.

At this rate of increase it is a foregone conclusion that the target of 250,000 tons as set in the 7-Year Development Plan will not only be achieved but will be exceeded.

THE Government of Ghana, in its bid for economic and social reconstruction is engaged in a war against hunger, disease and malnutrition. The Government has also taken upon itself to provide the people with the basic human needs of food, clothing and shel-

important nutritive element in our food and it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Fisheries to see to it that both the sea and fresh water fisheries resources are exploited to the full so that fish is produced abundantly and made available to the people.

ter from the elements.

Fisheries development plays an important role in this crusade and my Ministry will leave no stone unturned in achieving the target set for fish production.

That an army marches on its stomach is a truth which defies any contradiction. To build a healthy nation which should carry on the work of economic and social reconstruction, good and nutritious food should be made available to every citizen of the country.

My Ministry and those of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition and Animal Husbandry have their contributions to make towards the solution of food problems of our dear country.

Fish protein forms a very

The Ministry discharges this responsibility with the active co-operation of the State Fishing Corporation, the State Boatyards Corporation and of the private fishermen all over the country.

Before the establishment of the State Fishing Corporation, our fish supply, supplemented by imports, was entirely in the hands of the traditional fishermen who used manpower to battle against the force and fury of nature to get to the fishing grounds.

In 1960 the erstwhile Agriculture Development Corporation which was established by the Government initiated a scheme to mechanise fishing.

Under this scheme fish-

THE BASES THAT THREATEN PEACE AND FREEDOM



"U.S. BOMBERS from Guam raid Vietnam... Guantanamo base for Dominica landings... U.S. seeks new base in India Ocean... Ascension used as base for Stanleyville landing"—these are just a few headlines taken from the world press during recent months.

The existence of American bases—indeed, of all military bases on foreign territories—is one of the greatest anomalies of our time.

In most cases these bases are not remnants of World War Two, as many American representatives try to imply. They originated not from post-war undertakings or from agreements on the maintenance of peace and safety in the world but from very narrow, one-sided imperialistic aims and interests. American aggression in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic is the best demonstration of what these aims are.

It is a paradox that since the end of World War Two more than 50 former colonies have gained independence, yet in 40 countries—among them many which have recently

won independence—military bases (mostly American) are to be found, or bases under the "control" of foreign military units (again mainly American).

The American Press from time to time publishes detailed information about the number of U.S. military bases, as well as about the numbers of soldiers stationed abroad. It supplements its accounts with detailed maps of the world showing the "American Strongpoints".

The impression given is that a spider has settled on the map, so dense is the web of lines leading from the territory of the United States to almost every Continent, sea and ocean.

The United States have units, bases, stores and other installations, military missions, instructors and military communication centres in 34 countries.

About 700,000 U.S. soldiers—more than a fourth of the total number of the American Army—is stationed outside the territory of the United States. More than half are in Asia and in the Pacific—in the

Philippines, in Japan, on Okinawa, in South Korea, on Taiwan, in South Vietnam, on the Marshall Islands, on the Carolines and Marianne Islands.

They are intended to suppress any national liberation movement. Whenever they go into action it is against popular uprisings. European countries, too, are obliged to play host to those unwelcome guests. Twenty years after World War Two American units are still in 13 European countries, from Iceland in the north to Spain and Greece in the South.

Only in West Germany is the presence of U.S. troops a genuine hang-over from World War Two, based on postwar agreements of the victorious powers.

Elsewhere, the existence of U.S. bases springs from the aggressive N.A.T.O. pact of which the U.S.A. was a founder.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic reopened the problem of American military bases on foreign territories. Millions of people are finding out that demagogic declarations about the "Communist

threat" are merely a smokescreen to conceal the real aim of the U.S. bases, which is to resist the people's movement for freedom and democracy.

Protest campaigns against American aggression and demonstrations calling for the winding up of U.S. military bases continue. They are an inseparable part of the political fight of the working people for their rights in many countries—in Japan, on Okinawa, in Italy, Greece, in Iceland, Cuba, in Panama and in other countries.

They have the support of world opinion, of the world peace movement and of the governments of all the socialist countries, which are among the targets for the U.S. bases.

The problem of military bases on foreign territory will certainly continue to be in the forefront of world attention.

The abolition of American and British military bases on foreign territory is a condition for security and for lasting peace in the world.



Extracts from documents which have become landmarks in Africa's fight for Peace, Freedom and Unity

FOR FREEDOM

3rd All-African Peoples Conference, Cairo, March 25-31, 1961:

THE Third All-African Peoples Conference meeting in Cairo from the 25th to the 31st of March, 1961, having carefully reviewed the current situation in Africa, considers that neo-colonialism which is the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which become the victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical means, is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status.

Emphasises the examples of the Congo, the French Community, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which indicate that the colonial system and international imperialism realising their failure in facing the development of revolutionary movements in Africa make use of many means to safeguard the essential of their economic and military power.

When the recognition of national independence becomes inevitable, they try to deprive these countries of their essence of real independence. This is done by imposing unequal economic, military and technical conventions; by creating puppet governments following false elections, or by inventing some so-called constitutional formulae of multi-national co-existence intended only to hide the racial discrimination favouring settlers.

Whenever such machinations appear insufficient to hamper the combativity and determination of popular liberation movements, dying colonialism tries, under the cover of neo-colonialism or through the guided intervention of the United Nations, the balkanisation of newly independent States or the systematic division of the political or syndical vivid forces, and in desperate cases, like in the Congo, colonialism goes as far as plots repressive measures by army and police, and murder in cold blood.

Conscious that neo-colonialism manifests itself through economic and political intervention, intimidation and blackmail in order to prevent African States from directing their political, social and economic policies towards the exploitation of their natural wealth for the benefit of their peoples.

Considers that such countries as the United States, Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland, South Africa and France are the main perpetrators of neo-colonialism.

The Third All-African Peoples Conference notes with satisfaction the intensification of the struggle of the African peoples for the achievement of their political independence with a view to decolonising the political, economic and social structures of Africa.

The Conference records, with interest, the progress made in some African States leading to a complete liquidation of colonialism and the remnants by a radical change in the economic and social structures imposed by colonialism so as to exploit the resources and riches of the African peoples.

The Conference notes that this progress was achieved as a result of the close economic co-operation between the African States in the development of air transport, the creation of indigenous monetary zone, etc., and commercial exchange. It was possible because of the new changing world situation which has opened to the independent African States, not only new markets but also new perspectives for ensuring a more and more harmonious and effective development of the African economy.

Considering that Political Independence is given full meaning by economic independence the Conference calls upon the independent countries to orientate themselves firmly towards a democratisation of the political and social structures which alone can accelerate the achievement of the material and moral conditions of the African peoples by a rational and equitable repartition of their resources in the interest of the masses by an appropriate planning of the national economy.

With a view to accelerating this process of development and the attainment in the shortest possible time of an economic and social equilibrium in Africa, the Conference calls for:

1. Firstly and as soon as possible an Inter-State African Transport Company (Land, Sea and Air) to facilitate travelling and exchanges between the African States.

FOR PEACE

1st Conference of Independent African States Accra 15-22 April 1958.

The Conference of Independent African States; Alarmed at the prospect of nuclear and thermo-nuclear energy being used by the Great Powers for military purpose;

Desiring to strengthen their contribution to world peace and security, Realising that world peace is a prerequisite for the progress and prosperity of all peoples;

Taking into account the fact that no African nation is at present represented in the international bodies concerned with the problems of disarmament;

1. Calls upon the Great Powers to discontinue the production of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and to suspend all such tests not only in the interest of world peace but as a symbol of their avowed devotion to the rights of man;
2. Views with grave alarm and strongly condemns all atomic tests in any part of the world and in particular the intention to carry out such tests in the Sahara;
3. Appeals to the Great Powers to use atomic nuclear and thermo-nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes;
4. Affirms the view that the reduction of conventional armaments is essential in the interest of international peace and security and appeals to the Great Powers to make every possible effort to reach a settlement of this important matter;
5. Condemns the policy of using the sale of arms as a means of exerting pressure on Governments and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries;
6. Urges the United Nations to ensure that the African nations are represented equitably on all international bodies concerned with the problems of disarmament;
7. Considers that meeting and consultation on international affairs should not be limited to the big powers;
8. Expresses its deep concern over the non-compliance with United Nations resolutions, calls upon the Member States to respect such resolutions, and urges a just solution of the outstanding international problems;
9. Expresses its deep concern over the question of Palestine which is a disturbing factor of World Peace and Security, and urges a just solution of the Palestine question;
10. Expresses its deep concern over the South-West African and similar questions which are disturbing factors of World Peace and Security, and urges a just solution to them.

2nd Conference of the Independent African States, Addis Ababa, June 15-24, 1960:

1. Appeals to all States, especially to the Great Powers, to exert their efforts to reduce the international tension;
2. Expresses the hope that:
 - (a) The efforts made at the United Nations regarding disarmament will lead to positive results;
 - (b) The discussions held in Geneva between the States concerned on the discontinuance of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests by effective international control will be concluded successfully;

Lord Salisbury's stake in Minority Rule

AS THE Rhodesian crisis sharpens the fascists of Britain and the die-hard conservatives are working hard to increase their pressure to make the British Government stand aside so that Ian Smith will be able to carry through his declaration of independence without interference.

In the personal columns of the London Times surreptitious advertisements appear asking for all those who "admire Mr. Ian Smith" to get in touch with box numbers and various addresses, so that they can be organised to campaign for the white minority in Rhodesia.

The Daily Express is well known to Ghanaian readers. It has emerged somewhat battered from its brush with Ghana, who exposed its lying photographs.

This has not stopped it allowing its front page of October 12, to be used for the expression of the most reactionary and racist arguments on the Rhodesian crisis.

The Fifth Marquis of Salisbury briefly descended from his aristocratic pedestal to appear in the columns of a mass circulation daily, to try and mobilise public opinion against the Rhode-

sian people.

The Marquis is the head of an old family, the Cecils, allied by marriage to similar ancient lineages and allied through his purse with the strongholds of monopoly capitalism.

Salisbury's title is commemorated in the name of the capital city of Rhodesia, and their family name in its central square called Cecil Square. Soon all the three names of Rhodesia, Salisbury and Cecil will be thrown on the junk heap of imperialist history, when the Africans win their independence.

Lord Salisbury is well-known as "the Premier-Maker" of the British Conservative Party. He played a major role in ensuring that Alec Home became the Prime Minister after Macmillan's resignation. He is now trying to use his power to prevent the onward march of liberation.

Salisbury thinks he knows better than the Africans what is good for them. He adopts a paternalist, philanthropic pose because he claims that majority rule will be "bad" for the Afri-

can peoples, it will deprive them of all the glories and benefits (unspecified) of rule by the present regime.

Going into the history of Rhodesia, he claims that a hundred years ago, Britain was not such a wonderful place either, when the mass of the British people worked in the squalid, dirty cities of the industrial revolution in poverty and want.

Lord Salisbury's kind resisted the British people's demands for political rights then, just as they are fighting the demands of the African majority for their political rights today.

It is not just that Salisbury is an impudent busybody, thinking he knows better what is good for Africa; he is fighting a desperate battle to hang on to the sources of his power.

Lord Salisbury's family wealth has in this century been drawn increasingly from the exploitation of Rhodesia's mineral resources.

The Financial Times of October 9, confesses rather helplessly that it is difficult to find out what is the extent of British investments

in Rhodesia. The Salisburys of this world are very quiet and secretive when it comes to declaring their financial interests.

It is well-known, however, that Salisbury is a Director of the Westminster Bank. The Westminster Bank is linked through directorships with the following major iron and steel and metal processing firms in Britain: Guest Keen and Nettlefold, United Steel Company, Stewart and Lloyds, Baldwin Holdings, Richard Thomas and Baldwin, Steel Company of Wales, Steeley Co. Ltd., J. Summer.

These firms account for the major part of iron and steel production in Britain. They use Rhodesian minerals so it is not surprising that Lord Salisbury is getting worried.

The Westminster Bank shares ownership of the capital of The Bank of West Africa, along with Lloyds, National Provincial and the Standard Bank of South Africa, all deeply involved in the exploitation of the mineral wealth of African states.

(Continued on page 4)



STUDIES IN NKRUMAISM

Nkrumaism as an application of Scientific Socialism (I)

"NKRUMAISM is the application of scientific socialism to our African social milieu" said Kwame Nkrumah in his message to the I.P.E. School at Tamale in April, 1965.

"Kwame Nkrumah, from the very beginning of his career as leader of this country as far back as 1947, made it clear to the world that he is a Marxist-Socialist and as such he is a materialist and upholds historical and dialectical materialism envisaged in all his actions. "Osagyefo accepts materialism and in *Consciencism* he attacks idealism." He "cannot in any sense be an idealist as he is a Marxist-Socialist".

The above were the words of Kofi Baako in Parliament on August 31st 1965, when a couple of members had said things in the debate on the Presidential Address which seemed to associate Kwame Nkrumah with philosophical idealism.

Again, addressing a conference of teachers at Legon on a latter date, Kofi Baako added: "Nkrumaism, like Leninism, is not just national but international."

SYNONYMOUS

Just as Lenin applied Marxism to Russian conditions and at the same time contributed to the world working class movement both his practical and theoretical advice and brought Marxism internationally up to date in his *Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, so, too, Nkrumah, in addition to applying scientific socialism to the African social milieu, is continuing the story expounded in Lenin's *Imperialism* by the publication of *Neo-Colonialism—The Last Stage of Imperialism*.

At the same time Nkrumah's practical role in the world affairs and his constant contributions towards Afro-Asian-Latin American, and international unity of all progressive forces have raised him to the status of an international figure whose entire approach is based on scientific socialism, on Marxism-Leninism.

So the position should be Marxist-Leninist and Marxism-Leninism is synonymous with Scientific Socialism. Nkrumaism is at one and the same time the application of this Scientific Socialism to the African social milieu, the application of Scientific Socialism to the world problems of the peoples' liberation struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and, in its

analysis of *Neo-Colonialism*, Nkrumaism brings up-to-date the pioneer work in this field accomplished by Lenin in his *Imperialism*. The studying and mastering of Nkrumaism, therefore, must entail a reasonable knowledge of Scientific Socialism.

If we apply algebra to a problem we must understand our algebra as well as understanding the problem. We cannot solve the problem by means of algebra if we understand only the problem but have not mastered algebra. Equally, we cannot "apply" Scientific Socialism to "our African social milieu" if we do not understand Scientific Socialism as well as Africa's problems.

SCIENCE

To master Nkrumaism, therefore, is not just to become thoroughly acquainted with the life and works of Kwame Nkrumah, but to understand also the science which he is applying. This means reading and study.

Not only is it essential to understand the history of the C.P.P., which is primarily the history of the gradual application of Scientific Socialism in Ghana, but it is also necessary to know something about the history of Scientific Socialism itself, how it came into being in the conditions of Europe in the past century, how it developed and spread, how it has been applied to the varying social conditions of Russia, China, Cuba and the many other Socialist countries of today.

Then, against this background, the full significance of Nkrumaism can be understood as a new and original application of Scientific Socialism in conditions which were not, in fact, studied in detail by Marx, Engels or Lenin because, in their days, the wide-spread application of Scientific Socialism to countries which had not already achieved a developed capitalism was not yet on the agenda of history nor had the world revolution against imperialism yet matured.

The originality of Nkrumaism lies in the fact that, in the world as it is today, with a large Socialist sector now in existence both as a source of ideological inspiration and material support, the possibility has now arisen on a large scale of bridging the historical gap between tribal communalism on the one hand, man's earliest social formation, and Socialism on the other hand, man's most advanced social formation.

In working out the ideology for this historical "short cut" Kwame Nkrumah has made a great and valuable contribution to Marxist thought.

Two dangers, however, assail this original development.

On the one side there are some Marxists in Europe, trained in Marxism in a developed capitalist society, who tend to be dogmatic in their evaluation of Nkrumaism. Because Nkrumaism does not follow what we may call the "classical model" as it has been worked out in the more developed industrial countries, it is sometimes rejected as a departure from Marxism, as a deviation, as something to be regarded with suspicion.

That this tendency is on the decline is evidenced by the fact that *Consciencism* is now being translated into various languages in the Socialist countries, and an increasing number of writers in those countries are now recognising that newly-independent countries can now develop along a "non-capitalist path."

On the other hand, and this applies to Ghana and all free Africa, there are loyal adherents of Nkrumaism who make the error of seeing Nkrumaism as something "entirely new", and not as a stage of development, a new step forward, a new application, in a tree already in existence and with flourishing branches.

Marxism, Marxism-Leninism, the application of the essential Marxist approach to the various problems of Russia, China, Cuba, Africa, and world affairs as a whole, to be understood correctly, must be observed as a worldwide historical process.

ORIGINAL

Just as we have a number of applications of Marxism to Russian conditions (at a time of complete capitalist encirclement) which have not been copied, and ought not to be copied, in later Socialist countries, so we have aspects of the application of Marxism to Africa, and to all other countries which at the time of achieving their independence are at approximately the same stage of development as the majority of African countries, which have no prototype in the experience of Socialist Revolutions so far.

It is here that Nkrumaism makes a most original contribution, while at the same time bringing up-to-date the international story in its analysis of neo-colonialism and its struggle against it.

Thus Nkrumaism has its original "internal" African contribution to make, and its "external" contribution to the international struggle of the peoples for emancipation from imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Nkrumaism must not only understand the nature of these original contributions, but see them in their historical perspective. For only then will they be in a position to select soundly from the experiences of all other Socialist countries, accepting only elements that are of positive value to Africa at this stage.

There is only one Socialism: the common owner-

ship of the means of production, distribution and exchange. There is only one Scientific Socialism, the ideological and scientifically practical means of getting to such a state of society.

But the application of this same Scientific Socialism to different social milieus will be different. What is the main characteristic of Nkrumaism, the application of Scientific Socialism to the continent of Africa?

Scientific Socialism arose in the conditions of Europe more than a hundred years ago. Its basic principles were formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, using for this purpose the already existing ideological wealth of English Political Economy, French Socialism and German Philosophy.

Out of these ingredients, together with the experience of the practical revolutionary struggles of the working class of that time, they forged a new ideology, Scientific Socialism, to be the weapon of all who were struggling for the elimination of exploitation of class by class, nation by nation, and man by man.

Hence Scientific Socialism arose as the ideology of a social class struggling against oppression, struggling for a collectivist, co-operative society to replace individualist predatory, capitalist society.

By the time that Lenin had come to maturity the original competitive capitalism had been superseded to a great extent by capitalist monopoly, with its world manifestation as imperialism.

Lenin's analysis of this "highest stage of capitalism" is the most important Marxist work before Nkrumaism which makes a direct contribution to the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples as distinct from the purely class liberation of the working class.

Nkrumah's *Neo-Colonialism* thus comes in direct succession to Lenin's *Imperialism*.

Kwame Nkrumah studied Marxism, but from the point of view of one whose primary aim was the liberation of the entire peoples of Africa from imperialist oppression. And, unlike the peoples of the developed capitalist countries, the oppressed nations of Africa, and even many outside Africa, had not yet become stratified into class society on the European model.

Hence an ideology which had arisen in class society had to be applied to what was still, to a great extent, a pre-class society, a society in which, once imperialism had been expelled, traditional communalism, were dominant in a large number of countries.

Once imperialism has been expelled from large parts of Africa what is left?—Vestiges of capitalism surviving from the colonial period, elements of Moslem and Euro-Christian influences which, whether we like it or not, have now become embedded in the minds of men, and, above all, traditional communalism with its essentially collectivist outlook and not, as in Europe, Japan and U.S.A. capitalism with its individualist ideology.

In Europe, under capitalism, it was necessary that

the collectivist ideology be re-born, and it was historically the working class, with its necessity to work collectively in industrial enterprises and to organise collectively in Trade Unions to defend its interests, which became the historical vehicle for the re-birth of collectivism.

Hence the historical role of the working-class, as pinpointed by Scientific Socialism, as the only class under capitalism capable of restoring to humanity a collectivist ideology and a collectivist society.

Marx was always clear on the fact that early human societies, before class society first emerged some 10,000 years ago, had been communalist. He referred to this stage of society as "primitive communism", not primitive in any derogatory sense, but economically primitive in that such societies were based on a communalism or communalism of shared poverty, without any sense of social progress.

Even so, Marx recognised the nobility of such societies as compared with the individualistic, dehumanised, manifestations of capitalist exploitation. In his quite brief, but extremely interesting essay of 1857-8, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formation* (which should be read by every Nkrumaist) he makes the following points:

"The continuation of the commune is the reproduction of all its members as self-sustaining peasants... In most ancient times, members of the gens had the obligation to assist fellow-kinsmen in need of assistance to bear unusual burdens... Thus the ancient conception, in which man always appears (in however narrowly national, religious or political a definition) as the aim of production, seems very much more exalted than the modern world, in which production is the aim of man and wealth the aim of production... Hence in one way the childlike world of the ancients appears to be superior... The ancients provide a narrow satisfaction, whereas the modern world leaves us unsatisfied, or, where it appears to be satisfied with itself, is vulgar and mean."

Thus Marx highly valued the "superior", "much more exalted" way of life of the "childlike" world of the ancients. His whole aim, and that of his close collaborator Engels, was, through Socialism to achieve once again these "superior" and "much more exalted" values in society, but not on the basis of the poverty and illiteracy of man's childhood, but on the basis of an age of plenty and culture such as humanity had never yet known. This is what he called "Communism"

Hence, to Marx, "Communism" meant restoring the positive values of communal social life destroyed by class society and exploitation, and achieving a dynamic, ever progressive, human community co-operating for an ever-increasing public welfare in a state of economic abundance.

On the basis of European experience, he saw this possibility as only achievable

through the proletarian revolution, the setting up of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (as against the existing Dictatorship of Capital), and the socialising of the means of production, distribution and exchange which could only be effected when the only collectivist class, the workers, attained power.

Now what Marx saw as "ancient society", from the standpoint of European capitalism, looking back over several thousands of years of class society, is, in effect, in Africa, the contemporary conditions of society over a great part of the continent.

And, even when feudal or capitalist tendencies have encroached, the ideas of communalism are still dominant even though the "get rich quick" mentality of capitalism, a legacy of colonial "culture", exists.

DIFFERENCE

It is this basic social difference between Africa and Europe which has given rise to Nkrumaism. The basis of Marxism was class society which had already passed, over thousands of years, from "ancient society" (i.e. communalism) to capitalism.

The basis of Nkrumaism is the application of this same Marxism to a society which still, to a very great extent, has not abandoned those ancient communalist, "superior" and "exalted" values of co-operation for the common good which capitalism has so shamelessly extinguished.

Hence the Nkrumaist formulas:

"Socialism stands to communalism as capitalism to slavery", and

"Socialism can be and is the defence of the principles of communalism at a higher stage."

But what is this higher stage? The answer is clearly given in *Building a Socialist State*.

"Socialism is the only pattern that can within the shortest possible time bring the good life for the people. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production that will bring

benefit to the people. Socialist production is production of goods and services in fulfilment of the people's needs. It is not production for individual private profit.

"One point, however, we have to get clear. At this juncture, Ghana is not a socialist state. Not only do the people as yet not own all the major means of production and distribution, but we have still to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialisation of the country."

Those words date from 1961. Are things different today?—No, for in opening Ghana Television Kwame Nkrumah said:

"Socialism is an epoch: It cannot be achieved in a day. It is only by sustained effort and determination that it can be realised."

And in Parliament on September 9, this year the Minister of Justice underlined this point:

"Right now we are not a socialist state; we are aspiring towards it."

Why, then did the President recently refer to the "first Socialist Parliament"? In 1917, Lenin, addressing the Congress of Soviets, said that they would now proceed to construct the socialist order. The title of the new Soviet State included the word "Socialist".

Yet it was not till the late 1930s, approximately twenty years after the setting up of the world's first Socialist State, that the means of production were firmly and overwhelmingly in the hands of social organisations: the State, municipalities, co-operatives.

The first Ghanaian Parliament that has directed itself consciously and unitedly in the direction of socialism is "the first Socialist Parliament".

The "higher stage" that is aimed at depends for its achievement on two main factors: Public ownership of the means of production; and the maximum possible development of production based on the raising of the productivity of labour.

Stake in Minority Rule

(Continued from page 3)

Before pleading with the British people to defend Smith and his racist friends, Lord Salisbury should declare his credentials and tell them that his own financial interests in that country are enormous.

On a number of occasions, Salisbury has held office in Tory Government in Britain and on almost every occasion he has been concerned with colonial or Commonwealth departments.

In 1940-42 he was Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, in 1942 Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1951-52 Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

These positions reflect the size of his stake in the imperialist system of Britain, rather than any general philanthropic interest in what happens to the African peoples.

As Lord Salisbury is fond of giving advice to Africa, he must not take it amiss if we give him a little in return. Our advice to him is to retreat to one of his two stately homes, or one of his three clubs, face the facts of history and shut up.

Lord Salisbury or no Lord Salisbury, the Rhodesian people will win their independence and the Noble Lord and all he stands for will recede into a forgotten past.

THREAT TO PEACE

A STATE in the grip of neo-colonialism is not master of its own destiny. It is this factor which makes neo-colonialism such a serious threat to world peace. The growth of nuclear weapons has made out of date the old-fashioned balance of power which rested upon the ultimate sanction of a major war. Certainty of mutual mass destruction effectively prevents either of the power blocs from threatening the other with the possibility of a worldwide war, and military conflict has thus become confined to limited wars. For these neo-colonialism is the breeding ground.

Such wars can, of course take place in the countries which are not neo-colonialist controlled. In-

deed their object may be to establish in a small independent country a neo-colonialist regime. The evil of neo-colonialism is that it prevents the formation of those large units which would make impossible 'limited war'. To give one example: if Africa was united no major power bloc would attempt to subdue it by limited war because from the very nature of limited war, what can be achieved by it is itself limited. It is only where small States exist that it is possible, by landing a few thousand marines or by financing a mercenary force, to secure a decisive result.

KWAME NKRUMAH, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*.