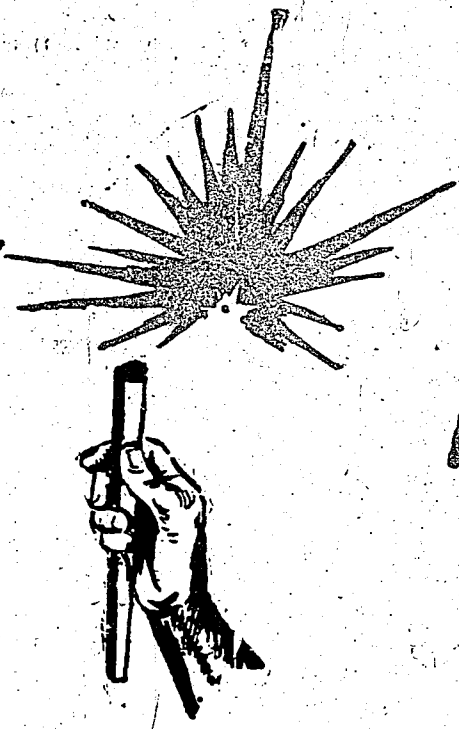


THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL

AFRICA AND NON-ALIGNMENT

BY subscribing to the principle of non-alignment as stated in the OAU Charter—Article 3 Clause Seven ("affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs"), the Heads of State who met at Addis Ababa undertook the solemn obligation to pursue a policy which is diametrically opposed to the presence of military bases in Africa.

In the resolution on General Disarmament our leaders decided "to undertake to bring about, by means of negotiation the end of military occupation of the African continent and the elimination of military bases and nuclear tests, which elimination constitutes a basic element of African independence and Unity".

At the Lagos Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers in February 1964, the question of military bases came up again. Though the Lagos resolution bears a distinct mark of deepening differences among the member states and of growing pressure by the client states, it recommended "the removal of commitment as soon as possible, which would militate against a consistent policy of non-alignment".

It is significant that apart from the efforts in Zanzibar, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria no steps have yet been taken by many African states in compliance with the resolution. Thus the whole concept of the principle of non-alignment has become one of the unfulfilled promises of Addis Ababa.

About a year ago "Review", the official organ of the French War Ministry, in discussing a formula revealed that "attempts must be made to preserve in the interest of the West, a certain number of strategic points in Africa."

Following closely on this formula France maintains four large military zones in Africa called "Overseas Military Zones". The first zone covers Thies and Dakar—Cape Verde in Senegal, and in Mauritania, the basis of Fort Etienne, Fort Frinque and Fort Gouraud. The second zone covers the former French Equatorial Africa. It is in Chad, Fort-Archambault and Fort-Lamy that the most important French military installations are to be found.

Zone three covers Malagasy. A French strike force is stationed in Tananarive and consists of hard-core soldiers of the French Legion who fought in Vietnam and again in Algeria.

Zone four embraces the four countries that make up the "Council of Understanding"—Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger.

The American defence system is subtle. It is woven up with the establishment of the "international security guarantee" in Africa. In essence the aim of this scheme is to entrust NATO with the security of Africa.

The United States maintains satellite tracking stations in Nigeria and Zanzibar which integrate these countries completely into the strategic communication systems of the NATO powers. The U.S. enjoys very good military advantages in Liberia and Ethiopia.

Britain is busily weaving a military strategy in East Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Her Libyan base continues unrelaxed.

West Germany has signed military agreements with Cameroon and Nigeria. The agreement with Nigeria provides for the construction in Nigeria by West Germany of an armaments and munitions factory. The work is expected to be completed before the end of this year.

It goes without saying that the method of attaching some of the African countries to one of the great military blocs at loggerheads in the world today contradicts the whole purpose of non-alignment to which the whole of Africa is dedicated.

TURN TO BACK PAGE

The Necessity For Ideology

by
A Special Correspondent

THE winning of political independence is an indispensable first condition of a colonised people's real progress. But it is only a first condition; for Colonisation is not simply a political or even an economic domination. It is also a psychological one, and poses the very real problem of emancipating the minds of a colonised people, the very real problem of restoring their mental autonomy.

Political domination of one people by another can never be really effective unless those forces, which originally hold the dominated society together are weakened or even shattered. Indeed, through a carefully designed educational system, the ideals and values of a society can be undermined in order that their effectiveness as the bonds and cement of society should be reduced. Sometimes too a people are arbitrarily divided up, in order that their physical solidarity thus destroyed, their spiritual cohesion too can be loosened.

When a people have been discouraged from looking up to their own values and ideals, they soon come to attach a snob-value to the new ideals offered them by their new rulers for these ideals are now soon to be linked with the new sources of power. These new ideals are often harmful, and are sometimes not even the same as those which are really held by the dominating power. For example, the negative attitude to productive work which was bred among African peoples by the colonial educational system was not one which was shared by the educated European himself. Even the British aristocracy, the most fiercely aristocratic of all, has for some time now been involved in productive labour. Today, some of them are known to grow vegetables.

POLITICAL TIES

The political ties which bind a colony to the colonising country can be broken; but the attitude of mind which is favourable to the interests of the colonial power cannot be so easily dissolved. It is the continuance of this attitude among a once-colonized people which makes neo-colonialism possible.

When one says this, one does not wish to suggest that those who are hindered by this attitude of mind are necessarily conscious of their condition. By education and by seduction, they have come to adopt principles of judgement and attitudes and desires which do not relate to the actual conditions of their social existence, and which dramatically assist neither the harmony nor the progress of their society, but to a large extent subvert the interests of a foreign power.

In order to be effective,

the education which is designed to compose this attitude of mind is assisted by a number of institutions, whose parallel can in fact be seen in the metropolitan countries themselves. What is different however is the inspiration and purposes of these institutions. If you take the institutions of law for example, then in some metropolitan countries, but not all, these institutions are designed to protect law and order within a framework already accepted in those countries.

NATIONAL POLICY

In a subject country, the same institutions are meant to protect the interests of the administering power. They bear little reference to any framework of law and order which is independently accepted by the subject people. Such a framework, even though it already exists, is set aside more or less completely by the alien power. This is why it is not sufficient to accept institutions which are by admission modern; it is always necessary to assess them, however modern, in terms of our agreed purposes and resources for working them.

It is only when this happens that the sources of national policy can be said to be found among the people themselves. Until this is so, a people are not independent in any real sense.

I wish to suggest that in conditions of political domination, a society is loosened and alienated not only as a political organisation, but also as an economic and as a cultural organisation.

In the consequence, it is necessary that in conditions of independence methods should be found whereby

the ravaged society can be pulled together again economically, politically and culturally.

The struggle for political independence throws up a central theme around which the whole people can be politically assembled. But this assemblage begins to reveal seams and cracks upon the attainment of independence, because necessarily it is a co-operation of groups whose interests are not from start to finish always reconcilable.

FRESH THEMES

In order that this co-operation should be longer than temporary, it is necessary that fresh themes should be established around which the people can be rallied so that once and for all those gaps and cleavages which were introduced through foreign domination can be healed; in order that the people now free, their ancient unity can be recreated.

There is everything to be gained through unity; there is a great deal to be lost through disunity and chaos.

At every phase, there is always a need for a grand design, which shall form a uniform rallying point, a rallying point capable of connecting the different areas of national life. If this is done, then at every phase of its development and regeneration, a society which has been fragmented by foreign domination can reformulate the consciousness of a single people, and from that consciousness re-establish and reconstruct itself with purpose.

It is such grand designs which form the heart of an ideology.

A society which has won its independence must consequently evolve an ideology which is capable of bringing together in a purposeful union the various areas of its life, an ideology which is capable of uniting the actions of millions in the society along lines chosen and sanctioned by itself.

In this way, one sees that one cardinal function of an ideology in an in-

dependent country is to integrate the society. Indeed we are told in "Consciousness" that a collection of unbounded men, living nasty, brutish, short and fearful lives, collected in the mere sense of a plurality, do not form a society. Ideology can be seen as that string which unwinding itself through society binds every man to every other man, and the collection of men into a social whole. Ideology does this by inspiring a social-political theory and practice, and by determining general attitudes, desires and reactions.

One cannot have a social revolution without having firmly behind it an intellectual revolution. Revolutionary practice is not blind but must have standing behind it and lighting its way for it a clearly thought-out body of aims and methods. Social revolutionary practice is not for its own sake but for the sake of a better and redeemed society. It must therefore always be rational. The test whether a suggested course of action is to be followed or not must be firmly based on the ability and suitability of that course of action for furthering our united advance towards our accepted goals.

SYSTEMS OF VALUES

The strength of an ideology limits the extent to which disruptive forces have free and successful play. But its strength is measured not only in terms of its correctness, but in terms also of its popularity, its spread and its acceptance. It is only when it is strong in this fourfold way that it can really bind the whole of society together.

We cannot choose whether we shall have an ideology or not, for each of us by being human enjoys a system of values for humanity in society, and we entertain beliefs on the meaning of life, beliefs on social goals and beliefs on how the goals are to be achieved. No, the choice before us is never whether we shall have an ideology or not; but rather whether the ideo-

logy which we shall have be consciously held or unconsciously held.

Each man depends for his life and sustenance upon the co-operation of others. We cannot live as individuals by ourselves alone, and independent of all others. In the same way, we cannot live successfully by a private philosophy of life alone, a private ideology which is held by us separately, and independent of the thinking of all others. Just as man's life must be within the framework of joint human life in society, so man's philosophy of life, man's ideology, must be within the framework of a joint ideology, an ideology of our society. If we have a private philosophy of life, it must be kept firmly within the framework of a public philosophy of life, just as our private life must be within the framework of our life in society.

Ideologies are a feature of every society. The dominant ideology of a society is wielded by that group in the society which is directly responsible for law, order and develop-

Continued on page 4

NEHRU

THE sudden death of the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru has robbed the world of an outstanding statesman.

The late Indian Prime Minister would always be remembered for his outstanding contribution to the ideas of positive neutralism and non-alignment.

In a broadcast tribute over Radio Ghana Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said that the late Premier would long be remembered for his outstanding efforts and his ideals of freedom and world peace.

The Party Press in Ghana

It is well known that Ghana is in the throes of a revolution—the socialist revolution. It is also common knowledge that Africa today is being swept by a mighty revolution—the African Revolution.

What is not generally known, however, is that there is a vital and organic link between these two revolutions. If we may borrow the imagery of warfare, the Ghana revolution is the atomic bomb that triggers off the hydrogen bomb which is the African Revolution.

The socialist revolution in Ghana is a catalyst of the African Revolution. In scope and depth, these closely inter-related and mutually energising revolutions are, without doubt, the greatest social transformation in the history of the African continent. And it is against this background that we should assess the role and examine the work of the Party Press.

The first thing to bear in mind is that Ghana is now a one-party state committed and dedicated to the creation of a socialist society. With this historic and fundamental change has come a corresponding change in the role of the Party press. The Party press is no longer a section or detachment of the press. It is now simply the press.

Our press is now monolithic with all its agencies drawing their inspiration from a single fountain head, namely the leadership of the one national political party. This fact imposes an even greater responsibility on the press than hitherto. We can no longer rely on competition among agencies of the press (competition arising from the conflict of interests in the ownership of the press). But we still need objective presentation and critical assessments as spurs to action and sound public administration. This must be sought from another source namely the ideology and philosophy on which the new social order is founded. Objectivity and criticism will now be guided not by the clash of interest of press barons but by constant evaluation of words and deeds by the norms of the social order we have resolved to build.

DOUBLE-EDGED FIGHT

Our new situation calls for a journalist with a profound mind, with a big heart and with broad shoulders. It needs the journalist who can sublimate the specific in the general, uphold principles even if these principles at times tread on his toes. It needs a journalist who because he has emancipated himself from the limitations of partial affections and the corrosion of corruption can dedicate himself in his work to the defence, at all times, of the principles on which the new social order is built.

The second point to bear in mind is that our Party press is fighting on two planes. It fights here at home for the strengthening of the new socialist order. It fights in Africa for the complete triumph of the African Revolution. And there is a close and organic link between success at home and triumph in Africa. There is thus an internal as well as an external aspect to the work of the press.

Let us first consider the role of the Party press here at home where the nation is engaged in building a new society—a socialist society. Now, what is a society?

Society, to borrow the language of "Consciencism", is an "identity in the range of principles and values, in the range of interests, attitudes, and so of reaction" (p. 61). To get this identity of principles and values "every society stresses its permissible ranges of conduct and evolves instruments, whereby it seeks to obtain conformity to such a range" (p. 60). The creation of instruments for obtaining conformity is

necessary "because the unity out of diversity which society represents is hardly automatic, calling as it does for means whereby unity might be secured, and, when secured, maintained" (p. 60-61).

These instruments of "social cohesion" belong to two categories. Some, like the law, issue "prohibitions and permissions which are made explicit in a statutory way". Others operate obliquely and in a sort of round about way. These are a "whole gamut of instruments which are at once subtle and insidious" (p. 61).

FUNCTIONS OF PARTY PRESS

The press belongs to this second category of the indirect instruments for securing social cohesion. It works not through decrees but by way of persuasion. Consequently it achieves results rather slowly; but it is compensated for this by the fact that once it has achieved results its potency lasts a long while.

If the press is an instrument for forging social cohesion, then the Party press must be thoroughly imbued with the ideals of the new social order. It must be firmly grounded in the ideology and philosophy of the new socialist society we are out to build. On this there can be no compromise. For the slightest compromise on this issue will give us a Party press which falls short of what the situation requires.

What then are the specific functions of the Party press?

Like any other press worth its salt, the Party press must inform. It must entertain. And it must educate. But unlike some others, the Party press takes its function as an educator extremely seriously.

MEDIUM OF TEACHING

The press can help build the new social order even when it entertains. Here attention should be drawn to the good old African way of teaching through entertainment. In Ghana we have the Ananse stories. In Nigeria the stories centre around the tortoise. After their evening meal and before going to bed, the younger generation is amused with these Ananse stories. But in the process the African philosophy of life is passed on by the older generation to the younger ones. The Party press and radio (and soon television) can follow this technique when it entertains by causing laughter and then using the laughter as a medium

for inculcating values that support the new social order.

The Party press educates the people in three distinct ways—through polemics, through research or exposition, and through criticism.

Polemics are essential and must be kept up all the time. Here the Party press ferret out all ideas and concepts that run counter to the principles of the new social order. It has to bring these wrong ideas and concepts under withering fire. In this process negative concepts are spotlighted, attacked and uprooted in order to make room for the flowering of the ideas that animate our socialist society.

Polemics do not come to an end simply because negative ideas and concepts are not expounded by an organised group in society. These negative ideas could and often do, float around. The Party press must fish them out, grapple with them and destroy them.

This job can be done only by marshalling facts and arguments to debunk the negative ideas which emanate not only from reactionary African views but also from the ideologies of capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. And it is obvious that the Party press simply cannot perform this task efficiently until it is fully armed with the philosophy and ideology of our revolution.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The purpose of research and exposition by the Party press is to unearth data that will help the leadership of our revolution to formulate accurate policies as well as the correct strategy and tactics for implementing these policies.

The leaders of the people—the President, the Ministers and heads of corporations, boards and integral wings of the Party—are busy men and women. They are human. And therefore they can, in their rush, formulate policies without taking into account all the facts of the situation. The Party press has got to help here by constantly doing research into all aspects of national life in order to provide the basic facts on which sound policy could be based. This is the way in which the Party press could take an active and constructive part in shaping policies and decisions. This is how it can shed light on the path to progress.

The British press does a similar thing for the British Government but in a different direction. It fishes out facts which go to feed British intelligence and thus give the British Government advanced warning against developing situations. The Party press must do something similar but in a more positive direction. In the imagery of the army, the Party press, in the discharge of its duty of research and exposition, acts as the reconnaissance squadron of the army of revolution.

And now criticism. In the one-party state, the press links the people with the Leader and the Central Committee. It brings to the people the ideology that animates the whole party and state. In addition, it seeks to organise the people around this ideology.

This article is based on an address delivered at a Party Seminar at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, by Mr. S. G. Ikoku, senior lecturer in Applied Economics at the Institute.

Now the decisions of the leadership (Leader and Central Committee) reach the people through two different channels. The first is the press which accurately informs the people what the decisions are. (The press also informs the leadership what the reactions of the people are).

The second channel is through the organs and agencies of the Party and the state which bring the decisions to the people in the form of administrative acts.

INCONGRUENCY

At times, and not infrequently, the reports of the decisions of the leadership and the manifestations of these decisions in administrative acts simply do not square. Something has gone wrong some where as the decisions get processed by the bureaucracy or the "middle echelons" of state power. If this incongruency between announced decisions and administrative manifestations of these decisions is allowed to continue, the image of the Party is destroyed and the cause for which the Party stands is damaged.

Hence press criticism must pay a great deal of attention to the activities of this "middle echelon" or the bureaucracy which includes the Ministers and Civil Service, the Public Service and the integral wings of the Party. The Party press must know what went wrong, where, and why. It must expose these defects in order to help the shape of State move forward rapidly and smoothly. It is therefore wrong for the press to cover or condone errors in the "middle echelons" for such condoning of mistakes leads inevitably to the people losing faith in the Party. The result is the isolation of the leadership from the people and the undermining of our revolution.

To criticise them effectively and purposefully, the Party press must be close to the "middle echelons" but not closed in by them. The press must be intimate and friendly with the "middle echelons" but must not be under their influence or direction. The situation calls for close and healthy comradeship.

SPIRIT OF COMRADESHIP

The press on its part must know that failures in the "middle echelons" are not always sabotage. They could arise from laxity, corruption or simply from ignorance. And to level accusation of sabotage even before a thorough diagnosis of the situation is made is to create an embittered atmosphere that makes self-criticism difficult if not impossible.

On the other hand, the key men in the "middle echelon" must treat the pressmen like comrades and not like dirt. If this is not done, the pressmen will react by publishing anything and thus compel a rejoinder. The bad blood, the charged atmosphere could be avoided and a fruitful examination of the problems achieved if, from

the onset, the pressmen had been taken into confidence and treated like comrades. After all, the pressmen and the key men in the "middle echelons" share a common standpoint—the health of the body politic and the smooth running of the ship of the state.

In all these educational activities—polemics, research and exposition, criticism—the party press must necessarily be guided by some clear-cut principles. Fortunately, these principles are adumbrated in "Consciencism". It is impossible for the Party press to play its proper role in our revolution without arming itself fully with socialist ideology and philosophical Consciencism. Without these principles the Party press is like an arbitrator without terms of reference, a reconnaissance squadron without map or compass, a social reformer without an idea of the social values he would like to see enthroned.

INTELLECTUAL EFFORT

We have all heard a lot about the new Africa. We have had it drummed into us that we must destroy colonialism and neo-colonialism on the continent of Africa and on their ruins erect a new African society, continental in scale, modern and dynamic in temper, socialist in content. But how many of us sit back to consider the intellectual effort needed for building

such a society? It is really staggering. For we have to synthesise three civilisations—Christian, Islamic and Pagan animist. We have to overcome the language and cultural barrier. We have to surmount the obstacles left behind by colonialism. And we have to organise on a scale nearly forty times what we are used to in Ghana. In short, we have to create an organic nation out of the 260 million people who inhabit this continent.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Many think this job is reserved for the politician and diplomat. Admittedly these have their part to play. But in the long-run, their role must be seen for what it is—the management of men and things in a way to give expression to our concept of the new Africa.

A major factor in this quest for a new Africa is an ideology. Many lose sight of this. But it is vital. At page 78 of "Consciencism" we read:

"Social revolution must therefore have, standing firmly behind it, an intellectual revolution, a revolution in which our thinking and philosophy are directed towards the redemption of our society."

It is here that the party press has to exert its supreme effort and make its greatest contribution. It is its duty to understand and then popularise the basic concepts that underlie the new Africa we are all so

anxious to see.

To do its work in Africa well, the party press must do three things. Firstly, it must circulate its journals throughout Africa. Already "The Spark" and "L'Étincelle" and a few other journals are serving Africa and also the home front. There is, however, need to reinforce these with special pamphlets written by experts and dealing with topical problems of African development. For example a special pamphlet could be prepared on the road to economic development pointing out that dependence on East or West would mean continued economic slavery and ruin; and that the only sure road forward is dependence on ourselves. Such a pamphlet, beautifully illustrated and carefully documented, could be circulated throughout Africa in several hundred thousands or even in millions.

Secondly, our national press must raise its ideological and philosophical content. The Sunday papers could do much more than they are doing at the moment to bring a clearer and fuller understanding of the philosophy of our revolution to the people.

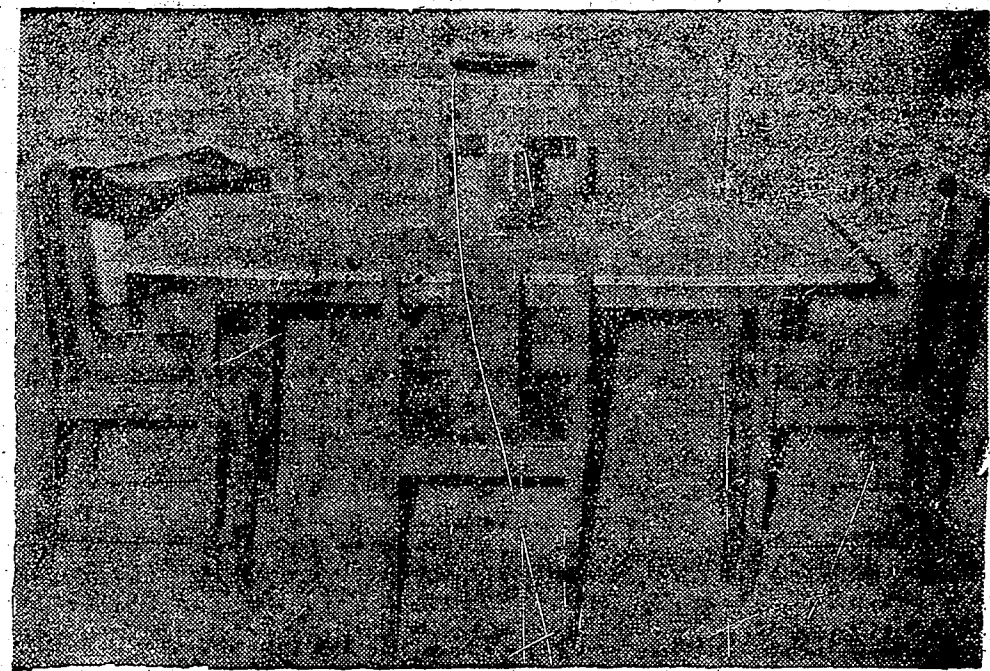
Thirdly, the Party press should establish direct links with the African press and, through these links, feed the African press with ideological and philosophical materials. We could utilise these channels for the conduct of polemics in the African press. The aim here is to give the African masses the ideology on which the complete emancipation and total integration of Africa can be built.

ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE

To feed the African press with ideological and philosophical materials requires that the comrades who man the party press acquire full and up-to-date knowledge of events and trends in other African countries. For a most effective way of giving ideological education is to utilise events which are topical and of general interest.

(Continued on page 4)

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BRITISH GUIANA

by
"Caliban"

THE people of British Guiana are facing a new phase in their long struggle for national independence. The British Government, in flagrant defiance of previous agreements is openly flouting the Guyana people's elected bodies and their Constitution (itself a very limited Constitution, denying the people the right and power to set up their own state, with their own armed forces and police, and to establish their own external relations).

Instead of accepting the Guyanese people's demand for independence, the British Government has insisted on fresh elections, and has imposed on the people an electoral system and procedure which are deliberately designed to secure the defeat of the left-wing Peoples' Progressive Party Government.

The P.P.P. won three successive electoral victories in 1953, 1957, and 1961. Despite the limited powers which the P.P.P. Government has had under the existing Constitution, it has been able to bring about a number of improvements in the lives of the people, especially of the poor peasants and the workers.

NEW DEAL

Land has been made available for peasants for settlement, and laws and amendments to laws have been passed covering wages, workmen's compensation, holidays with pay, and hours of work.

The P.P.P. Minister of Labour was therefore justified in claiming in a radio speech, April 25th, 1964, "This Government has introduced more legislation in the interests of the workers than any other administration in the history of this country."

All this, however, does not commend itself to the British Tories and the monopolies they represent. Nor is it to the liking of the U.S. imperialists who are using every form of pressure, bribery and blackmail to prevent the Guyanese people establishing an outpost of peace and genuine democracy on the Latin American mainland. The British imperialists, to placate their American

pals, and for their own selfish class interests, too, are virtually robbing the P.P.P. Government of its existing limited powers.

Indeed, the three Orders in Council of 1964 virtually abrogate the existing self-governing Constitution and return the vital organs of state to the Governor appointed by the Colonial Office.

He now has sole and uncontested control of "members of any naval, military or air force raised under a law of the Legislature..." to serve in a Special Service Unit, the cost of which will be borne by taxation, without reference to the elected assembly.

By these Orders in Council, the Governor is empowered to make Regulations to do as he seems fit. Regulations so far published provide that in order to vote at any subsequent election each voter must be registered, and that a voter must apply to a Divisional Registrar, personally and in writing, and he shall provide details of name, address, place of birth, etc., and in addition, frighteningly:

... such other particulars as the divisional registrar may, in any particular case reasonably consider necessary for the purpose of enabling him to decide whether the application is qualified to be registered."

POLITICAL OPPRESSION

Anyone at all familiar with conditions in colonial territories will appreciate the difficulties facing many poor workers and peasants to produce documentary evidence of their date and the official Registration Regulations now made, this

and other particulars and proofs may be demanded by the divisional registrar.

It is further provided in Regulation 20 that the Registrar shall disallow the application of an applicant who has not complied with the regulations.

House to house enumeration which has been used to register voters since 1953 has been replaced. This is clearly most difficult for the sick, the aged and the infirm. In farming communities this will create severe problems due to the fact that many farmers travel long distances to work from their homes and have to remain there until their work is completed.

In riverside areas, and the interior, communications are poor and travel to registration stations will be nearly impossible. The

month of registration is the month of rice planting which engages the attention of the largest single block of agricultural workers; it is also the month of floods in the Rupununi during which time travel is extremely difficult.

The majority of the people in the countryside support the P.P.P. Thus the registration system, and the date chosen for registration will have the effect—as no doubt they were intended to—of preventing the P.P.P. getting its maximum support on to the registration papers.

Regulation 27 obliges anyone claiming registration where it has been disallowed to deposit two British Guiana dollars, which, for many people, is half-a-day's pay!

Regulation 30 demands

a deposit of five dollars for any person wishing to make an objection to the inclusion of any name to the lists.

Regulation 19 provides that the form of identity should be "the left thumb print, or if this is not possible, some other single fingerprint of that person..." To convince a court of law as to any single person's fingerprints in England, highly-trained specialists of many years standing give minute evidence in Court, but yet this is the method of identification that the Tories have decreed for British Guiana, at any general election which will be held through hundreds of polling booths spread across 83,000 square miles of swamp, mountain and jungle.

Altogether the results of the new registration system

will be to reduce the number of persons registered to vote. This, too, was obviously the aim of the exercise.

But it is not a general reduction of the vote which the enemies of the Guyanese people are aiming at. They have deliberately introduced an electoral system and procedure which will penalise the left-wing P.P.P. which draws its main support from the peasants and poorer workers.

SOCIAL REFORMS

One must realise that these actual Regulations were never subject to scrutiny and debate by any Parliament, either in Britain or in British Guiana.

It is high time that the British people spoke out and protested against this unwarranted intervention in

British Guiana's internal affairs by the British Government. It will not be lost on the people that when it comes to a question of molly-coddling the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia the Tory Government pleads that it is unable to "intervene".

But when it is a question of strangling the efforts of the Guyanese workers and peasants in the interests of the big monopolies, then Constitutions and agreements and promises are flung to the winds and democratic rights are trampled underfoot.

The Labour Front Bench, to its shame, has run away from the fight on this question and has allowed the Orders in Council to go through. But the battle is not yet over.

BASUTOLAND

by
Brian Bunting

CONSTITUTIONAL talks between a delegation of African leaders from Basutoland and representatives of the British Colonial Office began in London on April 20. The basis of the discussions is a draft constitution adopted recently by the Basutoland Legislative Council after prolonged discussions on the report of the constitutional commission appointed in 1962 and consisting of representatives of all parties in the Legislative Council under the chairmanship of Mr. W. B. Stanford, President of the Basutoland National Council.

The report of the constitutional commission recommended a constitution "which after a defined interim period of preparation, might with minimum changes and maximum ease become the constitution of an independent Basutoland".

The essential features of the draft constitution as recommended by the commission were:

Basutoland (to be called Lesotho) should be recognised as a state with the Paramount chief (referred to as Motlotlehi) as head of state.

Subject during the pre-independence period to the exercise of concurrent powers by the British government and the government of Lesotho in the fields of defence, external affairs and internal security, Lesotho should be given a Parliament "with full power to legislate for the peace, order and good government of Lesotho in all fields."

CONSTITUTION OF PARLIAMENT

The Parliament should consist of the National Assembly, made up of 54 or 60 members (to be decided by the National Council) all of whom should be directly elected by universal adult suffrage regardless of race, colour, creed or sex.

In addition to the National Assembly there should be a second chamber to be known as the Senate consisting of 33 members—the 22 principal chiefs of Lesotho and eleven other persons.

Executive power should be exercised by a cabinet presided over by a Prime Minister who is leader of the majority party in the National Assembly. The cabinet, chosen by the Prime Minister, should be responsible to the National Assembly.

Entrenched in the new constitution, there should be a court-enforced Bill of human rights and freedoms. Before the Legislative Council could even begin discussions on this report, the British government in November 1963, issued a statement to the effect that while it recognised that independence was a natural and legitimate aspiration of the people of Basutoland and the British government did not wish to delay it longer than necessary, "on the the other

hand the British government could not accept continued responsibility for internal security, defence, external affairs and financial support unless they are assured of the constitutional means to discharge them."

More specifically the British government said it did not agree that it should lose the power to amend the constitution, nor that the headship of state should be changed at this stage.

ATTEMPT TO DELAY

The British government's statement aroused anger amongst all parties and sections in Basutoland, who regarded it as an attempt to delay independence and to retain power in the hands of the imperialists as long as possible. Nevertheless, the Basutoland National Council went ahead to discuss the constitution and by the middle of February 1964, had accepted it as a basis for the talks with the British government which started on April 20. Under the recommendations, Basutoland will gain its independence twelve months after its first general election which will be based on universal adult suffrage.

The National Council proposed certain minor amendments to the draft constitution. These were that the head of state should have the power to assent to Bills, the right to recognise the prerogative of mercy and the right to appoint the head of the armed forces, that Parliament should not sit for longer than five years, that chieftainship should be entrenched in the constitution, that there should be an independent judiciary and public service commission.

FINAL DATE

The National Council also fixed the number of members in the proposed Legislative Assembly at 60 and decided that a new set of electoral laws should be drawn up.

The London discussions have started off with a flurry of accusations and

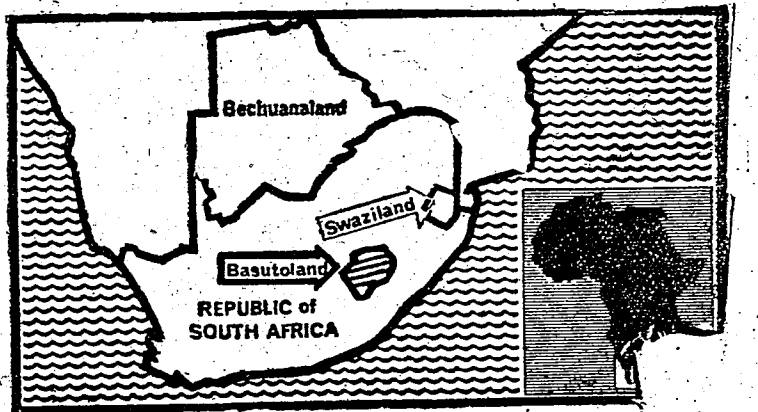
counter-accusations by the Basutoland delegation and the British authorities. The Basutoland delegation, headed by the Paramount Chief, Oxford educated Moshosho II, represents all parties in the National Council and is unanimous in supporting the constitution agreed on by the National Council. In particular, it feels very strongly that a final date for independence must be fixed during the present talks, so that the Basotho people can work towards a definite goal and all uncertainty about the future constitutional status of the territory can be ended.

On the other hand, from the outset of the talks the British Colonial Secretary has made it plain (a) that he is not prepared to fix a date for independence, in 1965 (assuming elections are held during 1964 as requested by the Basutoland delegation), and (b) that he is not prepared to discuss any date for independence. No doubt in due course it will become clear to what extent these conflicting attitudes can be reconciled.

Whether or not the independence of Basutoland is delayed for any length of time, it is clear that new elections will take place in the territory within the next year or so. In these elections all Basotho adults will be able to vote and most women will be voting for the first time (previously only those women who were taxpayers were entitled to the franchise).

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Basutoland has a longer tradition of political activity than the other two High Commission territories of Swaziland and Bechuanaland, and the level of political consciousness among the people is higher. The pioneer Basuto organisation is the *Lekhotla la Baso*, founded after the first world war by its president Josiel Lefela. Subsequently, the Basutoland Congress Party was formed under the inspiration and guidance of the African National Congress of South Africa, although today it follows a completely independent course and has evolved its own independent policy. The B.C.P.



was originally led by Ntsu Mokhehle and B. M. Khaketla, two school teachers who were thrown out of their jobs because of their politics and thereafter devoted themselves to the organisation of the B.C.P. which they built up into the biggest mass organisation in Basutoland.

In the elections held under the present constitution in January 1960, 162 seats in nine district councils were at stake. The B.C.P. won 73 seats while its nearest rival, the Basutoland National Party, won only 22, the Maramatlou Party 15 and Independents 51.

The elected members of the district councils then voted for 40 members of the National Council (the remaining 40 members consisted of nominated chiefs and officials). The B.C.P. won 30 of the 40 elected seats, Maramatlou 5, the National Party 1 and there were 4 Independents.

In view of the B.C.P.'s success at the polls, Mr. Khaketla was offered and accepted a post in the executive committee, but Mr. Mokhehle refused office and remained in effective control of the B.C.P. organisation.

Subsequently, a dispute developed between Mr. Khaketla and Mr. Mokhehle. Mr. Khaketla was forced to resign from the B.C.P. and together with a number of other former B.C.P. members who had been expelled because they had challenged the leadership, he set up the Freedom Party, which later joined forces with the Maramatlou Party to constitute the Maramatlou-Freedom Party, now considered to be the main opposition to the B.C.P.

One of the leading lights in the Maramatlou-Freedom Party is Dr. Seth Mokotoko, recently proposed as leader of the party at a mass meeting in Maseru

which voted for the deposit of the former President Chief Matete (previously President of the Maramatlou Party), because he had resorted to anti-communist smear tactics in an attempt to keep the leadership in his own hands.

Mr. Mokhehle's hold on the B.C.P. rank and file, however, is still strong, and it remains to be seen whether the Maramatlou-Freedom Party will succeed in displacing it as the leading party in the next elections.

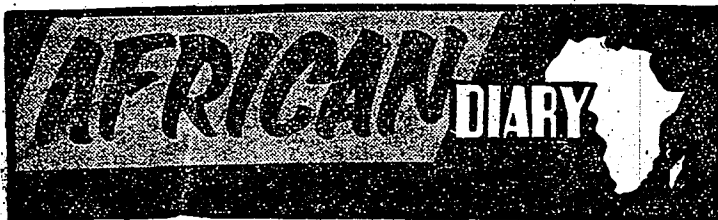
The Basutoland National Party under Chief Leabua Jonathan is a party of reaction, backed in the main by the chiefs, who feel their power is being eroded by recent political developments in Basutoland. Reports have appeared in the South African press that the National Party is soliciting support from the Nationalist Party in South Africa. Chief Leabua Jonathan has denied that any formal connection exists between the two parties, or that the National Party supports apartheid, but has insisted at the same time that he is ready to receive support from any quarter. Area: 11,716 square miles; Population: approximately 800,000.

At any one time nearly 50 per cent of the adult male population is absent from Basutoland working in South Africa.

Agriculture is primitive and only half the territory is suitable for farming. There are small exports of farm products—wool, mohair, beans and peas, wheat and cattle—all to South Africa.

There is hardly any industry. Diamond deposits—mainly industrial—are being surveyed. Shell and Mobil oil both acquired fifty-year leases on land during 1963 for industrial purposes.

No part of the country is owned by colonists or white settlers.



14th MAY, THURSDAY:

TUNISIA: France has provisionally suspended all financial aid to Tunisia as a reprisal against nationalisation of French-owned land in Tunisia.

The Tunisia National Assembly has approved a bill under which about 670,000 acres of French-owned land becomes State property.

SIERRA LEONE:

Mr. R. G. O. King, Sierra Leone's Development and Finance Minister announces in Parliament that Sierra Leone's 10-Year Development Plan is to be rewritten by "phasing it to fit a five-year plan in its first instance."

15th MAY, FRIDAY:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

The British Government has agreed to receive a United Nations delegation in London to discuss all questions connected with Southern Rhodesia.

MOROCCO: The 12-man Commission appointed by the Organisation of African Unity to examine the Algerian-Moroccan frontier dispute arrives in Casablanca, Morocco, for talks with the Moroccan Government.

NIGERIA: The Federal Nigerian Supreme Court acquits and discharges four Opposition Action Group party offi-

cials convicted last year for allegedly plotting to overthrow the Federal Government.

This follows an appeal lodged by 17 Action Group leaders.

16th MAY, SATURDAY:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Garfield Todd, former settler Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia speaking in an Oxford University Union debate in favour of a motion "that Southern Rhodesia should not be permitted independence until there is a majority rule", pleads for the British Government to be ready to intervene in the territory.

NORTHERN RHODESIA:

Speaking at a luncheon in London, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Premier of Northern Rhodesia, says the Northern Rhodesian Independence Conference is going up very well. He hopes that during the week-end officials will be able to work out something that will be presented to them for approval or disapproval early in the next week.

18th MAY, MONDAY: Northern Rhodesia will become the independent Republic of ZAMBIA on October 24 as a result of decisions reached at the Independence Conference in London.

Continued on page 4

Editorial

Continued from page 1

The present situation in Africa calls for the examination of the three concepts of the defence of Africa.

First, there is the view that each African state should independently tackle all her defence. This view is unrealistic since such independent arrangements would either be ineffective or would impose a burden too heavy for the economy to bear.

Second, there is the view that the new nations of Africa should be collectively dependent on the military might of the Western Powers. We may emphasise again that this theory is positively dangerous for it involves a real loss of independence, it threatens the national liberation movements and it opens Africa to the strains and stresses of the cold war.

The third concept which is the only way out calls for the co-ordination of the defence systems of all African nations: its institution is the African High Command. And its four guiding principles are the non-involvement of Africa in East-West conflicts, complete and real freedom for Africa, effective security without crippling the national economy and world peace.

African Diary

Continued from page 3

* Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has sent a message to Dr. Kaunda congratulating him on the successful conclusion of the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference and the fixing of the date for the independence of ZAMBIA.

SENEGAL: The 22-nation African National Radio and Television Union (URTNA) ends a two-day meeting in Dakar.

The board decides to hold a meeting of URTNA's technical commission in Bamako, Mali, on June 8.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Methodist Conference of Southern Rhodesia warns that a unilateral declaration of independence by the Southern Rhodesian Government "will constitute an act of rebellion."

* A similar warning was issued to Anglicans last month by the Bishop of Matabeleland, Dr. Kenneth Skelton.

TUNISIA: Mr. Bahi Ladgham, Tunisian State Secretary to the Presidency and Defence Secretary, says Tunisia may be looking for foreign aid to replace long-term credits cancelled by France following the nationalisation of Tunisian farms owned by foreigners.

UAR: Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, begins the second phase of his visit to the United Arab Republic with talks with President Nasser of the U.A.R.

* President Nasser of the United Arab Republic has expressed his thanks to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, for his message sent to him on the completion of the first stage of the Aswan High Dam.

19th MAY, TUESDAY: SOUTH AFRICA: The South African Government accuses U. Thant, U.N. Secretary-General, of acting "without absolute impartiality" in pleading for the lives of three Africans sentenced to death in South Africa recently.

GHANA: In a communique issued after a four-day conference just ended in Accra, the executive committee of the Union of African News Agencies accepts a proposal to set up a Pan-African News Agency "to be run on the lines of world news agencies".

NORTHERN RHODESIA: An agreement has been signed in London between the Northern Rhodesian Government and the Litunga of Barotseland within an independent ZAMBIA (Northern Rhodesia).

GHANA: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, today performed a ceremony to herald the closing of the diversional tunnels for the formation of the Volta Lake at Akosombo.

* Mr. Robert K. A. Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa now on a visit to Ghana, says he will submit a report on the progress made on Ghana's forthcoming International Trade Fair to the E.C.A.

20th MAY, WEDNESDAY: GHANA: Thirty-four African National Trade Union Organisations have accepted invitations to attend the second five-day congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation, opening in Bamako, Mali on June 10.

UAR: The Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, now on a visit to the United Arab Republic, tells a cheering Egyptian crowd at Port Said that the time when imperialism could wage wars on small nations was over.

Referring to the Suez campaign of 1956, he said the stand of the Egyptian people of Port Said had the admiration and respect from the Soviet people.

MOROCCO: The Moroccan Supreme Court rejects appeals made by 42 people convicted by a lower court last March of plotting against the internal security of the State. Three of the accused had been sentenced to death and the others to various prison terms.

SIERRA LEONE: The new Sierra Leone Prime Minister, Mr. Albert Margai, who succeeded his late brother has been elected by the Executive Committee of the Sierra Leone People's Party as the party's leader.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: The Northern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda arrives in Paris from London for a two-day visit after talks on his country's independence.

Northern Rhodesia is to become independent on October 24 with a new name, ZAMBIA.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Rival tribesmen in the Eastern Congo Province of Central Kivu have seized a border post of the frontier with neighbouring Burundi.

GHANA: Monday will be observed throughout Africa and in many parts of the world as "Africa Freedom Day".

In the attempt to feed the African press it is necessary to be cautious not to offend the heads of state and government in other African countries. We must eschew rudeness and vulgarity. This does not mean that we should let erring African leaders go scot free. We must, for example, condemn all acts that run counter to the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. We must condemn all moves to make Africa an appendage of foreign powers or to condemn the masses to want and misery by following the capitalist path of development which brings prosperity to only a few. What the situation demands is that the Party Press conducts its criticism on principles and in an atmosphere of dignity and decorum.

The Party Press has rendered yeoman service in the past. It is still making a major contribution to the cause of socialism in Ghana and throughout Africa. But its style of work needs some improvement in order to equip it more fully for the new phase of the struggle.

MAJOR FAILINGS

A major failing of our Press is partial affection. We attach ourselves to some personalities to the exclusion of others. This should not be. The Press should give the pat on the back to anyone who deserves it. To those who have misbehaved themselves, it must give the stick. The loyalty of the Party Press should be to principles and not to personalities.

A second failing has been the use of threats and abuse where reliance should have been placed on argument and elucidation. It should be realised that the key men in the public service are only human. And how does a writer expect a public servant, a comrade in the struggle to read through an article which starts by labelling him a saboteur? Sabotage there may be. But it is our duty

to make the explanation step by step and show cogently whether the shortcoming criticised is born of laxity, ignorance, laziness or mischief making.

The third failing in the style of work of the Party Press is undue reliance on sentimentalism.

These failings or shortcomings could, and must be overcome. They Party press must stick to principles and not get tied to the apron strings of personalities. It must rely more on rational arguments and less on threats and abuses in dealing with any situation. And in whipping up mass enthusiasm for party policies the Party press must put across the hard facts and reasons behind the Party line in order to create a rational foundation on which mass enthusiasm could be built. Emotion, it must be remembered, is transient and cannot serve as a secure foundation on which to build party support.

It is useful, at this juncture, to touch briefly on what has been termed personality cult. There is real danger of transplanting to Africa root, stem and branch of the criticisms that have been made elsewhere about the personality cult.

The African mind is a materialist mind. It deals with concrete things and not with abstractions. For example, the African believes in God; but he worships God through something material and visible usually a tree, a mountain or such-like objects. Applied to politics, this means that the leader becomes the manifestation or epitome of the ideals and aspirations of the people. Therefore it cuts across the grain of African psychology to separate the person from the ideals or principles that animate political action.

The Party Press must continue to project the

Continued from page 2

Leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, as the embodiment of the principles for which our revolution stands. We do not sing the praises of the man merely as a man. We sing his praises because he is a living symbol of what our Party stands for.

Now no one should regard this praise as mere personality worship. It is adulation conditional on the person accepting the principles of our revolution. If, for example, we have a new leader, we will not sing his praises until he has identified himself by word and deed with the ideals and objectives of our revolution.

A KIND OF JOURNALIST

In conclusion, it is useful to touch on the comrades who man the Party Press. What sort of person must the journalist of our revolution be? And how should he approach his work?

"Consciencism" holds that all knowledge derives from the study of matter; that matter is "a plenum of forces in tension"; that matter contains in itself the ingredients that make for change. If this is so, then the journalist of the African Revolution must desist from inventions. He has to seek truth by facing facts squarely; by diving into the inner life or facets of a situation because these inner components are the real determinants of change. This means that ideas, stories, folklore, imaginative writings that are not rooted in reality are anathema to the journalist who accepts "Consciencism".

The relation of mind and matter as seen by "Consciencism" is also important to the journalist. "Consciencism" accepts the independent existence of mind but adds that it derives from matter. It

holds that mind and matter are always interacting on one another. In this process assumptions, hypotheses, even conclusions are permissible. But such assumptions, hypotheses, and conclusions become valid only if verified or confirmed by practice.

This view flatly repudiates the idea of the journalist of the quiet closure of the free-ranging of his fertile imagination. It demands that the journalist must be in touch with reality through practice and must accept as truth only those views and findings supported by real life. According to this view, there can be no absolutes, valid for all times and for all occasions. Every situation produces its own logic. And the duty of the journalist is to focus attention on the realities and eschew fancies.

This constant reliance on practice is a cardinal principle in the style of work enjoined by "Consciencism". And practice in life means struggle. You all know that "Consciencism" "recognises the creativity of struggle". From this we can conclude that the appeal to the supernatural, to magic and to mysticism of all sorts have no room in the armoury of the journalist of the African Revolution.

He is a bold, brave, self-reliant man facing up to the situations of life and, by grappling with these situations, getting to understand the elements that gave rise to them and thereby discovering the appropriate solution to these situations.

He approaches his work like a natural scientist. The only difference is that while the scientist analyses cold objective matter, the journalist of the African Revolution deals with ideas, concepts and intractable human situations. All the same, the journalist of the African Revolution must

approach his work with ruthless objectivity, chaining himself down to reality, testing reality through constant practice and making an evaluation of his findings by applying the norms of philosophical conscientism.

DUTIES OF THE JOURNALIST

The norms of "Consciencism" become the search-light by which the journalist hacks his way through the labyrinth of vested interests, intrigues, graft, and self-seeking with which our everyday life is beset. As "Consciencism" puts it at p. 105, "under the search-light of an ideology, every fact affecting the life of a people can be assessed and judged".

Can the journalist of the African Revolution perform this function of shedding light to guide the path of progress? Can he perform this duty in the midst of strong negative influences and pressures around him?

I believe he can. His past record is evidence on which I base my optimism. But to do this—to discharge this most onerous responsibility to the African Revolution—the journalist must be a man (and woman) of character. He must be intellectually honest and free from the embraces of partisan affection, and mercenary loyalties.

In addition he must be a man of courage. Courage here must not be confused with effervescent braggadocio. Nor is it the same thing as blind stubbornness. The courage of the journalist of the African Revolution must be rooted in his knowledge and mastery of the philosophy on which the new society is based. His shield is not the shifting sand of patronage or the fragile cords of connection. Rather, it is the knowledge that he is pulling firmly and wholeheartedly in the direction of the African Revolution.

The Necessity for Ideology

Continued from page 1

ment. Normally sections of a society tend to develop their own sectional ideologies. When this happens, some section of a society can come, if not checked, to assert and defend its group interests against those of other sections and often against those of the society as a whole.

LEGITIMATE INTERESTS

The legitimate interests of a society cannot however be identified with those of any one group. The legitimate interests of a society relate to the welfare of the whole society, to the welfare of all the people, and not to those of a few chosen individuals or a few chosen sections. A society in which this is not the case is a society which is truly colonial; a society which is subjugated by either an internal or an external colonialism.

Society is an interdependence; and in a truly free society every individual has both duties and rights with equal validity within that interdependence. In such a society, no one section should be able to hold the rest of society captive; no one section should be able to assert the rights which are more valid than those of any other section. This is the true unity. Also

for this reason, a capitalist society cannot enjoy true unity.

In a truly united society, there must be a firm exclusion of classes which are oppressive of one another. This can be achieved by a rigorous pursuit of the total general interests. Socialism is indeed a solvent of conflicting class interests. It achieves this by abolishing the dialectical opposition between conflicting class interests in a pre-socialist society and by re-uniting them at the higher level of society at large. At this level, what was valid and legitimate in the old opposition is retained, what was invalid and illegitimate in that opposition is discarded. Hence at the higher level of a socialist society, the valid interests of each person and each group are protected and secured.

True individualism is individualism in the context of society, and it is only when society by becoming socialist has acted as a solvent to conflicting interests that individualism is really feasible. It is because the socialist society has removed the conflict of sectional and private interests, and thus becomes the only safe-

guard of individualism, that socialism is said to constitute the only framework in which every individual can fully develop his legitimate potentialities.

It is therefore dangerous to suggest as we might often do that in creating a socialist society we are aiming at making society captive to some one section, no matter what we call that section. What we wish to create is rather a society in which no group is captive to any other, in which no one class oppresses another.

We in Africa start with certain advantages in the construction of our socialist union. One such advantage is in the fact that we do not suffer from sharp class cleavages and here in Ghana at least internal exploitation has not attained anything like classical proportions and is therefore devoid of political power. Nor can sharp class cleavages which are linked with political domination develop in Ghana, for our government, controlling all the forces of law and order, is at the same time equipped with the socialist ideology as contained in "Consciencism". If therefore we talk in

terms of class war and class hatred, we speak in fanciful terms, and are not fully scientific. Moreover, we also dissipate the real gains which we have been making towards a unified and just society.

OUR REVOLUTION

Our revolution requires the abilities of all who are able to assist. We cannot afford to keep them away from us and opposed to us. We must seek to win those who are not yet on our side; and we must seek to retain those who already are.

History is full of nuances. A revolution cannot be carried through from beginning to end by exactly the same methods. To try to do this is to ignore the real gains which have already been made, and to think that the targets always remain the same. The objective is constant, but targets change. And targets have a way of imposing a tactic upon us. Significant gains raise revolutionary action to new levels; and the type of action required to carry the revolution forward changes. Methods must constantly respond to alterations in the complexion of problems, and to alterations in the surrounding circumstances.

of those problems. These changes are sometimes very fine, and unless we are sensitive to them, we are liable to stand in the way of our own further progress.

In the rough and tumble of colonial politics appropriate methods are called for; we have however perhaps reached a stage when we should consolidate our gains, and devise suitable methods of guiding all the energies of all our people and concentrating them behind the leader, and so march with the whole of the continent into our socialist union.

A theoretical struggle has emerged in Africa today. Whoever said that this is the best of all possible worlds told a lie. This is a world in which there are few simple routes to any worthwhile goals. The theoretical struggle in Africa can only be won by flexible methods, methods which enable us to anticipate, recognise, and resist any attempts to deflect us from the straight and narrow path of the true welfare of all the people; methods also which enable us to persuade and win the minds of men to our correct ideology. But we can only do this by first of all ourselves fully understanding our ideology.