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AMERICA'S SCHOOL FOR COUNTER-REVOLUTION

How Imperialism's strong-arm men are trained

by A Spark Correspondent

EDITORIAL

THE BULLY-BOYS

ELSEWHERE on this page our correspondent discusses an official U.S. brochure describing the training of America's "Special Forces".

These are the men who the American policy-makers hope will enforce Washington's ruling that "there shall be no more wars of national liberation."

But there will be wars of national liberation for as long as imperialism continues to impose its rule—a rule originally imposed by force and violence and to this day maintained by force and violence.

Imperialism is like a burglar who, having broken into a house, terrorises its inhabitants, makes free with its contents and refuses to leave—and then waxes indignant and accuses his victim of "resorting to violence" when he starts to throw him out.

The men being trained at Fort Bragg are the imperialist burglar's strong-arm men, his bully-boys. Their job is to see to it that the burglar is able to continue to enjoy the fruits of his crime undisturbed.

The brochure claims that America is not opposed to "positive efforts to remove the basic causes of discontent and... social and economic progress through peaceful means."

The hypocrisy of this claim is demonstrated by the history of Washington's support for all those who make such social and economic progress impossible.

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The history of Latin America, for example, abounds in examples of brutal, corrupt and reactionary dictatorships, all of them U.S.-backed and each an obstacle to social and economic progress.

The realities behind U.S. protestations of support for "social and economic progress through peaceful means" are demonstrated too by the history of Vietnam, where the U.S. first blocked the re-unification of the country by democratic elections in accordance with the Geneva agreements and now seeks to impose its will by terror bombing.

Washington claims that it is not opposed to genuine freedom movements—only to those which it labels "Communist" or "Communist-inspired". In practice, however, Washington treats each and every freedom movement as "Communist-inspired".

We recall that Hitler was the first to employ the tactic of branding all his opponents as "Communists"—but his concentration camps were full of Social Democrats, Liberals, Conservatives, Catholics, Protestants and decent people and patriots of every shade of political and religious opinion.

Like Hitler, the American policy-makers use anti-Communism as a screen under cover of which they attack all who stand in their way, all who threaten the interests of U.S. Big Business.

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"HOW could I ever have been so stupid?" Those were the words said to have been uttered by the late President Kennedy after the fiasco of the U.S.-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961.

Ever since the victory of the Cuban Revolution, the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency had groomed their protégés—ex-Batista officers, the sons of dispossessed landowners and industrialists thirsting to recover their lost wealth and the like—for the assault which, they fervently believed, would bring about the overthrow of Fidel Castro.

In secret camps in the United States and Guatemala the emigre Cubans were trained by U.S. military "advisers", paid with U.S. money and supplied with U.S. weapons.

The C.I.A. and the Pentagon planned and directed the whole operation. They wanted a swift landing and the establishment of a foothold in Cuba where a "government" could be set up that could call for official U.S. recognition and aid.

They assured the President that all their information from Cuba pointed to growing dissatisfaction; as

soon as the landing took place, they told him, there would be a popular uprising and Castro would be finished.

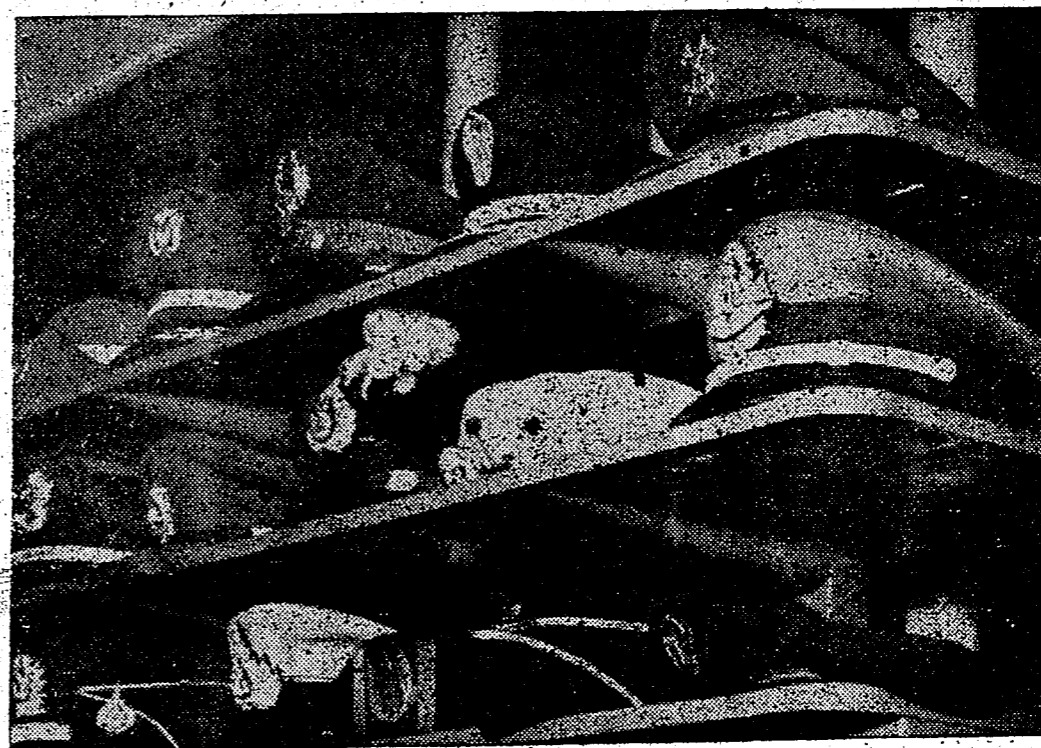
They were wrong. The invasion took place—but there was no uprising. Instead, the Cuban people stood firm behind Castro, defending the achievements of their revolution.

According to one report, when he heard the news of the death or capture of almost the entire invading force, President Kennedy wept, and vowed never again to accept all that Pentagon and the C.I.A. told him.

It is therefore all the more ironic that the U.S. Army's Centre for Special Warfare at Fort Bragg in North Carolina should bear his name.

President Kennedy learnt the lesson that what the Americans term "special warfare" can succeed only if it has popular support, and popular support can be won only by popular policies—policies which will bring freedom and a richer, fuller life to the oppressed peoples of the world. They have forgotten that lesson at Fort Bragg.

The American policy-makers have watched with alarm the successes scored by the national liberation movements and guerrilla



The variety of headgear outside a lecture hall at Fort Bragg illustrates the many nations that send students. They include Verwoerd's South Africa and Salazar's Portugal.

forces in many parts of the world; now they are attempting to use the same techniques in the interests of U.S. Big Business.

At Fort Bragg men are being trained to make the world safe for U.S. Big Business, to defend the "freedom" of the U.S. tycoon to make a fast buck by exploiting the wealth of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This is the picture that emerges from a careful study of a glossy official U.S. publication called U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Centre for Special Warfare (Airborne) Ft. Bragg, N.C. which uses the language and techniques of the company prospectus to describe how men are being trained to suppress national liberation movements.

"Counterinsurgency operations include all military, political, economic, psychological and sociological actions taken by or in conjunction with a legal government to prevent, or, if necessary, eliminate subversive insurgency. Subversive insurgency (wars of liberation) has received increased emphasis by the Communists as a primary course of action to extend communist control," the brochure declares, following the usual U.S. McCarthy style technique of labelling each and every freedom movement which threatens the interests of the Pentagon and U.S. Big Business as "subversive" and "Communist".

Stripped of the sales talk, it means full U.S. backing for reactionary regimes

wherever they may be.

Fort Bragg is in fact a school for the export of counter-revolution, a school for the training of the policemen of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

"The Counterinsurgency Operations Course provides selected commissioned officers and civilian personnel with a working knowledge of the nature and conduct of counterinsurgency operations, and a general knowledge of the various aspects of military and non-military participation in the counterinsurgency effort. The course examines the nature and causes of insurgency and Communist attempts at exploitation, along with the doctrine, tactics, and techniques for countering the threat..."

In a significant passage which points to the sources upon which the Pentagon relies for support, the brochure adds that:

"The characteristics of military forces in the developing nations and contributions which they can make to national

development are studied". The brochure stresses the role of what it calls "psychological operations" which, it says,

"include psychological warfare and encompass those political, military, economic and ideological actions planned and conducted to create in enemy, neutral, or friendly foreign groups the emotions, attitudes, or behaviour to support the achievement of national objectives."

What these "national objectives" are is not defined. Experience suggests they include the protection of U.S. interests and investments.

The brochure makes it clear that U.S. "special warfare" is not confined to operations against the national liberation movement. It is also directed against what it terms "hostile states":

"Unconventional warfare operations are conducted within enemy or enemy controlled territory by predominantly indigenous personnel usually supported and directed in varying degrees by an external agency."

In plain English, this means that the United States claims the right to train its Fifth Columns of traitors to wage campaigns of terror and sabotage in countries whose policies are not to the liking of Washington.

The Bay of Pigs operation was one example of how this technique is being employed against Cuba,

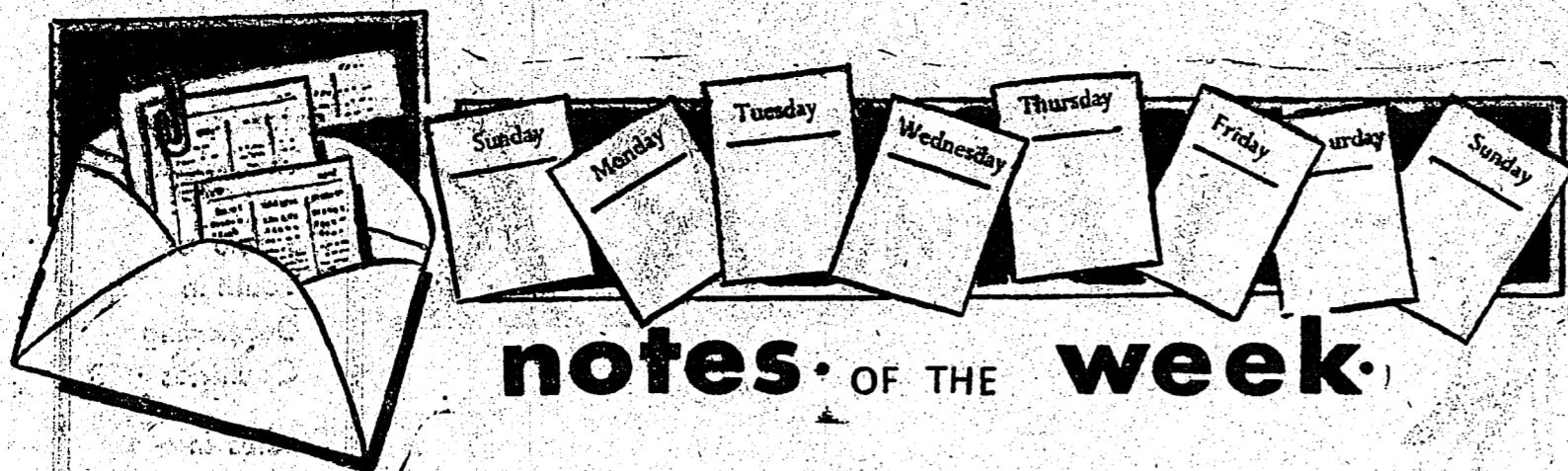
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Lectures are frequently given by visiting speakers from the puppet armies which America uses in its attempts to check the freedom movement.

NEXT WEEK

In our next issue we shall spotlight a C.I.A. move to split the world progressive front with the aid of a forged magazine calling itself "Revolution in Africa".



TWICE during recent weeks South Vietnam's puppet Premier, Marshal Cao Ky, has praised Hitler. The first time he did so in off-the-cuff remarks; on the second occasion he did so in a considered statement designed to calm criticism of his earlier words of adulation for the Nazi leader.

The Marshal claimed that he did not admire "Hitler the dictator, warmonger and Nazi", but Hitler "the leader who in the 1930s by sheer energy and dynamism was able to build the unity of Germany."

"One would not hesitate," said Washington's puppet, "to wish Vietnam to be headed by a leader endowed with the energy and dynamism of the Hitler of the beginning of Germany's renaissance, so that all of the nation's living forces could be called up for the anti-Communist fight."

Marshal Ky's fine distinction between the "early" and the "late" Hitler is false; the "unity" of which he speaks was imposed by Hitler with the aid of the rubber truncheons and jackboots of his storm troopers, and by the concentration camps which had already begun to disfigure the map of Germany.

It was during those years that the seeds of aggression were sown which the world was later to reap in the form of the Second World War.

While Washington's puppet sings Hitler's praises, Washington's own methods of waging war become increasingly reminiscent of those used by Hitler troops.

The story has been told by, among others, the eminently "respectable" and by no means anti-American London *Economist* (7.8.65):

"The general commanding the American marines at Da Nang in Vietnam expressed his grief on Wednesday at the killing of five civilians including three children, in a village ten miles south of the base which was attacked on Monday."

"Newspaper accounts had told how some of the marines, after being sniped at as they entered the village, got out of hand. Apparently the villagers had not dared to get clear before the attack, as a loudspeaker

warning had urged them to do; some of them stayed in underground shelters, and became victims of grenades thrown into these bunkers by marines who may have thought the Vietcong snipers were hiding there."

The *New York Herald Tribune* (5.7.65) described how another village was "nearly" burned to the ground.

"Nearly 150 homes were destroyed by the Marines, who said they had orders to turn flamethrowers on the huts if they were fired on."

"Not far away, an officer asked permission to burn several other huts as a punitive measure... He suggested, however, this might cause trouble with the rural pacification officer whose job it is to attempt to win over villagers to the government side."

"Sure, I'm for pacification—five days out of the week!" a senior officer said, and gave him permission to burn.

"As it turned out, the marines did not burn those particular huts, since they did not go back into the village. But many others have been burned. Some are set off with white phosphorus rockets, others with cigarette lighters, matches, grenades and flame-throwers."

Such accounts—and they are appearing with increasing frequency in the Western press—are disturbingly similar to those of the behaviour of Nazi troops in occupied Europe.

And it is all for the sake of America's "prestige," according to Senator Richard Russell, chairman of the U.S. Senate's Armed Services Committee and one of the most influential men in Congress.

If there were a plebiscite today, most South Vietnamese would vote for Ho Chin Minh, the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, he admitted.

"Our chief stake today is to show when the United States pledges its honour and its word it carries out any agreement or treaty; even if mistaken in signing it," he said.

So innocent women and children go on dying and humble peasant homes are burned down with flame-throwers—all for the sake of America's "honour."

White Paper which accompanied the announcement of the new restrictions admits that the housing shortage in Britain is not due to the immigrants; and that the immigrants have not created a serious public health hazard—indeed, it admits that they have made a great contribution to Britain's hospital and health services.

By tightening up the restrictions under an Act which they themselves denounce as a colour-bar Act when they were in opposition, Britain's Labour leaders are pandering to racialist prejudice and helping to spread racialism.

The problems which face the British people, such as housing shortages are the product of the capitalist society in which they live. The solution to the housing problem, for example is not to keep out immigrants, but to build more houses.

The Conservative Party and the British ruling class which it represents have always tried to divert attention from their own crimes by setting white people against coloured.

It is a sad betrayal of the principles of the British Labour movement when a Labour Government does the same thing.

The Newcomer

ACCORDING to the London *Financial Times*, Japan has launched "the biggest campaign to win friends, sell goods and buy the choicest raw materials, ever seen in Africa."

The paper's Salisbury correspondent reports that the spearhead of the campaign is a mobile exhibition consisting of thirty Japanese-made lorries and cars which has just begun a 6,000-mile tour of six countries in Central and East Africa.

The Japanese, he writes, "are out to sell their textiles, radios, cameras, bicycles, enamel-ware and cars in a growing African market."

"They are also planning to buy more copper, asbestos, iron and other minerals for their huge industries, eternally starved for raw materials."

As recently as ten years ago Japanese exports to Central Africa were worth only £300,000, while her imports from Central Africa totalled only £138,000.

Within four years the Central African Federation's exports to Japan reached £5 million, while Japan was able to sell manufactured goods worth about £1 million, despite many restrictions imposed to protect local industries.

These restrictions were lifted in 1960 (Japan's readiness to buy Central African copper, iron ore and tobacco was no doubt a factor contributing to this relaxation) and an agreement regulating trade was concluded, which became a fully fledged trade agree-

ment in the following year, with a Japanese diplomatic mission installed in Salisbury.

Almost the last act of the government of the expiring Central African Federation was an agreement granting Japan "most favoured nation" rights enabling Japanese goods to compete on equal terms with those from America and Europe.

When the Federation ended, the *Financial Times* correspondent notes, its exports to Japan were worth £13 million while imports from Japan had crept up to £5 million.

Most of this favourable trade balance of £8 million, he points out, accrued to Zambia because of its copper exports, but last year trade between Japan and Rhodesia was also on the increase, with Rhodesia selling Japan goods worth some £5,600,000 (mainly iron ore, asbestos and tobacco) and buying imports worth £4,400,000.

The correspondent reports that there is talk of Zambia receiving technical aid from Japan "and it is on the cards that financial aid may also be offered for development—the first time Japan has entered this field in Africa."

Clearly the older imperialist powers are watching the entry of this new rival on the African stage with caution.

It is a caution that will be shared—though for very different reasons—by Africans themselves, who will need no reminder that it is not only white men who can be imperialists and neo-colonialists.

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But the American rulers cannot hold back the march of history. The national liberation movement is one of the great historical forces of our time. The onward march of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America cannot be halted by U.S.-trained mercenaries.

America is itself the child of a violent revolution—a violent revolution against British imperialism, a revolution which at the end of the eighteenth century inspired friends of freedom throughout the world.

By seeking to deny to others the sacred right to take up arms when no other means of throwing off oppression's yoke exist America betrays its own heritage.

But the mercenaries being trained at Fort Bragg can no more hold back the tide of freedom than could the German mercenaries that the English King George III sent to suppress the freedom movement of the American settlers.

Racist Measures

WHEN four years ago Britain introduced Government Conservative the Commonwealth Immigration Act, the Labour Party, then in opposition were vociferous in their opposition to it, branding it as a colour-bar act.

Now a Labour Government has introduced restrictions on immigration which go further than the Conservatives ever dared in discriminating against coloured immigrants into Britain.

The rate of immigration is to be slashed from the present rate of 20,800 a year to 8,500, while certain immigrants may in future

be required to report regularly to the police.

The fact that it is directed against coloured immigrants is clear from the fact that no steps to control immigration—into Britain from Ireland—by far the largest source of immigrants into Britain—are envisaged.

There have been attempts in Britain to paint a picture of a great influx of Commonwealth immigrants, causing housing, health and other problems.

In fact, last year the net intake of 62,000 from the newer Commonwealth countries was less than one half the number that left Britain for Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

And the Government

JULY 28:
KENYA: Mr. Hosea Jaffe, the British teacher of the Duke of Gloucester Secondary School in Nairobi who was declared a prohibited immigrant today left Nairobi by air for London with his family. He was accused of subversive activities against Kenya Government.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is to visit Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, soon for talks with President Julius Nyerere on plans for a Tanzania-Zambia railway. Mr. Oscar Kambona, Tanzania's External Affairs Minister has said today.

JULY 29:
Mr. Alhaji Nuhu Bamali, Nigerian Minister of State, who is on a tour of some West African countries will leave Monrovia today for Abidjan, Ivory Coast, where he will hand a message to President Felix Houphouët-Boigny from Premier Balewa of Nigeria.

GHANA: Dr. Oku Ampofo, Ghanaian Physician and sculptor, is to open an exhibition in New York featuring his wood and terrazo sculpture.

* President Nkrumah has received a message from Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia reciprocating the good wishes he sent the Emperor on the occasion of his 73rd birthday.

* The first Vice-Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Economic Relations, Mr. I. Arkhipov, has said that economic relations between Ghana and the Soviet Union are developing well.

KENYA: Kenya Minister for Economic Planning, Mr. Tom Mboya in an interview in his London Hotel told a Ghana News Agency Correspondent that he is strongly convinced the future of Africa depends on African States being able to find a political basis for co-operation. He continued by saying that the real future of Africa depends on a political Union of the whole Continent.

AUGUST 1st:
GHANA: A four-member Party delegation to the ninth congress of the Rumanian People's Communist Party led by Mr. Paul Tagoe, has returned home from Bucharest.

* Mr. I. K. Chibueh, Minister of Information has congratulated the Ghanaian Press for its militant protest against the forged photographs of alleged prisoners in Ghana jails published by the London *Daily Express* on March 17 this year.

* Kenya Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Joseph Murumbi who led his country's four-man delegation to Ghana, speaking to newsmen at Accra Airport before the delegation flew to Abidjan, said, comparing what he saw during his last visit in 1960 with what he had just seen, he could say with contentment that Ghana has the greatest leader.

U.A.R.: The Egyptian weekly, *Rose El Yousef* has accused the United States of U2 planes regular espionage flights over Egypt taking photographs.

MOROCCO: King Hassan II of Morocco has sent a message to Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana saying that Moroccans had been deeply affected by the kind message of congratulation which Kwame Nkrumah sent to them on the occasion of the King's birthday. The message added, we wish you good health and happiness and the people of Ghana prosperity and progress.

GHANA: Special rallies and church services were held

throughout the country to observe the third anniversary of the Kulungugu bomb attempt on the life of Kwame Nkrumah.

* A seven-man agricultural Indonesian delegation was due in Accra today for a four-day visit to Ghana as guests of the State Farms Corporation.

AUGUST 2nd:
TANZANIA: The Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee of Nine will meet in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, today to discuss the latest development on Southern Rhodesia.

GHANA: The deputy director of the Institute of Public Education, has flown to Addis Ababa today to attend the 13th Assembly of the World Confederation of the Teaching Profession (WCO TP) which opens in Addis Ababa today.

* Chief Gabriel Akin Deko, United Nations Regional Representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation for Africa, has returned by air from Lagos, Nigeria, after a 10-day official visit to Cameroun, Congo (Brazzaville) and Gabon.

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure of Guinea left Budapest by air today after a four-day visit to Hungary.

UGANDA: Mr. Milton Obote met the Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato to discuss the United Nations, the postponement of the Second Afro-Asian Conference and Uganda-Japan economic co-operation.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The by-elections in the Congolese provinces of Guette Central, Koulou and Kivu Central due today were officially postponed in Leopoldville until August 8.

KENYA: Mr. Tom Mboya, Kenya's Economic Planning Minister and Agriculture Minister Mr. Bruce McKenzie began a two-day round of economic talks in the German Democratic Republic today.

DAHOMEY: President Sourou Migan Apithy of Dahomey in a nation-wide broadcast in Cotonou to mark the country's fifth independence anniversary, appealed to Dahomians to work harder. He said "We must first and foremost depend on ourselves so that Dahomey shall live."

ZAMBIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia made it crystal clear that they would hold the British Government responsible for any consequences if she granted independence to the settler white minority regime of Southern Rhodesia. This warning was made during the end of the Emperor's state visit to Zambia.

GHANA: Mr. J. B. Erzuah, Ghana's Ambassador to Ivory Coast, has flown to Abidjan after consultations with the Government.

* Miss B. G. Schofield, Nursing adviser to Britain's Ministry of Overseas Development arrived in Ghana on a four-day visit as part of her West African tour.

* The Secretary-General of the All African Trade Union Federation who is also the new Member of Parliament for Some-Afiao, Mr. John K. Tettegah, has appealed to his electorates to maintain co-operation with the people of the neighbouring Republic of Togo.

TANZANIA: Mr. Oscar Kambona, Tanzania's External Affairs Minister, making his opening address as chairman of the O.A.U.'s Committee of Nine which opened a four-day session in Dar-es-Salaam today warned of a very real danger ahead if

Rhodesia is granted independence on the basis of a racist minority constitution.

SOUTH AFRICA: The *Daily Worker*, a British daily today called on all progressive people throughout the world to tell arch-racist Hendrik Verwoerd of the Pretoria regime to stop torture and persecutions and to end the evil of apartheid.

GHANA: Mr. Kwesi Amah, Ghana's High Commissioner in London and Minister of Foreign Trade, left Hong Kong today on the second stage of his journey to London before flying on to report to Kwame Nkrumah on his mission to Hanoi, Vietnam.

* A group of the Imperial Defence College, London, who are now in Ghana called on Kwame Nkrumah at the Castle, Accra, today.

AUGUST 3rd:
ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has declared his firm conviction that the Accra Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) would be very successful.

UGANDA: Mr. Milton Obote of Uganda speaking at banquet given in his honour by Indian Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri declared that if Ghana, who obtained her independence just after the Second World War II, fails, most of us who followed later would be in difficulties.

GHANA: Mr. E. K. Bensah, Minister of Works, who is leading a five-man Ghana delegation to the fifth independence anniversary celebration of the Republic of Dahomey, delivered a message of fraternal greetings from Kwame Nkrumah to President Sourou Migan Apithy. Personal gifts of kente cloth and native sandals accompanied the message.

SOMALI: President Osman of Somali was given enthusiastic welcome at Peking Airport during his visit to China.

CONGO (Brazzaville): Mr. Bernard Zombanza, Congo (Brazzaville) Information Minister, has left Brazzaville for Moscow for a two-week visit to the Soviet Union as guest of Soviet journalists.

ALGERIA: The Algerian Government is to introduce legislation making it a punishable offence to carry arms without permit.

* A French firm, the Compagnie Francaise de Petroles, today reported a new oil discovery in the Sahara, Eastern Algeria. The discovery was made near Hassi Nezza, about 60 miles South of Hassi Messaoud.

U.A.R.: Mr. Dean Rusk, American Secretary of State said in Washington today that United States would be ready to see a steady improvement in its relations with the United Arab Republic.

MALI: Women delegations from a number of African countries, including Ghana are now meeting in Bamako, Mali, for a two-week conference on mother and child care in Africa.

U.A.R.: Mr. Mohammed Fayek, President Nasser's Adviser on African Affairs returned to Cairo today from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, after a 10-day East African tour as the United Arab Republic special envoy.

TUNISIA: Mr. Habib Achour a former secretary-general of the General Union of Tunisian Workers arrested in Tunis a month ago and accused of forgery and contempt of court was released from prison today.

UGANDA: Premier Milton Obote, had two hours talks today with Indian Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri.

BASUTOLAND: Chief Leqba Jonathan, the pro-apartheid Prime Minister of Basutoland, said in Masere, capital of the British protectorate today that ownership of land in the country would remain the common property of the Basutoland nation. He then said that whites would not be allowed to own land in the country.

The Role of Youth in Developing Countries

THERE is no doubt that young people, both men and women, have played a tremendous part in the struggles against colonialism and for independence. This has been particularly marked in the historic leap forward to independence in Africa in the last ten years. There has been no more rapid change in any continent than from the position where there were 8 independent African countries in 1958, and 37 in 1965.

In the early days of the struggle for independence in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanganyika and other African countries, the vigour and enthusiasm of young trade unionists, students, small business men and market women traders created vigorous movements that won rapid successes in the struggle against colonial rule.

I. Youth and Politics

IT is always a most dramatic moment when the flag of the colonial power is lowered, and the new national flag is raised, at midnight on the Appointed Day. However, in the weeks and months after sovereignty has been achieved, many people in the new States become bitterly aware that little has yet been changed.

The aim of the colonialists was aptly defined by a former Viceroy of India, who declared, "I will accept change only to keep things as they are"—a similar idea, though not so crudely expressed, lay behind Mr. Harold Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech.

Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana, has written, "The enemy is Imperialism, which uses as its weapons colonialism and neo-colonialism". The aim of the Imperialists is to continue by one means or another the exploitation of the labour and natural resources of the under-developed countries.

To do this, the economy of the under-developed country must be maintained as an appendage of the developed country, serving the needs of the great monopolies of the colonial powers. Political as well as economic means are used to achieve this.

A big part has been played by African students, including those who have studied in Africa and those who have studied either in the capitalist countries or in the socialist countries.

After the Second World War, a number of young Africans who had taken part in the fight against fascism stayed for a period in Europe, in many cases as worker-students, and then returned home to join forces with the most politically conscious workers and students in their own countries.

I want to deal very briefly with the role of youth in the newly independent countries, under three headings:

- I. Youth and politics.
- II. Youth and economic development.
- III. Youth and society.

Africanisation: In many countries, after independence has been achieved, expatriates still remain in control of the Civil Service and many other aspects of the State machine. One of the main concerns of progressive young people in the developing countries has been to see that control passes to representatives of the newly independent country. In the different African countries, there have been many struggles around the question of Africanisation of the Civil Service, of the control of the armed forces of Justice, and Law, and in many other spheres.

In Nigeria, trade unionists and youth organisations combined in the campaign for the replacement of Mr. Stallard, Private Secretary to the Federal Prime Minister, by a Nigerian.

Military treaties and agreements have been one of the means by which the colonialists have striven to maintain controlling positions in the developing countries.

In most cases, British Commanders of the African armed forces have now been replaced, but considerable influence is still exerted through the training of African Army and Police Officers in British institutions.

The necessary process of replacing expatriates by Africans in controlling positions in the State machine

does not mean that European technicians cannot be used. They can be extremely valuable, provided they are working under the control of African Ministers and Senior Civil Servants.

Transformation of Educational System: As African leaders have pointed out, formerly the colonial powers provided only a minimum amount of education, and what there was was geared to training the dependent peoples in what the colonialists wanted them to know.

African history was completely neglected. As one African leader has said, "We were taught English geography, English history, English customs, English ideas and English weather..."

In the years before independence, there was a very great demand for more education, and since self-government in many countries there has been more progress in education than in the previous fifty years.

However, it is only gradually, through pressure from the youth, that the content of the education is radically changed, so that the colonial heritage is got rid of.

It is significant that until very recently British and French lecturers, appointed under the colonial regime, still remained in control of important African Universities.

There is a great role for African youth in studying African Anthropology, geography, history and cultural heritage. In colonial history books the history of Africa is portrayed as a blank until the coming of either the Arabs or the Europeans. That myth is slowly being destroyed.

Constitutional Changes: Naturally, before departing, the colonialists used their influence to bring about the adoption of Constitutions which would tend to perpetuate their control.

Britain particularly was successful in persuading African countries to adopt Constitutions based on the British Parliament and two-party system.

In addition, the former British Governor sometimes remained for a period as Governor-General of the newly independent country.

In this case also, vigorous, youthful elements campaigned for changes in the Constitutions of developing countries, and this process is still continuing in order to arrive at Constitutions

by Kay Beauchamp

and political systems which serve the needs of these countries far better than those imposed by the colonial regime.

Another constitutional device which had the effect of causing divisions within the developing country was the device of partition or regionalism. Ireland and India are the outstanding examples of partition, Nigeria of regionalism.

By constituting three regions with regional governments, the British Government achieved a two-fold purpose. One was the weakening and breaking-up of the national movement into organisations representing the most influential sections in each region and the consequent delay in the winning of independence.

The other was the growth of conflicts and the struggle for greater powers between the regional and the Federal Governments. This has held back the development of the Nigerian nation.

In addition the British Government fixed the boundaries in a way which they hoped would enable them to continue, indirectly, their influence over the whole country.

Artificial Boundaries: A glance at the map of Africa reveals the artificial boundaries created by the colonial powers when they carved up this great continent in 1885. These geometric lines have no relation to geographic, ethnical or any other factor. They are a source of discord and friction between the developing African countries.

Many of the most far-sighted African leaders feel that the only way to overcome this problem is by the development of All-African Unity, so that in time the frontiers cease to be a source of friction and become meaningless.

African Unity: The problem of the boundaries is only one of the reasons why African Unity is the goal of all progressive people in Africa. More than any other continent Africa has suffered from robbery and exploitation through the centuries of the slave trade, followed by a century of imperialist rule.

In order to free the remaining dependent territories in Africa, and transform their economies to catch up with the highly developed, industrialised countries of the world, African States need continental unity.

The struggle for such unity received a new impetus after the independence of Ghana in 1957, with the Conference of the eight independent African States in Accra in 1958, and the first All-African People's Conference.

The establishment of the Organisation of African Unity, despite the difficulties that it is meeting, is a victory for all those forces who are striving to overcome divisions and develop a united struggle against the enemy—colonialism and neo-colonialism. (Neo-colonialism is the term used to describe all the various methods which the colonialists use to continue the exploitation of the labour and materials of the under-developed countries, once they have won their sovereignty).

Policy of Non-Alignment: When independence is

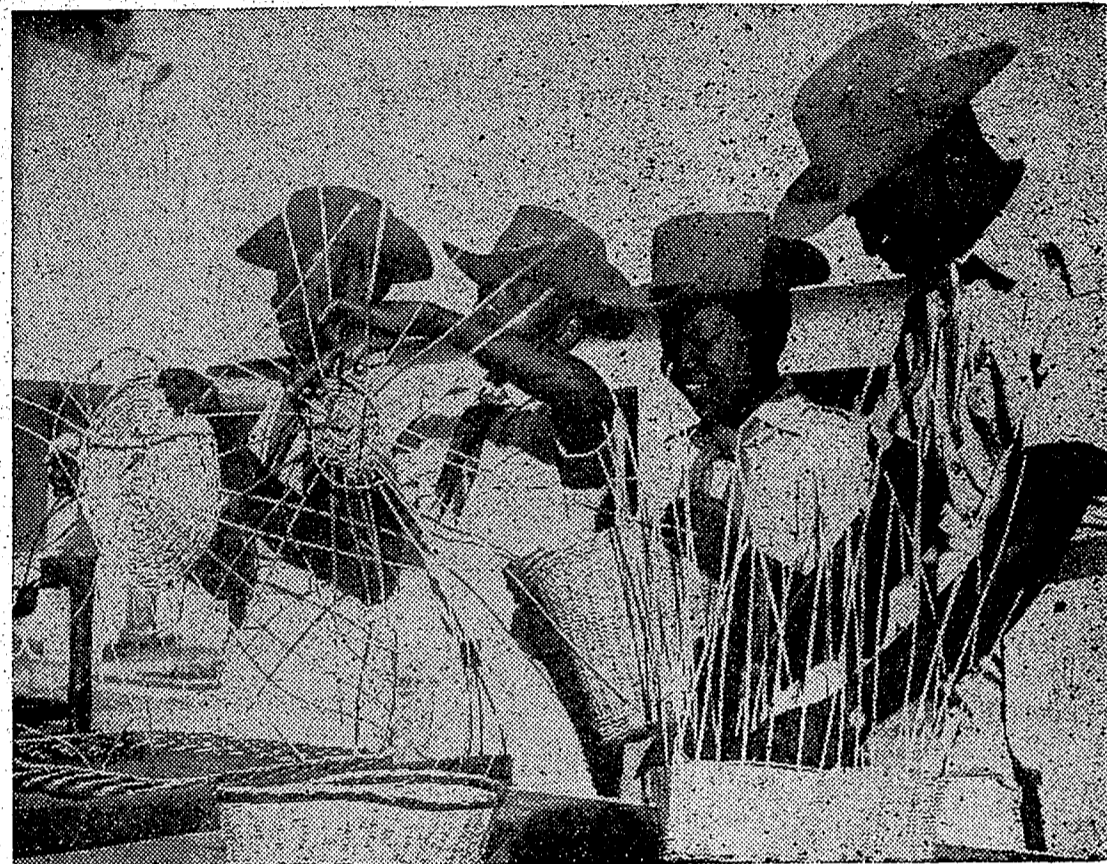
achieved, the emerging countries are often still tied politically and militarily to the Western bloc. The development of a policy of non-alignment means that the foreign policy of the deve-

loping country ceases to be tied to that of the former colonial power, or of the Western bloc as a whole.

It means that the country is free to decide both its foreign and military policy, on the basis of what is in its best interests. It does not mean that it becomes tied

to the military bloc of the Socialist countries, but it does mean that it is free to decide its own best course of development, and to adopt whatever ideology its people decide is in their interests.

The policy of non-alignment has enabled the developing countries to play an important role in the struggle for World Peace—which is of just as great concern to the peoples of Africa as it is to the peoples of the rest of the world.



Ghana prepares her youth for the future. Here, some members of Ghana Young Pioneers are learning basketry.

II. Youth and Economic Development

EVERY newly independent country suffers from the distorted economy imposed on them by imperialism. Despite the great natural resources and the fertility of the land in many parts of Africa, the majority of her people are desperately poor! The average annual income per head is less than one tenth of that in the highly developed countries i.e. Nigeria £35, Canada £448.

The colonial pattern of the economy means that it is confined in the main to the extraction and export of minerals, the production of one or two cash crops either by individual farmers or in plantations belonging to the colonialists and subsistence farming.

When Nigeria became independent in 1960 and, in fact, to this day, the bulk of her exports consists of tin and other minerals, cocoa, palm oil, palm kernels and groundnuts. The vast majority of her people exist on subsistence agriculture and petty trade. Manufactured goods had, and to a large extent still have to be imported.

When I was in Nigeria, I was shocked at the difference between the price the Nigerian farmer gets for groundnuts and the price at which they are sold in shops in England, when they have been packaged and a little salt added.

Youth, and particularly the young workers, farmers and students who have struggled so hard to win independence, are naturally determined to change this position. In fact, however, it is being made ever worse by the continuous fall in the price of primary products and the rise in the price of manufactured goods.

Developing countries may produce double or more than double as much as

previously and receive less for it. In 1954, Nigeria received £30 million for her cocoa. In 1962, she received £29 million for a crop more than double the size.

If she had been paid the same price per ton for cocoa in 1962 as she was paid in 1954, she would have received £70 million. Thus she was robbed of £41 million by the adverse terms of trade.

Economic aid provided by the United Nations and other agencies has been more than swallowed up by the adverse terms of trade.

The problem of the increasing gap between prices of primary products and those of manufactured goods, resulting in the developing countries receiving less for a greater volume of exports, was the main concern of the United Nations Trade and Development conference at Geneva last year. Despite enormous pressure from the developing countries, no concrete steps have been taken to check this gap, which is still growing and is increasing the difference between the annual income per head in the developed and the developing countries.

Dr. Paul Prebisch, Secretary-General of U.N.T.A.D., has declared that if present trends remain unchanged the trade gap will rise by 1970 to 20,000 million dollars, or more than £7,000 million.

I will mention some of the steps which appear to be essential to remedy this situation:

- (1) The developing countries must have their own trained personnel and technicians. Obviously it is the young people who will most easily acquire this training.
- (2) These countries must own and control their own resources, including minerals and agricultural products. This may not

be possible immediately but as long as the tin, copper and other undertakings are owned by foreign monopolies, a great part of the wealth will go outside the country. This is already happening in relation to the oil deposits discovered in the Niger Delta which are being developed by Esso, B.P. and other international oil monopolies.

(3) The marketing and processing of these mineral and agricultural products must be taken over by the developing country.

(4) Agriculture must be diversified so that a great deal of food which now has to be imported can be grown within the country. In many African countries the development of different forms of co-operation is assisting this process.

(5) The most important and most difficult question is the development of industrialisation in African countries. This is taking the form of light industries first, but no country can be economically independent until it has its own heavy industry.

(6) All this obviously needs a National Plan for the best possible use of all available resources.

(7) In addition to utilising internal resources, capital, in the form of loans and grants, is necessary from outside the country. Many African countries are finding from their own experience that they can get loans at low rates of interest and other economic assistance without political strings from the socialist countries. This sometimes enables them to get loans or investments from capitalist

(Continued on Page 8)



Young African technicians working towards the achievement of the economic independence of their country.

RELIGION'S ROLE IN THE

'Church and State each play their part'

True Religion Never Neutral

The Speech of Mr. A. J. Dowuona - Hammond,
Minister of Communications, at the Methodist
Church annual conference, Winneba.

The role of the Church

THE Minister of Communications, Mr. A. J. Dowuona - Hammond, yesterday excelled during his address to the Methodist synod in session at Winneba.

And even more noteworthy was the cogency of his analysis of the role of the Christian Churches in the transformation of our country into a socialist state.

The Minister said that the paramount role of the Christian Churches is to help in the dissemination of the ethical concepts and values on which our national ideology is based.

That point hits the nail on the head. The church and the state are inseparable in that it is the members of the state who also constitute church congregations.

It would, therefore, be suicidal if the churches were to operate in isolation from the principles upon which the sovereignty of the state is based.

True religion and the church which is an instrument of religion, said the Minister, can never remain neutral in the struggle for the emancipation of man.

This is so because if there is any meaning to the existence of religion, it is to be found in its role as the reinforcing element in man's struggle for material and moral upliftment.

That explains why the colonialists utilized the pulpits for the dissemination of the colonial ideology and the enslavement of man by other men.

This is the more reason why, in this one Party state of ours, the pulpits must be utilized even more effectively for the emancipation of our people from all vestiges of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism; and also for the reorientation of the people in the ethics of the new ideology.

The challenge is then to our churches to ensure that they reorganise themselves to suit the changing times.

We have no doubt that they will face and conquer this challenge without difficulty.
Daily Graphic (7.8.65)

BEFORE the advent of Christianity, the religions and political orders were not clearly defined. Men worshipped the gods of the particular state in which they found themselves.

In certain cases religion was but a department of the state. In others it was all-embracing and the religious head was also the head of state.

Christianity, however, brought with it the concept of two distinct but not altogether separate areas of man's life and activity, the secular and the spiritual. Christ, in one of his famous answers to his critics said: "render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."

This answer of Christ to his enemies who were trying to trap him into saying some things treasonable against the secular authority has since become the cornerstone of Christian thought and teaching on the relationship that should exist between the church and the state.

AUTHORITY

Caesar or the State here represents the secular authority which is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the performance of all services that make it possible for members of the community to go about their daily duties without undue worry or concern for their life and property.

In order to perform these services efficiently and effectively, the State has set up an apparatus for the making and enforcement of laws as well as for the provision of essential services for the benefit of all members of the community.

This apparatus includes Parliament, the courts, the police, the military, the civil service, the corporations and a number of other public organs and organisations which are very well known to everybody.

The state apparatus, it must be emphasized, operates for the benefit of all members of the community without any discriminations whatsoever.

The church, we know, cannot function properly and effectively in a lawless state, where there is chaos and anarchy, where everyone lives in constant fear for his life and property. Then again, the aims and objectives of the state are by and large identical with the aims and objectives of the Church.

THE GOAL

For both the State and the church, the goal of all their activity is the welfare and happiness of the community and of the individual members of the community.

The emphasis here might appear to be slightly different in that whereas the primary concern of the State is with the physical and social life of the community as a whole, the primary concern of the church is with the moral and spiritual life of the individual members of the community.

In actual fact, however, both the State and the church are as much concerned with physical and social life of the individual as they are with his moral and spiritual well-being.

Any State which does not cater for the moral and spiritual capabilities of its people cannot expect to have a progressive and law-abiding

community. It cannot, in fact, expect to exist for long. The history of the Christian church in particular is also full of the determined but unsuccessful attempts made by several kings and emperors to destroy the church.

In many countries and in many ages, the Christian church had had to struggle very hard and had had to undergo many hardships simply because of its efforts to exist.

Happily for us in Ghana today, there is no such conflict between the church and the State. This is so because the Government of Ghana believes that its own ideals if vigorously and faithfully promoted can re-inforce those of the Church.

This is also because Ghana is blessed with the right type of leadership. In his autobiography *Ghana*, Kwame Nkrumah, our illustrious leader, writes: "Today I am a non-denominational Christian."

Freedom of worship is enshrined in our constitution and the church like any other religious organisation is allowed every facility to function without let or hindrance. No Christian is molested or threatened because of his faith or because of what he says and does.

There are many countries in the world today where Christians are denied certain rights and facilities simply because of their faith. There are countries in which the Christian is discriminated against in his search for employment and in the administration of justice. Not so in Ghana.

FREE HAND

Not only does the Government of Ghana allow the Church free hand to function unmolested and without any form of discrimination. By its activity, the Government also attempts to create an atmosphere which is conducive to the operation of the Church where any Christian community finds itself in danger of being disturbed by lawless and unruly elements, the Government does not hesitate to place its peace-keeping apparatus at the disposal of the Church to protect its property and the life of its members.

Not only that. The Government also goes out of its way to foster religious worship by placing at the disposal of the Church its mass information media; the national radio and television and press, to propagate the teachings of the Church.

Radio Ghana, we all know, begins its programme each day with a short prayer and the singing of Church hymns. Similarly, at the close of each day, it ends its programme with the singing of more church hymns.

It will interest you to know that within a short period of time the Government had brought into this country over half a million Bibles from the United Kingdom for distribution in Ghana schools. These Bibles are in English and the main Ghanaian vernaculars—Twi, Ga, Ewe, Asante, etc.

If indeed there is any religious discrimination in

Ghana today it is in favour of the church.

Rev. Chairman, brethren, as you are aware, our country has suffered a lot under the colonial era. Some of the legacies bequeathed to us were poverty, disease, squalor, distorted economy based on exploitation of man by man and a pattern of education aimed at Europeanizing the African for white collar jobs bringing in its trail "colonial mentality."

THE MISSIONS

Permit me, Rev. Chairman and brethren, to pay special tribute to the missions for the great pioneering role they played in the development of education in this country which has been the foundation upon which our present system of education has been built.

Today our educational system ranks with the best in any country in the world and is one of the best in Africa.

It is not of this colonial system and the long and bitter struggle for freedom and independence that, under the sagacious leadership of Osagyefo, Ghana has decided to go the way of Scientific Socialism adapted to the historical conditions and traditional beliefs of our nation. We look on Socialism as the only way of life which will bring work and happiness for all.

NO COPY

"Socialism" in Ghana is never a carbon copy of Socialism as it is known elsewhere. At this juncture I will quote what our Leader, Osagyefo told the world at the Second Conference of the Non-Aligned States held in Cairo, October 7, 1964:-

"We who claim to be non-aligned must have the right to choose the political and economic philosophy which we consider most suitable for rapid development and advancement.

"For example, the fact that Ghana accepts socialism as a means of our political and economic development does not and should not place us in opposition to any other country; it is an international idea.

"Similarly, Capitalism does not belong to Britain, Western Germany or the United States of America. It is an economic doctrine and political philosophy which some of us consider unsuitable to our present circumstances.

"But this rejection of capitalist exploitation does not mean that we are not politically opposed to the countries who have embraced capitalism.

"We are socialists. We are also non-aligned. We are opposed to political and economic exploitation and domination of man by man. We are against social injustice and inequality, against racism and racialism. We stand for progress, peace and justice."

The Government of Ghana has embarked on an extensive socialist programme in which every member of the community is being given every encouragement and opportunity for progress and development irrespective of his creed or

in such a way that the condition for the development does not introduce such diversities as to destroy the egalitarian basis.

I am sure you will agree with me that these tenets conform with some of the doctrines of our Christian Churches. For example "Love thy neighbour as thyself", "Sell all thy property and give to the poor", "If you love me, tend my sheep".

I have said earlier that our approach to Scientific Socialism is rational. This is so because "Our Party is not an organisation around a personality. On the contrary, it organises the masses around a programme on an accepted ideology.

IDEOLOGY

It is useful here to understand the relation between programme and ideology. While the ideology maps out the general route to be followed by the Party, the programme sets out the immediate targets and tasks at every stage in the struggle.

Thus ideology is immutable but programme is constantly changing, one leading logically and inescapably to the next and so on until the ultimate goal of a socialist society is achieved.

"It would be wrong to have a programme without an ideology. For as conditions change, it be-

comes necessary to change the programme. And an attempt to draw up a programme if there is no ideology to guide the action, may lead to a break up of the Party".

This is the reason why we in Ghana and in fact the whole Africa, should be grateful to Osagyefo for giving us a clearly defined ideology. This ideology we call "Nkrumahism".

"It is an ideology for the new Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of 'one and united Africa, drawing its strength from modern science and technology and from the traditional African belief that the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.'"

Government has been criticised by ignorant people for what it has been trying to do. When, for example, Government on the attainment of the country's independence took over certain Mission schools in its attempt to accelerate the educational progress of the country, the fear was expressed in certain quarters that the State was going to curtail religious education and secularize the schools.

This fear has now been proved to be without found-

(Continued on page 8)

Challenge to the Church

THE answer by Communications Minister A. J. Dowuona-Hammond to the oft repeated question on the role of the Church in a Socialist Ghana, must be considered a guiding principle by all clergymen in their attitude towards national issues.

The paramount role, said the Minister, is to help in the dissemination of the ethical concepts and values on which our national ideology is based.

The church in Ghana, therefore, cannot live in isolation from the society with which it constitutes one indivisible instrument each playing its integrated part constructively for the common benefit.

Ghana, a country of freedom and justice, upholds freedom of religion and every opportunity is given to religious sects to practice their faith without any let or hindrance. But that should not be a licence for indulging in subversive activities against the constituted authority of the State.

It is disquieting to note that in Ghana today, certain religious bodies, because of slavish doctrines do not encourage communal labour to provide their people with basic social amenities. This is highly deplorable.

Missionaries of such religious bodies must reorientate their thinking, and throw overboard the cloak of colonial mentality. They must realise that the spiritual aspect of the life of their flock is also inextricably bound up with their welfare.

What Africa needs today is a new clergyman who will contribute to the building of the nation and use the pulpit to disseminate the policies of the Government too.

Time was when people were burnt as heretics because of their religious beliefs. And even today, in some professed Christian communities, Christians are denied certain rights and facilities because of their religion.

But, happily in Ghana, there is no conflict between the church and the State because, as the Minister said, the Government believes that its own ideals can re-inforce those of the church if vigorously pursued.

We trust that the charge by the head of the Methodist Church to his clergy and laity urging them to preach the gospel and aims of the Government and uphold the ideas of the State will not fall on deaf ears.

The Ghanaian Times (7.8.65)

CRYSTAL CLEAR

In his philosophical book *Consciencism* Osagyefo makes it crystal clear that he does not quarrel with religion as such. Rather, he recognizes religion as a necessary instrument for spreading moral values in a community.

But he is vitally interested in the sort of moral values disseminated by religions. This reservation has to be made because some religions uphold the system of *apartheid*, for example, as in the Dutch Reform Church of South Africa. Again he does not see how he can compromise with some practices of the Islamic religion, which supports slavery.

As we can see, these values, though shrouded under the cloak of religion are harmful, wrong and repugnant because they violate the humanist principles and the dignity of man. Again in *Consciencism*, Osagyefo writes:

"Insistence on the secular nature of the state is not to be interpreted as a political declaration of war on religion, for religion is also a social fact, and must be understood before it can be tackled. To declare a political war on religion is to treat it as an ideal phenomenon, to suppose that it might be wished away, or at the worst scared out of existence. The indispensable starting point is to appreciate the sociological connection between religious belief and practice on the one hand, and poverty on the other."

Consciencism has set out its principal tenets as follows:

- (1) That all men are equal.
- (2) That each man is an end in himself and just a means to an end.
- (3) That the group is responsible for the individual.
- (4) That the free development of each is the condition for the free development of the group.

One can see that *Consciencism* seeks to promote individual development, but

BUILDING OF A NEW GHANA

Religious Aspects of Nkrumaism

IT has been often said that Marxism is atheist while Nkrumaism is not. But, like so many short and simple statements, this can be misunderstood. It can underestimate the role of materialism in Nkrumaism, and it can under-emphasise the possibility of the closest political co-operation between Marxist atheists and those who hold religious beliefs within parties based on scientific socialism.

In *Consciencism* Dr. Kwame Nkrumah points out that the basis of philosophical consciencism "is in materialism" (p.79), and that "philosophical consciencism builds itself by becoming a reflection of the objectivity, in conceptual terms, of the unfolding of matter" (p.92).

Moreover, he adds, "the traditional African standpoint, of course, accepts the absolute and independent idea of matter" (p.97).

While, says *Consciencism* "strictly speaking, the assertion of the sole reality of matter is atheistic... philosophical consciencism, even though deeply rooted in materialism is not necessarily atheistic." (p.84).

In other words, within the philosophy of Consciencism there is room for both atheists and theists.

Despite all that has been said about the atheism of Marxism, it can be shown that in the Communist Parties of the West there is also room for both atheists and theists.

To do this, it will be worthwhile to consider the history of Marxist atheism from its beginning to the present day.

The most famous remark of Karl Marx on the subject, frequently quoted and re-quoted, is the phrase "religion is the opium of the people."

But this quotation alone is misleading. It does not give the emphasis that occurred in the original, and it does not give the context that is vital to understanding it.

PROTEST

What Marx actually said in 1844, in his critique *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, was the following (with the original emphasis):

"Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world; just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people."

"The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness."

Or, as Nkrumah says in *Consciencism* "the kind of contradiction" that occurs "in Christianity" when "we are enjoined to lay up treasures in heaven". It is this

"kind of contradiction and the use to which it might be put in the exploitation of the workers that impelled Marx to criticize religion as an instrument of exploitation, because religion was used to divert the workers' attention from the value which they had created by their labour to 'outside concerns'" (p. 12).

by Pat Sloan

Again, jumping to 1961 in the U.S.S.R. the new Communist Party Programme adopted in that year stated the Party's attitude to religion in these words:

"The Party uses ideological media to educate people in the spirit of a scientific materialist world conception, to overcome religious prejudices without insulting the sentiments of believers. It is necessary to conduct regularly broad atheistic propaganda on a scientific basis, to explain patiently the untenability of religious beliefs, which were engendered in the past when people were overawed by elemental forces and social oppression and did not know the real causes of social phenomena. This can be done by making use of the achievements of modern science, which is steadily solving the mysteries of the universe and extending man's power over nature, leaving no room for religious inventions about supernatural forces".

In this quotation we may safely sum up the atheist essence of Marxism in the U.S.S.R. today. It will be noted, however, that the whole question is to be settled by a long educational process in which, finally, an all-round scientific attitude to both nature and society will prevail.

So far we have emphasised the Marxist criticism of religion. But this is one-sided, for parallel to this criticism there has always been the appreciation of the pos-

sibility of community of interest between Marxist, atheists and Christians.

Take first Marx's closest collaborator, Frederick Engels. Engels, in 1884 and 1885, wrote articles on the *Early History of Christianity* in the German paper, *Die Neue Zeit*. Here he commented:

"The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement. Like the latter, Christianity was originally a movement of oppressed people; it first appeared as the religion of slaves and emancipated slaves, of poor people deprived of all rights, of peoples subjugated or dispersed by Rome. Both Christianity and the workers' socialism preach forthcoming salvation from bondage and misery; Christianity places this salvation in a life beyond, after death, in heaven; socialism places it in this world, in a transformation of society".

In the European Middle Ages, he continues,

"the first risings of the oppressed peasants and particularly of the town plebeians... like all mass movements of the Middle Age... appeared as the restoration of early Christianity from spreading degeneration".

Let us now turn to a period closer to our own time. In Russia, in 1909, Lenin, though a materialist and atheist, wrote as follows on the question of the admission of priests into the Communist Party:

"If a priest comes to co-operate with us in our

work—if he consciously performs party work, and does not oppose the party programme—we can accept him into the ranks of Social-Democracy, for the contradictions between the spirit and principles of our programme and the religious convictions of the priest could, in these circumstances, be regarded as a matter in which he contradicts himself, as one which concerns him alone. A political party cannot examine its members to see if there are any contradictions between their philosophy and the Party programme".

This, then, was Lenin's attitude as expressed in 1909. Moreover, he consistently held that a Socialist State would be atheist, but it would treat religion as a "private matter" so that every citizen could freely practice his worship according to his beliefs.

How then did the antagonism between Marxism and religion receive such world-wide publicity after the Russian Revolution of 1917? The answer lies in practice much more than in theory.

In Russia the main Christian church, the Russian Orthodox, was so closely tied up with the Tsarist state apparatus, it was also such a large landowner, and it sided so openly with the forces of imperialist counter-revolutionary intervention from 1918 to 1922, that the Soviet Government and Communist Party had no choice but to treat the churches in the main as part and parcel of the defunct Tsarist state apparatus.

Concrete measures taken by the Soviets against the churches as organisations of the defunct Tsarist state and as landlords were naturally attacked throughout the imperialist world as actions of "Bolshevik atheism" without any regard being paid to the actual material conditions in which these actions had taken place.

Hence occurred the sharpening of the antagonism between Marxism and religion in the U.S.S.R., a sharpness which by no means necessarily applies to Marxism today in the world as a whole.

For a long period the Vatican was one of the main citadels of anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist propaganda in the world. But in 1961 and 1963 respectively Pope John XXIII issued his famous encyclicals *MATER ET MAGISTRA* and *PACEM IN TERRIS*. In these Encyclicals the Pope spoke out against nuclear war, racialism, and "the enormous wealth, the unbridled luxury, of the privileged few." He also championed the idea of democracy.

And, finally, he advocated the co-operation of Catholics and even non-believers in the cause of the "common good", so that Catholics are provided

"with a vast field in which they can meet and come to an understanding both with Christians... and also with human beings who are not enlightened by faith in Jesus Christ but who are endowed with the light of reason and with a natural and operative honesty." —?

It was only natural that, with this change in the wind blowing from the Vatican, the Italian Communist Party also began to reconsider its approach to Catholics. Now, the "common good" offered a basis for co-operation, despite existing philosophical differences.

In a published letter addressed to Nikita Khrushchov, the leader of the Italian Communists, Palmiro Togliatti, before his death pointed out that

"during the time of Pope John there was an obvious shift to the Left. Today there is a counter-shift to the Right in the centre of Catholicism. But at its lower levels we observe conditions and pressures making for a shift to the Left, which we should appreciate and foster. For this purpose the old atheistic propaganda is of no use. The very problem of religious mentality, its content, its roots in the masses and the problem of overcoming it—all should be approached differently, not as in the past, if we want to reach the Catholic masses and be understood by them. Otherwise our 'extended hand' may be regarded by the Catholics as a temporary device and even a piece of hypocrisy."

Commenting on this letter of Togliatti after his death, in *World Marxist Review* (*Peace, Freedom and Socialism*) of November 1964, Luigi Longo referred to "our Party's striving to overcome the old anti-clericalism" to its "new approach", and continued:

"We consider it a mistake to regard religion as a weapon used by the conservative classes. On the contrary, we believe that sincere religious sentiment can make a valuable contribution to the struggle against the oppression and inhumanity of capitalist society, to the struggle for peace and against war; we believe that Communists and Catholics as well as other democratic forces can get together and co-operate not only to solve today's problems, but also to define and establish the Italian road to socialism and the forms of socialist government stemming from the realities of our life and our traditions."

Bearing in mind that here are the views of the Marxist Party in Italy today, is it really correct to draw a sharp line of distinction between "atheist" Marxism and the "not necessarily atheist" doctrine of Nkrumaism or Consciencism?

Better surely to recognise that Nkrumaism is an application of Marxism or scientific socialism to Africa, that in Africa—unlike Russia—the forces of Christianity, through their Missions, have played a progressive role in the past both in education and health-protection, and are an integral part of the ideology of Africa today however they originally came here. Moreover, that the Moslems religion has stood for independence against imperialism.

And if the late Pope John and the leaders of the Italian Marxists could see the possibility of co-operation for the "common good", surely in Ghana and Africa as a whole, Atheists and Christians, Pagans and Muslims, can also wholeheartedly co-operate for the "common good" as defined by Nkrumaism.

Lenin in 1909 saw the possibility of Christian priests and atheists working together in the Marxist, scientific socialist, Party of Russia.

Pope John and the contemporary leaders of Italian Communism have both expressed belief in the possibility of co-operating, despite philosophical differences, in joint pursuit of a "common good".

In Ghana and Africa today, with its tribal tradition

modified by both Christian and Moslem influences, such co-operation is completely possible under the banner of Nkrumaism, uniting all progressive forces for independence and socialism and against exploitation, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

In conclusion, it should be made clear that within Christianity itself, as within all other religions, there are both progressive and reactionary trends.

In Britain, for example, the recently-retired Dean Canterbury, the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, has publicly been a staunch supporter of the U.S.S.R. ever since 1917. He has said so at many political meetings, and he has preached on this theme many times in Canterbury Cathedral. But, for doing so, he has been despised and rejected by reactionary colleagues who have regarded him disparagingly as "the Red Dean".

But Dean Hewlett Johnson is a Christian. His attitude is simply this: that the state of society created in Russia in 1917, though under an atheist government, is morally much more "Christian" than the "Christian" states of capitalism and imperialism.

Hence judging by their fruits he has embraced the Soviets and rejected the system of capitalism and exploitation.

SHARED VIEW

And any Christian or Moslem or Pagan who adopts such an attitude to socialism has a common platform with Atheists who share the same practical morality, the same political principles.

But there is another type of Christianity that was expressed in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* of the Church of England until 1950, when the offending verse was deleted:

"The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them high or lowly,
And ordered their estate."

This hymn, for children, was an obvious case of indoctrination in favour of exploitation.

Or, again, consider the first statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the H-bomb, as reported in the London press on May 17, 1954:

"The H-bomb can only sweep a vast number of people at one time from this world into the other and more vital world into which, anyhow, they must all pass sometime."

Such was the uproar, among Christians and Free-thinkers alike, that this phrase was never repeated. But its meaning is clear: Don't ban the bomb, it is man's technically most developed mass-transport to Heaven.

If a Christian, like Dean Hewlett Johnson, believes that the "kingdom of heaven on earth" is the main objective, he can co-operate with scientific socialists and accept scientific socialism in all its practical applications.

But if, like the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1950, his religion causes him to place the main stress on "pie in the sky when you die" as an old English secular doggerel puts it, his life on earth is liable to serve the aims of reaction.

In the world today scientific socialism and Nkrumaism provide a common programme for all, whatever their beliefs concerning the supernatural, so long as they give priority to striving for the common good—on earth.

CONSCIENCISM ON RELIGION

NEARLY all who consider the question of the permanence of the world in a foundation of a permanent cause which they identify with God. In this way, they hope that the universe will duly be protected. But all postulate something as abiding throughout the extent of time, be it the universe itself, cycles of it, or God.

Indeed, the reluctance to conceive time as empty of all content is another manifestation of the desire for permanence. For the historical process is here accepted as an everlasting one, in order that time should not be disembowelled. In this way, permanence is secured.

SIGNIFICANCE

Beyond mere formal dialectics, however, one significance of the cosmic contrast of the "inside" and "outside" of the world is that it implies an acknowledgement that there is a conversion of a process which commences "outside" the world into the world and its contents.

It is therefore hardly surprising that in the Christian Bible precisely this is held. There, God is first converted to Adam through his living breath, and second to Jesus Christ through a mystic incarnation. Appropriately, therefore, Christianity holds that we have our being in God in whom we live.

But especially when this conversion is thought to be reversible, a definite contradiction is created in society, the contradiction between

and interests outside the world.

This kind of contradiction is made articulate in religion; in Christianity, for example we are enjoined to lay up treasures in heaven where moths do not corrupt. We are also assured by St. Augustine that though we are in the world, we are not of it; being wayfares...

MARX

It is the recognition of this kind of contradiction and the use to which it might be put in the exploitation of the workers that impelled Marx to criticize religion as an instrument of exploitation, because religion was used to divert the workers' attention from the value which they had created by their labour to "outside" concerns.

Many African societies in fact forestalled this kind of perversion. The dialectical contradiction between "inside" and "outside" was reduced by making the visible world continuous with the invisible world. For them heaven was not outside the world but inside it.

These African societies did not accept transcendentalism, and may indeed be regarded as having attempted to synthesize the dialectical opposites "outside" and "inside" by making them continuous, that is, by abolishing them. In present-day Africa, however, a recognition of the dialectical contradiction between "inside" and "outside" has a great deal to contribute to the process of decolonization and development, for it helps us to anticipate colonialist and imperialist devices for furthering ex-

ploitation by diverting our energies from secular concerns.

The recognition of the dialectical opposition is universally necessary. Religion is an instrument of bourgeois social reaction. But its social use is not always confined to colonialists and imperialists. Its success in their hands can exercise a certain fascination on the minds of Africans who begin by being revolutionary, but are bewitched by any passing opportunist chance to use religion to make political gains.

Seizing the slightest of these chances, they in fact take two steps backward for the one step forward in order to enjoy a transitory consolidation based on a common religious belief and practice. This idiosyncratic tactic can only create more problems than it promises to solve. For certain, it will check the advancing social consciousness of the people.

IN LONG RUN

Besides, in the long run a dialectical opposition between church and state will be re-created through what begins by being a tactical move becoming entrenched. This idiosyncratic tactic actively encourages religious forms and practices, as well as a religious ideology.

When the relative political consolidation aimed at is achieved, the tactic is dropped, but the religious revivalism which it has fomented and exploited cannot be so easily checked. It is essential to emphasize in the historical condition of Africa that the state must be secular.

Insistence on the secular

nature of the state is not to be interpreted as a political declaration of war on religion for religion is also a social fact, and must be understood before it can be tackled. To declare a political war on religion is to treat it as an ideal phenomenon, to suppose that it might be wished away, or at the worst scared out of existence.

STARTING POINT

The indispensable starting point is to appreciate the sociological connection between religious belief and practice on the one hand, and poverty on the other.

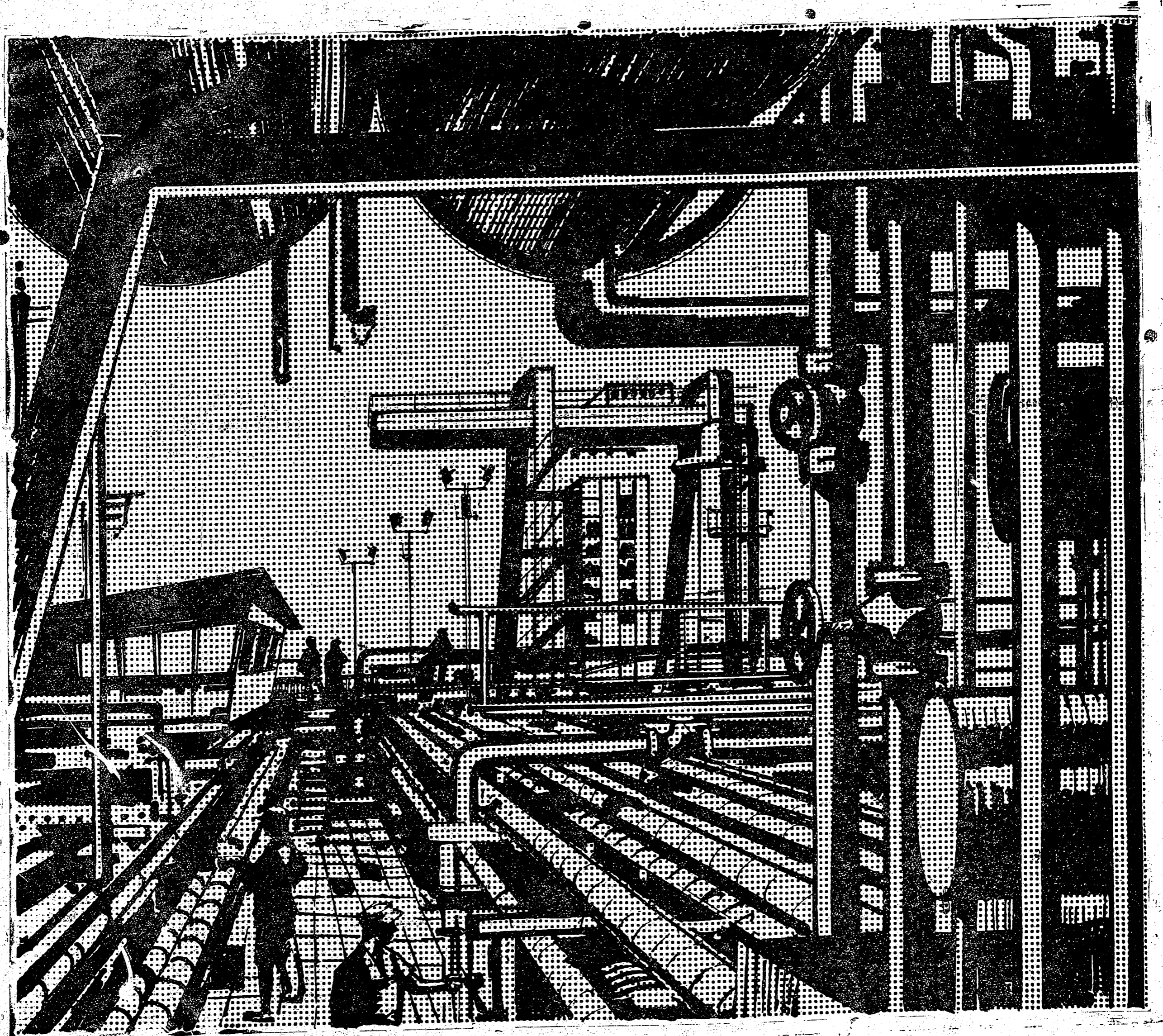
People who are most aggressively religious are the poorer people; for, in accordance with the Marxist analysis, religion is social, and contemporary religious forms and practices have their main root in the social depression of workers. Quick confirmation can be found in Africa, Asia, Latin America and among the people of African descent in America and the Caribbean.

Terrifying pauperism, arising from the pre-technical nature of most contemporary societies, combined with the encroachments of world capitalism, a combination which can mete out prostitution, destruction, ruin and death from a starvation and exploitation to its victims, quickly reinforces the religious feeling.

Fear created the gods, and fear preserves them: fear in bygone ages of wars, pestilences, earthquakes and nature gone berserk, fear of "acts of God"; fear today of the equally blind forces of backwardness and rapacious capital.

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KWAME NKURUMAH'S SOCIAL-POLITICAL CONSCIENCE

—A New Appraisal (1)

"What is called for as a first step is a body of connected thought which will determine the general nature of our action in unifying the society which we have inherited, this unification to take account, at all times, of the elevated ideals underlying the traditional African society. 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. Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people. It is from those conditions that the intellectual content of our philosophy must be created. The emancipation of the African continent is the emancipation of man. This requires two aims: first, the restitution of the egalitarianism of human society, and second, the logistic mobilisation of all our resources towards the attainment of that restitution" (*Consciencism*, p. 78)

YOU will forgive the length of this quotation from Kwame Nkrumah's book. It is, however, useful in pointing up Kwame Nkrumah's purposes and aims. Kwame Nkrumah holds that the general legacy of the loss of independence is a shattered and fragmented society, a society dislocated around its original axis.

Against this background, independence must be given a therapeutic role. Independence must be made the occasion for a social revolution, for such a revolution will be required in order that the harmony and development of a once colonised society be restored.

BE RATIONAL

The revolution, Kwame Nkrumah holds, must not merely happen to the society, but must be rational; that is to say, it must be the practical concomitant of an intellectual revolution, the concomitant of a progressive philosophy which is, as it were, its intellectual map.

Kwame Nkrumah's aim is therefore twofold. Firstly, to devise a philosophy authentic in the sense not merely that it is relevant to our purposes, but in the sense that it finds its weapons in our environment and living conditions, in the sense that it takes its start from the present content of our conscience; a philosophy which shall be ideological in the sense not merely that it yields a reflection of our society or is a theory of our society, but in the sense that it offers a practical guide whereby we can develop and at the same time preserve our autonomy.

Secondly, his aim is to develop the strategy for the redemption of a once-colonised society.

Kwame Nkrumah has often been described as a "pragmatist". If he is, it is of the utmost consequence to determine the sense in which he is one. He is certainly no pragmatist in any mindless way, for he holds that practice without thought is blind. At the same time, however, he holds the view that thought without practice is empty.

But he certainly thinks that the former is the more dangerous.

To make this point, he draws attention to the fact of evolution, he writes:

"In the way that the process of natural evolution can be aided by human intervention based upon knowledge, so social evolution can be helped along by political intervention based upon the laws of social development. Political action aimed at speeding up social evolution is of the nature of a catalyst.

"The need for such a catalyst is created by the fact that natural evolution is always wasteful. It takes place at the cost of massive loss of life and at the cost of extreme anguish. Evolution speeded by scientific knowledge is prompter, and represents an economy of material. In the same way, the catalysis which political action introduces into social evolution represents an economy of time, life and talent" (*Consciencism* p.104).

In this quotation, we see Kwame Nkrumah's fundamental reason for his habitual insistence on the primacy of political action. Politics for him is, as it were, the cybernetics of social progress.

In the same quotation, we also get a glimpse into the basis of his rejection of gradualism, evolutionism, naturalism, automatism or what you will in political and social development, for all of these in varying degrees entrust progress merely to time.

But time by itself achieves nothing. It is the conviction of Kwame Nkrumah that human society must be responsible for its own development, and take its problems actively into its own hands; unless it clarifies to itself where it is going and how it is going to get there,

it might not get anywhere, at all.

One is reminded of the words of another famous Ghanaian leader J. E. Casely Hayford, who, addressing the West African Congress at its third sitting, said in 1925:

"Hitherto, the practice has been for the European to make use of the African to get there. We must change that. The African must in future make it a point to get there himself."

It is clear therefore that if Kwame Nkrumah is indeed a pragmatist, he is one only to the extent that he accepts the determining power of concrete circumstances. Kwame Nkrumah's pragmatism does not entail an abandonment of principle or thought. It is simply that which prevents dogmatism, that is to say, that which prevents an abandonment of the true interests and welfare of the people in favour of a jejune idealism.

PRINCIPLES

Dogmatism is of course connected with the pretence that thinking ends at the level of principle, that once one has been seized of principles, that is all that one needs to know.

But principles do not themselves declare how they are to be applied. A man who has barely enough comprehension to grasp a principle must be ineffectual. Any principle, any law, any rule, can be wrongly and incorrectly applied, and it is up to those who act like men of thought and think like men of action to test their principles against the facts in order that they can become a guide to action.

Principles cannot themselves declare every possible situation to which they are relevant, for the same principle can be, and is, rele-

vant to situations which are as between one and another incompatible. The possession of principle does not make further judgement unnecessary.

Indeed, judgement begins with the possession of principle. This is why pragmatism, in the sense of realism and a disposition to be objective and face facts of the situation is a prerequisite of the valid and beneficial application of principle.

Given, then, that Kwame Nkrumah is pragmatist in his social political action, what is the philosophy which guides this action?

Kwame Nkrumah is convinced that philosophy is a social phenomenon and is never external and unrelated to its contemporary social milieu. This is to say that philosophy always implies either explicitly or implicitly a social contention.

Social contention can be related to the given social milieu in either of two ways. It may tend to oppose it or it may tend to confirm it. Kwame Nkrumah is naturally aware that this is not the way in which it is customary to present philosophy.

ACADEMIC

Social or political philosophy, it is true, will always tend to contain a social contention, but it is not normal to present theory of knowledge, metaphysics, or sometimes even ethics, as containing any social contention whatever.

This non-social presentation of philosophy Kwame Nkrumah refers to as the academic treatment. This, he says, is

"the result of an attitude to philosophical systems as though there was nothing to them but statements standing in logical relation to one another". What this means is that

the conclusions and the purpose of philosophical utterance are in this treatment made of less significance than the logically connections between the sentences of the utterance and their logical connections with other propositions admitted to be true.

A whole philosophy can, through being treated like this, be made to hang in thin air, possessing no connection with anything concrete or consequential. Philosophy thus becomes a kind of parlour-game, a mere intellectual jousting, an interplay of common room subtleties.

TWO POSSIBILITIES

This "academic" conception of philosophy offers two possibilities of exposition. There is the plain historical method in which one moves from philosopher to philosopher.

This method is excessively laborious, repetitious and devoid of much profit.

There is also the conceptual method by which one identifies the basic questions in a particular history of philosophy, and follows these questions through the characteristic treatment accorded to them by academic philosophy. Kwame Nkrumah pursues the second method.

The basic questions in the history of Western philosophy are identified by Kwame Nkrumah as "what there is" and "what account one might give of what there is".

If these are the basic questions of philosophy, then the answer to them must already pre-determine the character of the whole of a man's philosophy. Indeed, Kwame Nkrumah himself attempts to show how his own answers to the two questions determine the character of his ethical, political, and epistemological positions.

He classifies answers to

the first question according to their treatment of matter. Those which accord to matter an absolute and independent existence, he groups together as materialist. Contrasted with these are those that he groups together as idealist. His own philosophy falls in the former category.

He describes idealism as any philosophy to which is crucial the idea that matter has a dependent existence. Of course, it is sometimes said that the idea of a dependent existence is an incoherent one, that something either exists or does not exist, and that that is all there is to the matter.

Of course we know that that is not all. David Hume has, it is true, given edge to this opposition to the notion of a dependent existence, for it was he who pointed out that given the existence of any object whatever, the existence or non-existence of other object whatever can thereby be implied.

There can, of course, be easy misunderstandings of Hume's position. One may feel, for example, that given any pair of correlative terms, every situation in which one can be affirmed is also a situation in which the other is involved; for example, wife and husband are such correlative terms.

OBJECTION?

Admitting that a widow is not a wife nor a widower a husband, then there cannot exist wives without husbands; that is, given that human beings exist who are wives, it follows that human beings exist who are husbands.

While this is so, to urge it against Hume's position as an objection would be to betray a simple misunderstanding. Thus, woman who is a wife is first a woman, and becomes a wife only by acquiring certain relations with another human being.

And the fact that that particular woman exists does not imply that that particular man exists.

One may feel like changing the example somewhat. A child does not of course first exist in the world as a human being and then acquire relations with a couple which make it their child. The existence of the child as a human being and its existence as a child are not separable in this way.

The greater plausibility of this as an intended objection, assuming that there are no orphans, arises from the conjunction of the origin of the object with the relation which it has with another object.

This also explains why the dependent existence here is not symmetrical, for according to this objection the child has an existence dependent on its parents.

IDEALISM

What it is intended to say by this is not that the child would not be a child unless the parents were parents, though this is true enough.

But then it is equally true that the parents would not be parents unless the child was a child. What is intended is rather that while the couple who are the parents would exist and be the same couple, even if they were childless, the person who is the child would as far as we know not exist and be the same child if the couple did not exist.

Hence the existence of the person who is the child depends on the existence of the couple who are its parents, but not vice versa.

Now this possibility of dependent existence is adequate for a minimum idealism. Minimum idealism will then, according to Kwame Nkrumah, assert that there is something not itself matter and without which there could be no matter, not vice versa.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

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The Role of the Church

Continued from page 4

dation. The same Church bodies which at one time were trying to resist what they considered to be Government interference in their activities are today calling on the Government to come to their assistance and even to take over some of their schools.

The accelerated educational programme of the Government has already begun to bear abundant fruit everywhere. Today there is no village or hamlet in Ghana which has no school of its own or which has not the opportunity of sending its children to the many colleges and other institutions of higher learning that have been established all over the country.

Similarly, health and other social services are rapidly being established all over the country for the benefit of all the country.

Rev. Chairman, Rev. Ministers, brethren, having now known much about the position of a Socialist Ghana with the Christian Churches, the Party's aims and objectives, what then should be the role of the present Christian Churches in the transformation of our country into a socialist one?

I would say at once that your paramount role is to help in the dissemination of the ethical concepts and values on which our national ideology is based.

By spreading this set of moral values you could make an invaluable contribution by uniting all sections of our community into one solid fold of happy and determined men and women in this economic emancipation.

Missionaries of the colonial era, being loyal to the Queens and Kings of their respective states used the pulpit to disseminate such ideology to the people in order to enhance the exploitation of our country. The schools, mostly mission

pose by means of textbooks, recitations and songs in the spreading of capitalist ideology.

True religion, and the Church which is an instrument of religion, can never remain neutral in the struggle for the emancipation of man. The justification of religion lies in its reinforcement of man's effort to achieve material and moral upliftment in society.

We therefore expect the Christian Church in this country to join actively in the crusade for the national reconstruction of Ghana, because the national reconstruction of Ghana set the stage for the material and moral upliftment for the people of Ghana and Africa.

As a Christian myself, I want to assure you that we have all been brought up to respect the basic theological principle: "To render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's". The history of Christianity throughout the ages has borne meaningful testimony to the wisdom of this principle.

The Church, by its historic tradition and mission, ministers to the spiritual needs of our people. This is so, because "Man cannot live by bread alone".

The Church should also realize more than ever before that by helping to improve the physical and social well-being of the people, it is at the same time helping to make them more receptive to the teachings of the Bible and of Christ's.

The Government programme is directed not only towards obtaining social justice for all. It is also directed towards raising the moral and spiritual fibre of the people.

This should be a beacon light to the Church and an encouragement to its leaders not only in its attack on moral evils in the society but also in formulating constructive plans aimed at removing these moral evils such as bribery and corrup-

tion, falsehood and stealing. The freedom of the Church and of Worship is a basic law guaranteed under our Constitution, and this is a vital principle which the government, as One-Party State, is forever dedicated to uphold.

My message, therefore, to you today is that the Church and the State are one indivisible instrument each playing their integrated part constructively not only in the service of all our peoples but also for their overall and total welfare.

I venture to state that history will judge the Christian Church in Ghana in the light of its contribution to this national awakening and reconstruction.

We can also help by answering the clarion call of

Kwame Nkrumah, the architect of our nation to rally behind the great and dynamic Convention People's Party, the National Party, which according to our Constitution is "the leading core of all organisations of the peoples in the great crusade of national reconstruction."

Our Party is the people's Party; in short, the Party is the people and the people are the Party. Osagyefo has said in *Consciencism* that the people are the reality of national greatness.

The Christian Church with its great number of membership can join this fold to undertake the great task ahead of us to eradicate poverty, disease, avarice and greed from our society and create a new so-

ciety devoid of class struggle and in which according to the Christian doctrine also, each man shall be his brother's keeper.

As I have said earlier both the State and the Church by their respective apparatuses are as much concerned with the physical and social life of the individual as they are with his moral and spiritual well-being.

The Church should be bold enough to expose any moral laxity wherever it may be found, both at home and abroad. What the State is trying to do today should constitute a challenge to the Church to come out more boldly than ever before in its co-operation with the Government and thus help

to improve the lot of the millions of the inhabitants of this country.

By praying for the success of Kwame Nkrumah and

the administration of his Government the Church will in effect be praying for the promotion of God's work in Ghana.

Comments, Please

We invite contributions from our readers on the important issues raised in the speech by Mr. Dowuna-Hammond and the article by Pat Sloan. In order to ensure the widest participation, readers are asked to limit their contributions to not more than 500 words. They should be addressed to:

THE EDITOR,
The Spark
P.O. Box M. 171,
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YOUTH IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Continued from page 3

countries for vital projects that they might not otherwise have got.

The rapid transformation of the economy of the developing countries and the creation of a highly industrialised modern state cannot be achieved through private enterprise.

Most African leaders realise this and anyone who studies the experience of Latin America will be aware that the attempt to take the capitalist path in the developing countries simply brings them back into the sphere of imperialism so that they remain economically dependent on the already highly developed capitalist countries.

It is for this reason that there is such a strong desire both among leaders and people in Africa for socialism although there are often very confused ideas of what socialism is.

However, there is increasing understanding that in contrast to capitalism, is a system in which the

means of production and distribution are publicly owned and production is planned in order to meet the needs of the people and not to make profit for some individual or private company.

Such a system can only be developed if the working class, in alliance with the working farmers and small traders, with the help of socialist-minded and devoted members of the intelligentsia, are in control of the state.

The emerging capitalist class will not take the initiative in adopting a path which will ultimately lead to their elimination although, as socialist economic forms grow, many, especially in the developing countries, will agree to participate in them.

The adoption of a socialist aim does not mean that everything is nationalised immediately or that there is no role for private enterprises, both home and foreign-owned, in the developing countries. On the contrary. A socialist economy

cannot be created overnight. Again it is heartening to visit the new clinics, health centres and hospitals but many more are needed and many thousands of new doctors have to be trained.

When I was in the Soviet Union last year, I found they had as many doctors in one health resort on the Black Sea as in the whole of Nigeria when she became independent.

Housing is another question that has to be tackled energetically. It is, by the way, a burning issue in Britain as well as in the emerging countries.

Roads, railways, public transport, bridges, airports and airlines, sources of power, dams and hydro-electric generating stations—all these have to be constructed as quickly as possible after independence, so that the economy of the country and the standard of living of the people can be improved.

None of these problems can be tackled without difficulties, without immense effort, without planning and without rallying the support of the mass of the people to assist the governments and the local authorities to tackle them.

In some of these countries, self-help and mutual aid schemes provide the means for building clinics, health centres and new schools, with the Government providing the materials and the people the voluntary labour.

In all these developments, it is obvious that the youth have a major part to play and the most to gain from the improvements as they still have the major part of their lives to live and their future is determined by their country's future.

Young and progressive people in the developing countries have in many cases to uncover and rediscover their cultural heritage, after it has been, to a large extent, distorted or overlaid by "Western Civilisation".

No one can yet estimate, in my view, all the cultural wealth that may be brought to light in African society during the life of the present and next few generations.

If Africa can largely miss the feudal and capitalist stages of human society by developing independent national democracies, which open up the road to socialism, this process will be assisted by the existence of some features which have remained in Africa from the period of Primitive Communism, before classes in society had developed.

Of course some parts of Africa are already feudal

and of course, certain amount of capitalism has already developed and will grow but, in my view, Africa should do everything possible to get rid of feudalism and should strictly limit the development of capitalist methods of production and capitalist relations in society.

One of the features which will be valuable in Africa's transition to socialism is the absence of the private ownership of land in many areas, although this is now developing especially in some African countries. Another is the tradition of mutual help in cultivating the land and in other tasks.

WOMEN

With regard to marriage and the position of women, there are some positive and some negative features. I have heard African women leaders say: "In colonial days, we women were slaves to slaves". Despite the magnificent part women have played in the struggle for independence, is there not still much to be done to overcome the inferior status which has been imposed on them? (That, of course, is still true here and in capitalist society in general, despite generations of struggle for women's rights.)

For generations, the slave traders and colonialists and now today the neo-colonialists, have conducted their battle of ideas.

Soon after the beginning of African colonisation, the discovery of America and the trans-Pacific sea route to India, a Spaniard, Juan Gines de Sopolvada, in an effort to justify slavery, spoke of the natural perversity and inferiority of the American Indians and asserted that they were irrational beings and "as different from Spaniards as cruelty from kindness and as monkeys are from men." (1550). The language of the colonialists, and supporters of Apartheid has changed, remarkably little in four centuries.

Young Africans have to be alert to expose the racial myths peddled by the colonialism. There is no scientific basis for equating pigment of the skin with any particular human characteristic—intelligence or lack of it—mechanical or artistic ability or anything else.

There is one human race and the differences between racial groups is less than the differences between individuals within the various racial groupings.

There are other ideas that serve the interests of colonialists and neo-colonialists which are equally harmful. Some of these are: "That human nature can never be changed; that socialism sti-

fler initiative; that capitalism will always exist; that Communism is the root of all evil; that it is necessary for the developing countries to stand together with the 'Western World' to stem the advance of Communism; that a one-party system can never be democratic."

The changes which we are considering can only be carried through with the fullest participation of the people. Such participation will only take place if there is democracy and the most varied organisations of the people.

I have been heartened in West African countries in witnessing the lively political interest expressed in argument, controversy and debate. I gained tremendously from meeting representatives of the trade unions, the women's organisations, the youth organisations and the rapidly developing co-operative organisations.

Most important of all, of course, if African countries are to free themselves from the heritage of colonialism, avoid the web of neo-colonialism, develop a balanced agriculture and industrial production planned and geared to meet the needs of her people, political organisations are needed to unite all those who share these aims.

PARTY NEEDED

More than this, to avoid the capitalist road, and enter on the road to an independent democracy, thus laying the basis for the advance to socialism, a special kind of political organisation is needed. A political party armed with the theory and outlook of scientific socialism, able to inspire and lead the mass of the people to take this road is necessary. Socialism cannot be achieved without such a party.

In many African countries, one great united party led the struggle for independence and is leading the people in tackling the problems after independence. In some cases, those with an understanding of scientific socialism are playing a leading role in these parties and they are in process of becoming mass parties based on these ideas.

In some other countries, such united mass democratic organisations do not exist and middle class and capitalist elements are in control of the parties running the states. In such countries, those who reject the capitalist path and want to open the road to socialism, need parties bringing together all those who share their aims.

America's School

Continued from page 1

while according to a recent *U.S. News & World Report*, "one study recommended that U.S. forces be used to start—or at least assist—revolutions behind the Iron Curtain".

Officers from every West European country (including France, Spain and Salazar's Portugal) have attended the Special Warfare School. So, too, have officers from many African countries, including Verwoerd's apartheid republic and also some West African countries.

The role they are expected to play on their return home has been made clear by *U.S. News & World Report*, which reported the remark of a Pentagon officer to the effect that:

"Time after time, we've been able to stop Communist plots because some foreign officer, trained by us, spotted trouble and told us about it."

Only at one point does the brochure show even a glimmer of understanding that all the weapons, the expensive training and equipment, the printing presses and the loudspeakers for propaganda might not be enough:

"... suppressive actions alone will not eliminate an insurgent movement. Rather, any programme for countering an insurgency must be coupled with positive efforts to remove the basic causes of

discontent and to facilitate social and economic progress through peaceful means. Finally, the absolute necessity for popular support is shown."

But "popular support" is one thing the American special warfare experts cannot win, because they cannot offer a programme which will "remove the basic causes of discontent" and "facilitate social and economic progress through peaceful means."

They cannot do so because they support imperialism and neo-colonialism, and it is imperialism and neo-colonialism which are the "basic causes" which must be eliminated if there is to be social and economic progress.

They cannot do so because they support precisely those elements in each country which have blocked social and economic progress, and which have made progress through peaceful means impossible.

That is why the Bay of Pigs operation failed—and President Kennedy's "how could I ever have been so stupid?" suggests that even he, a scion of one of America's biggest Big Business families, came at least dimly to realise why.

That is why, despite all the Fort Bragg training, the U.S. "special warfare" experts cannot win—but they can cause grievous damage and suffering, as the world is witnessing in Vietnam.

III. Youth and Society

TODAY in the developing countries, there are very great opportunities for young people to make revolutionary changes in the social life of these countries.

Students who have studied abroad and go back with academic qualifications have a great deal of influence. They are faced with what is sometimes a difficult and painful personal choice.

On the one hand, they can step into the shoes of the colonialists and adopt their mode of living. This means that they will enjoy a standard of life far above that of the ordinary African.

It may even mean that the gulf between them and the African worker or subsistence farmer may be almost as great as it was in former days between the colonialist and the ordinary African.

On the other hand, they can dedicate themselves to the struggle with and on behalf of the people to create a new society in which all the people will have equal educational opportunity, in which health and other services will be available to all and above all, a society in which poverty will be abolished and diseases like kwashiorkor will no longer take their terrible toll of the children of today and of generations yet unborn.

This means they have to find the way of getting rid

of all the marks of the former colonial and backward, oppressive regimes and create a better life not just for themselves and their families, but for the whole people.

Here are some of the issues, and problems to which young people will turn their attention in order to bring about the changes that are so urgently needed.

NEW SCHOOLS

The colonial governments left the newly independent countries with completely inadequate social services. As soon even as internal self-government has been achieved the governments of the emerging countries have set to work to tackle this question.

It is most inspiring when travelling through the countryside in Nigeria and Ghana, to see the number of new schools. It is splendid to read of the new universities that are being established. In some ex-colonial territories more progress in education has been made in ten years than in 50 years of colonial rule.

However there is still a long way to go. Illiteracy has to be wiped out and primary and secondary education made available to all children, together with the training of thousands of new experts, technicians and specialists in all fields.

There is a crying need for better health services.