

THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL

THE CHOICE

IN his opening address to the O.A.U. Summit Conference yesterday, Kwame Nkrumah placed the issue squarely:

"We can either move forward to progress through an effective African Union or step backward into stagnation, instability and confusion—an easy prey for foreign intervention, interferences and subversion."

The resolutions and declarations adopted by the Summit, by the Council of Ministers and by the various Commissions of the O.A.U. will remain no more than words on paper unless an effective political machinery is devised to implement them, he declared.

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He re-affirmed his conviction that Union Government is a necessity for Africa:

"The growing perils in Africa and on the international scene, the growing strictures on world trade, the growing impoverishment of our primary producers, the persistent border disputes in Africa, the increasing instability caused by interferences and subversive activities, the continued defiance and insolence of the racist minority regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—all these urge me to continue our pursuit for the political unification of Africa."

In the interests of the widest possible agreement and to achieve as much unity as is possible now, Kwame Nkrumah proposed the creation of a permanently-functioning O.A.U. Executive Council under a Chairman appointed from among themselves by the Heads of State and Government.

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This proposal for the establishment of a body which will give common political direction to the struggle for the complete liberation of Africa constitutes the essential next step forward.

Its rejection would mean the degeneration of the O.A.U. into at least an impotent talking shop at worst a cloak for the penetration of neo-colonialist influences.

Especially timely was his reminder that we in Africa are an integral part of humanity involved in all conflicts, perils, strivings and hopes of the human race all over the world.

"We cannot ignore the fact that the same imperialist forces which exploit and subvert our independent states, and which exploit and oppress our peoples in the remaining colonial enclaves of Africa are the very same forces which breed armed conflicts, civil strife and economic impoverishment on other continents."

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It was in this spirit of solidarity that he called for efforts to find a way to end the war in Vietnam and the conflict over Kashmir, and to call a halt to the current wave of aggression and conflict that threatens the peace of the world.

He called for the establishment of an atom-free zone, a ban on nuclear weapons and the destruction of nuclear stock-piles wherever they may be.

His speech was an eloquent plea for an Africa united, free and advancing along the road to prosperity in a world at peace.

Kwame Nkrumah's Summit address

'So the Battle is Joined'



NO honour is greater for me personally and for the Government and people of Ghana than that we should have the privilege of extending to you, distinguished and eminent sons of Africa, our humble hospitality and sincere welcome.

I am particularly happy that I should have lived long enough to witness with you here the historic and momentous spectacle of this great assembly of the leaders and representatives of the Independent States of Africa.

WELCOME

Let me take this opportunity to welcome into our midst Brother Dawda Jawara, Prime Minister of the Gambia, who takes his seat among us for the first time. Gambia's accession to independence is of great significance to us because her independence closes the chapter of British and French colonialism in this part of our Continent.

OUR STRUGGLES

We are glad to recall today memories of our struggles for independence; our prophetic imaginings of a new Africa emancipated from colonial chains, standing united and ready to play its historic role in world affairs. The dreams of generations are being steadily realised and fulfilled in many ways.

Today, we raise our voices above the earth and to the world, not as the oppressed and down-trodden of mankind, but with the reborn dignity and strength of a peo-

ple confident in themselves and certain of their future.

It is in this spirit and with humility but with a sense of pride in our destiny that I stand before you to offer you, distinguished compatriots, a truly welcome to Ghana.

called Portuguese and Spanish possessions in Africa whose mounting struggle for freedom and independence is also our struggle.

Every minute, every moment, that passes sees the intensification of this struggle. Our Freedom Fighters refuse to bend their knees to colonial oppression.

We salute them. Allow me to assure them in your name, that we stand by them; their struggle is our struggle, and we are determined that they shall soon come to share with us the benefits of freedom and independence, and the responsibilities of managing their own affairs in a united Africa.

The liberation of the whole of our continent, and the restoration of freedom and dignity to those of our brothers who are still under the colonial yoke remain our most important and immediate tasks, but we cannot forget that we are an integral part of humanity involved in all conflicts, perils, strivings and hopes of the human race all over the globe.

SAME FORCES

We cannot ignore the fact that the same imperialist forces which exploit and subvert our independent states, and which exploit and oppress our peoples in the remaining colonial enclaves of Africa, are the very same forces which breed armed conflicts, civil strife and economic impoverishment on other continents.

It would be folly for us to dream of Africa as a peaceful and thriving continent in the midst of a world convulsed by armed conflicts, tormented by hunger and disease and continually menaced by imperialist intrigue and aggression.

The armed conflict in Vietnam presents a grave peril to world peace. We must find a way to end that conflict permanently, if the world is to live in peace. In the same way, we must find the means to end the conflict over Kashmir permanently.

We in Africa believe that the unhappy conflict between India and Pakistan can be of benefit to nobody except the imperialists, the colonialists and the neo-colonialists.

We must also find a way of putting an end to the current wave of aggression and armed conflicts which are today threatening the peace of the world and causing so much suffering.

ATOM-FREE

We in Africa therefore demand the establishment of an Atom-Free Zone; we demand the ultimate destruction of nuclear stock-piles wherever they may be and the banning of their manufacture.

On these and other issues we expect the world to respect our point of view, our stand, our heritage and our freedom and independence.

Brothers and Colleagues, we are enjoined by the Charter of the O.A.U. to harness the material and human resources of our great and ancient continent for the well-being of all our people. From the experience of the last two years, are we sure that the Charter as it stands at present contains adequate provisions to enable us to achieve this?

The people of Africa are waiting in anxious expectation for a concrete and constructive programme which will assist them to realise their hopes and aspirations. They know their suffer-

ing; they know how heavy is their burden and we must know too that if we fail there—woe betide us!

It is true that all of us here are dedicated to the progress of Africa, and that we are determined to forge stronger bonds of unity in the interests of the welfare and happiness of the African people as a whole.

ON PAPER

It is also true that a number of resolutions and declarations have been made and adopted, not only by our Summit Conference, but also by the Council of Ministers and by the various Commissions of the O.A.U.

It is proper that we should have made and adopted these resolutions in the interests of African Unity, but unless an effective political machinery is devised, to implement these resolutions, they remain no more than words on paper.

In spite of these resolutions and declarations, in spite of all intentions, in spite of our plans, the naked fact, alas, is that Africa is still an impoverished continent, immobilised by the lack of political cohesion, harassed by imperialism and ransacked by neo-colonialism.

That is so because our unity is still incomplete and ineffective in the face of grave threats to our very existence.

What use is it to us then that our continent is so rich in material and human resources? Brothers and Colleagues, the fault is in ourselves, not in our stars.

As I speak to you now this situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a grave threat to the peace of Africa.

Continued on page 3

WOMEN AND WELFARE IN GHANA

by Mrs. Susan Al-Hassan

(Minister of Social Welfare)

THE Ghana Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development dates its origin to 1963 when the Secretary for Social Services within the Central Government of that time was appointed to co-ordinate all the welfare activities sponsored by it.

Since that year there has been a Department responsible for Social Welfare and Community Development which has gone through various changes in structure and scope.

It now has professionally trained social workers working in the fields of casework, groupwork, community organisation, including community development.

It has also focussed a great deal of attention on the special needs of the physically disabled and handicapped persons; these are trained and inspired to feel able and to be accepted as ordinary citizens of the community, and who, together with their more fortunate countrymen, will give their services towards the general development of Ghana.

The main objective of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development is to enable people to adjust themselves to their ever-changing circumstances, face confidently their problems of adjustment, and be able to recognise the opportunities available

to them by which, in their personal individual lives and in their communal social relationships, they can live as fully as practicable.

The Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development is divided into three programme Departments. They are the Departments of Welfare, Community Development, and the Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped.

gated, every effort is made to encourage voluntary agencies and individuals to offer their free services in order to achieve the social goals to which this Ministry directs its attention.

In the Welfare Department, for example, there are the various voluntary organisations dealing with the children below school age, and those who are given the opportunity to offer their services as lay magistrates in the juvenile courts and also serve on probation committees.

Then there are those who

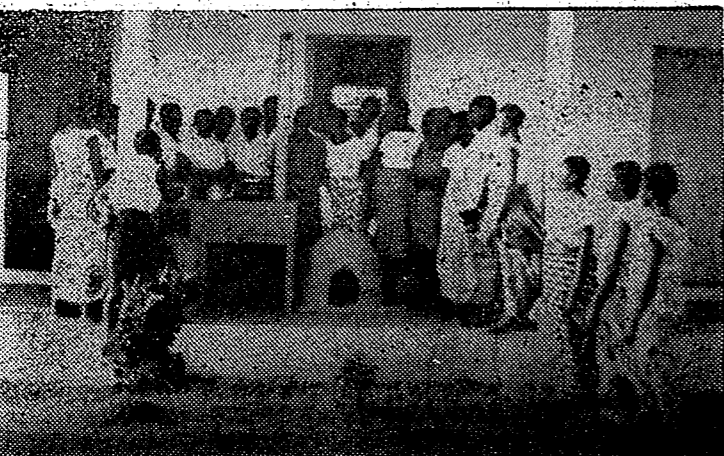
classes for women and its extension services which support the work of voluntary and other statutory agencies.

This Department links up with Village Development Committees in their efforts to achieve social and economic improvements for the bulk of Ghana's population.

The Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped Department similarly requires the services of volunteers in its work of inspiring confidence in the blind, the crippled, the deaf and



Helping Our Women Lead A Fuller Life



SERVICE

These are supported by the four other divisions within the Ministry which offer common services. The common services may be classified under:

(a) the *Technical Section*, which deals with various forms of artisans, craftsmen, and skilled workmen required for construction work, and artisans trained in institutions under Welfare, Community Development, and Rehabilitation Departments;

(b) *Recruitment and Training Section*, which is concerned with the professional training of the staff of the Ministry and such investigations and social studies as are required to evaluate the activities of the professional services in the Ministry and also indicate trends as to how the services of the Ministry may be further developed;

(c) *The Administration*, which is concerned with more routine matters about staff, appointments, promotions, and other administrative matters incident on the running of the Ministry;

(d) *The Accounts and Stores Section*, which as the name suggests, is concerned with payments of wages and salaries and the purchases and storage of the resources required for the services of the Ministry.

It will be apparent from what has been said so far that, within the Central Government framework, an important place has been given to the administration of the Social Welfare Service.

The need for this is realised on a countrywide basis and there is machinery for inter-Ministerial and inter-Regional relationships to ensure that the programme of activities for this Ministry, serving as it does the whole of the community of Ghana, has widespread operation throughout the country.

SOCIAL GOAL

For the purposes of administration, therefore, the staff establishment of the Ministry which runs into a total of 2,751 is distributed in all the nine Regions of Ghana in addition to Headquarters staff who work directly with the Minister.

One of the most important features of the work of the Ministry, and to which a great deal of attention is given, is the emphasis on voluntary participation.

As a matter of fact, while many of the services run by officers of the Ministry have some statutory basis, and therefore may not be dele-

THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING... (5)

combine their efforts to organise fund-raising campaigns for the Ghana community chest known as the Kwame Nkrumah Trust Fund so that some of the various voluntary agencies which require public support financially do not have to expend their energy in this all-important function of raising funds.

REHABILITATION

The Community Development Department, by far the most well-known of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community in Ghana and abroad, rests on the voluntary support of the whole community in its literacy, rural improvement projects, home making

dumb, and training these to earn their own living and to feel and become effective contributors to Ghana's development.

It is held as axiomatic that volunteer participation in social work is essential for the full identification of the people in the Party's programme of development for Ghana.

In this use of volunteers for social welfare programmes in Ghana, women play a very significant role. It may even be said that by her appointment to head the Ministry responsible for this type of service for the community, the Minister of Social Welfare and Community Development may herself symbolise the leading role women play in this

service.

True nation building rests on women's full participation in all fields, and as equal partners with men.

In practically all the voluntary agencies, women are playing a leading part in the services which are provided.

The day nurseries are almost entirely staffed by women, and the children's homes which are founded in the country are either run by women or were initiated on the services they gave in the early days of their development.

The Y.W.C.A. and the Girl Guides' Association of Ghana have recently organised seminars and leadership training courses.

Delegations have recently gone abroad to countries in America and Africa offering women the opportunities to see more and more of the leadership role they should be playing in the development of social welfare services in the country.

CHILD CARE

One of the important features of the activities of women in social work is the emphasis placed on the home.

In my Ministry's work, home economics or home-making features a great deal.

This is supported by all the leadership programmes organised by the National Council of Ghana Women.

Efforts are made to use some of the community resources like the Nutrition Board, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the medical and child care facilities in order to strengthen the family, especially in relation to the

preparation of food, child care, and the provision of various amenities which will help to improve conditions in the homes surroundings.

Encouragement is given to both the urban and the rural women to train in Vocational Training Centres and in Rural Welfare Centres to enable them to prepare themselves for the responsibility of making homes for the future citizens of the country.

In this service, women are in the vanguard among those who are offering training to those less experienced in the art of home making which is considered so important.

BETTER LIVING

While attention is given to special fields of activity in which women may have special natural inclinations, every inducement is given to encourage them to feel that they are as much needed in the building up of the nation as men, and that their services should be counted upon in that relationship.

As stated earlier, social work has for its primary objective the use of opportunities for better living.

In this connection, it is realised that any activities to promote the well-being of the individual, not only resolves the problems of the present day, but it also strengthens individuals, families, and groups to make the proper adjustment in the future when the occasion calls for it.

This, in effect, means that women should play the significant role they in fact do.



The Minister meets the children. Child care is a key aspect of the work of Mrs. Al-Hassan's Ministry.



The Necessity of African Unity

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

FOR FREEDOM

The Summit Conferences of Independent African States, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 22-25, 1963:

Having considered all aspects of the questions of decolonization; Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to accelerate the unconditional attainment of national independence by all African territories still under foreign domination;

Reaffirming that it is the duty of all African Independent states to support dependent peoples in Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence;

Noting with deep concern that most of the remaining dependent territories in Africa are dominated by foreign settlers;

Convinced that the colonial powers, by their forcible imposition of the settlers to control the governments and administrations of those territories, are thus establishing colonial bases in the heart of Africa;

Have agreed unanimously to concert and co-ordinate their efforts and actions in this field, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

1. Declares that the forcible imposition by the colonial powers of the settlers to control the governments and administrations of the dependent territories is a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of the territories concerned;

2. Invites the colonial powers to take the necessary measures for the immediate application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and insists that their determination to maintain colonies or semi-colonies in Africa constitutes a menace to the peace of the continent;

3. Invites, further, the colonial powers, particularly the United Kingdom with regard to Southern Rhodesia, not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to foreign minority governments imposed on African peoples by the use of force and under cover of racial legislation; and the transfer of power to settler minorities would amount to a violation of the provision of United Nations Resolution 1514 (XV) on Independence;

4. Reaffirms its support of African nationalists of Southern Rhodesia and solemnly declares that if power in Southern Rhodesia were to be usurped by a racial white minority government, State Members of the Conference would lend their effective moral and practical support to any legitimate measures which the African nationalist leaders may devise for the purpose of recovering such power and restoring it to the African majority; the Conference also undertakes henceforth to concert the efforts of its Members to take such measures as the situation demands against any State according to recognition to the minority government.

5. Reaffirms, further, that the territory of South-West Africa is an African territory under international mandate and that any attempt by the Republic of South Africa to annex it would be regarded as an act of aggression; Reaffirms also its determination to render all necessary support to the second phase of the South-West Africa case before the International Court of Justice;

Reaffirms still further, the inalienable right of the people of South-West Africa to self determination and independence;

6. Intervenes expressly with the Great Powers so that they cease, without exception, to lend direct or indirect support or assistance to all those colonialist governments which might use such assistance to suppress African national liberation movements, particularly the Portuguese Government which is conducting a real war of genocide in Africa; informs the allies of colonial powers that they must choose between their friendship for the African peoples and their support of powers that oppress African peoples.

7. Decides to send a delegation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to speak on behalf of all African States in the meetings of the Security Council which will be called to examine the report of the United Nations Committee of 24 on the situation in African territories under Portuguese domination: (The Conference has decided the members of the Delegation to be: Liberia, Tunisia, Madagascar and Sierra Leone);

8. Decides further the breaking off of diplomatic and consular relations between all African States and the Governments of Portugal and South Africa so long as they persist in their present attitude towards decolonization;

9. Asks for an Effective boycott of the foreign trade of Portugal and South Africa by:

- prohibiting the import of goods from those two countries;
- closing African ports and air-ports to their ships and planes;
- forbidding the planes of those two countries to overfly the territories of all African states

10. Earnestly invites all national liberation movements to co-ordinate their efforts by establishing common action fronts wherever necessary so as to strengthen the effectiveness of their struggle and the rational use of the concerted assistance given them;

11. Establishes a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of Algeria, Ethiopia, Guinea, Congo (Leopoldville), Nigeria, Senegal, Tanganyika, United Arab Republic, and Uganda, with Headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, responsible for harmonizing the assistance from African States and for managing the Special Fund to be set up for that purpose.

12. Establishes a Special Fund to be raised by voluntary contribution of Member States for the current year, the deadline for such contribution being 15 July, 1963; Requests the Co-ordinating Committee to propose the necessary fund and the apportionment among Member States to the Council of Ministers so as to supply the necessary practical and financial aid to the various African national liberation movements;

13. Appoints the day of the 25 May as African Liberation Day so as to organize popular demonstrations on that day to disseminate the recommendations of the Summit Conference and to collect sums over and above the national contributions for the special fund: (The Conference has decided that this year it will be the opening day of the 18th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations);

14. Decides to receive on the territories of Independent African States, nationalists from liberation movements in order to give them training in all sectors, and afford young people all the assistance they need for their education and vocational training;

15. Decides further to promote, in each State, the transit of all material aid and the establishment of a body of volunteers in various fields, with a view to providing the various African national liberation movements with the assistance they need in the various sectors.

Continued from page 1

The racist minority which has been allowed to assume power in this British Colony now believes that its colonial constitution is not designed to enable it to introduce a complete version of apartheid in the colony.

The racist regime now threatens to take the law into its own hands and to make a unilateral declaration of independence.

We recognize that Britain, as the metropolitan power bears the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of the colonial regime and for the maintenance of law and order in the colony.

But we in Africa cannot remain indifferent to the fate of four million Africans in that territory, and cannot allow an extension of the vile, inhuman system of apartheid to other parts of Africa.

We call on the British Government to do its duty and to fulfil its obligations towards all the citizens in its colony of Southern Rhodesia.

If armed force is required to bring the rebellious elements in the Colony to order, we expect the United Kingdom Government to use force to quell the rebellion.

In the event of the United Kingdom Government failing in its duty, I am sure that the member states of the O.A.U. will take up arms in support of the four million Africans who form the majority in Southern Rhodesia.

Whatever the outcome of the present crisis, the struggle for the liberation of our brothers in Southern Rhodesia will not be abandoned by the oppressed majority.

We call on the British Government to realize that the peace of Africa is immediately involved in the present crisis in Rhodesia and that the only safety and prosperity which the white settler minority can find is in a just and democratic constitution which allows the majority to rule for the benefit of all the people in the territory.

REFUGEES

Another issue which requires our urgent attention at this Conference is the problem of political refugees. Political refugees are a recent phenomenon in this continent, and they have arisen as an outcome of the struggle for independence.

Indeed, so extensive is this question that there is perhaps not one independent African State today which has no political refugee problem.

While in the fight against colonialism, we can expect a large measure of political cohesion and unity of purpose, what happens thereafter is a different matter.

The responsibility for safeguarding political freedom, once it has been won, and the responsibility for fostering national development are not seen in the same light by those who only, yesterday were colleagues and comrades-in-arms.

Thus we find that Ivory Coast opposition elements come into hiding in Ghana; that Ghanaian dissidents go to live in Nigeria, Togo and the Ivory Coast. We find similar problems and difficulties virtually everywhere in Africa.

We are all aware of the international convention which recognises that any sovereign state can permit political refugees from another country to dwell in its territory.

In a speech to the National Assembly of the Geneva Agreement which Ghana, and some other African States have ratified, I added an overriding condition that they do not carry out on our soil political activities aimed against their own country.

It would indeed be a sad reflection on our organisation, if even one African, whose well-being and progress is the duty of everyone of us here, is permitted to wander around this continent, a reproach and a by-word among all men, an outcast, deprived of food and shelter, a stateless individual hounded from state to state, from country to country, without friends, and every man's hand against him.

As long as political boundaries persist in Africa, boundaries which we have inherited at independence and were drawn arbitrarily, with no heed to the ethnic, economic, and social realities of Africa, so long shall we be plagued by the political refugee problem.

UNION

The political refugee problem is a social and political problem, and its only solution lies in an all-African Union Government within which our present boundaries will become links instead of barriers.

In the national Constitution of Ghana, we have provision for the full or partial surrender of our sovereignty to an all-African Union. No member State should or can be expected to surrender its sovereignty for any lesser cause.

History is made only by bold ventures and not by retreating in the face of difficulties.

Those who argue that the time is not ripe or that the difficulties are too great for the establishment of a Continental Union Government are not recognising the imperative needs of the African Continent or the overwhelming wishes and desires of the masses of the people of Africa.

We can delay no longer in taking the economic destiny of Africa into our own hands. Since the founding of the Organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa, world trade has moved further and faster into the channels prepared by neo-colonialism.

The increased productivity of our wealthy continent has benefited not us, but the industrial nations. By depressing the prices of our raw materials and metals, they have stunted our economic progress.

By raising the prices of their manufactured goods they have drained away any surpluses we might have acquired.

The deliberate policy of neo-colonialism emerges, not only to rob us of our wealth, but to prevent us from acquiring capital for our own development.

Those of us who are in the European Common Market and those of us outside it are equally rocked by economic storms and in danger of economic shipwreck.

Everywhere in Africa, our economies are crumbling, our treasuries are getting empty, we are becoming client States, none of us can stand alone.

We will remain in that condition until we take the economic and political destiny of Africa into our own hands.

An African Common Market of 300 million producers and consumers should have a productivity,

a purchasing and bargaining power equal to any of those trading and currency blocs which now rule the commerce of the world.

Who is there to oppose or frustrate us, if we only have the courage to form an all-African Union Government?

Can the industrialised nations do without our copper, our uranium, our iron ore, our bauxite, our coffee, cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, palm oil—or will they come running to us, as we have been running to them for trade on equitable terms?

It is courage that we lack, not wealth.

It is true that we have made half-hearted attempts at economic co-operation, but without the drive and authority which can only come from political action. In this connection, let me quote the words of Brother Nyerere of Tanzania:

"For Africa, the lesson of our East African experience is that although economic co-operation can go a long way without political integration, there comes a point when movement must be either forward or backward—forward into, political decision or backward into reduced economic co-operation."

The O.A.U. must face such a choice now—we can either move forward to progress through an effective African Union or step backward into stagnation, instability and confusion—an easy prey for foreign intervention, interferences and subversion.

We have a market which can absorb the produce of modern giant enterprises. We have already through the efforts of the United Nations established an African Development Bank.

There are recommendations adopted by the Addis Ababa Summit Conference as well as by the E.C.A. concerning the establishment of a common monetary zone. What is left now is to create a Union Central Bank to back our individual currencies.

The decision to create a Central Bank for Africa is a political one. Why is it that we are finding it difficult to take this decision in spite of so many resolutions, declarations and attempts?

If Africa had one political front, a central machinery, such a decision would not be difficult to take and achieve.

Nothing that has happened since our Addis Ababa or Cairo meetings has caused me to alter my mind about the necessity of a Union Government for Africa.

On the contrary, the growing perils in Africa and on the international scene, the growing strictures on world trade, the growing impoverishment of our primary producers, the persistent border disputes in Africa, the increasing instability caused by interference and subversive activities, the continued defiance and insolence of the racist minority regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—all these urge me to continue our pursuit for the political unification of Africa.

Our poverty, in the midst of our unbounded wealth; our weakness in spite of our unbounded might; the greatness of our need and the justice of our cause; they cry of our hungry and oppressed countrymen, as well as the courage and readiness to make further sacrifices that we must give political form or reality to our unity.

I am more than ever convinced that Africa

should unite into one state (with a Union Government. This is the view which I stated at Addis Ababa in 1963 and in Cairo last year, and I still hold to this position.

It is clear from the shortcomings and difficulties experienced in the running of the O.A.U. that it is necessary to strengthen the Charter of the O.A.U. by providing an effective machinery which will enable us to work effectively and successfully for the realisation of our noble aims and objectives.

Furthermore, the Heads of State and Government and the Council of Ministers cannot in practice meet as often as the imperative issues of a great continent demand.

I have never wavered in my conviction that the most effective form for the unity of Africa is a single African state, wielding its power through a Continental Union Government. In fact, everything that has happened since our meeting in Addis Ababa has strengthened me in this conviction.

At the same time, in order to meet the views expressed by some of my Brothers and Colleagues, and to achieve as much unity as is possible now, I put forward the following proposals.

We should set up now a full-time body or Executive Council of the O.A.U. to act as the Executive arm of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government.

PRESIDENT

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall appoint from among themselves a Chairman for the Executive Council which will be responsible for implementing the decision of the Assembly.

I also propose that this body shall be responsible for initiating policies and making recommendations to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on matters pertaining to the aims and objectives of the O.A.U. as set out in Article Two of the Charter.

Under my proposals, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall continue to be the supreme Governing Body of the O.A.U. as in Article Eight of our Charter.

I further propose that the Assembly shall elect a Union President and a number of Union Vice-Presidents to meet periodically during the ensuing year in order to review the work of the Executive Council when the Assembly is not in session.

The General Secretariat of the O.A.U. shall be the Secretariat of the Executive Council.

I am confident, Brothers and Colleagues, that from our deliberations we shall leave yet another significant mark on the history of our times. A United Africa is destined to be a great force in world affairs.

So the battle is joined, and we cannot disengage, until the wishes and aspirations of our people have been met.

Just as in the 1950's we stood abreast and solid in the vanguard of Africa's liberation movement, so in the 1960's we shall see an even greater struggle for the fruits of the African revolution—a new and unified society without which the peoples of Africa cannot independently survive or prosper.

Africa shall be a bright star among the constellation of Nations.



STUDIES IN NKRUMAISM

Nkrumaism as an application of Scientific Socialism (3)

IN Ghana the mass movement for independence was a national, not a class movement. The revolution against imperialism was a national popular revolution uniting the nation as a whole against foreign monopoly capital, and the new government of Ghana which came into existence as a result of this national revolution was a national government representing all strata of the population.

True, when Kwame Nkrumah led the formation of the C.P.P. in 1949, there were similarities, in the breaking up of national movement into two trends, a reactionary trend and a progressive trend relying above all on the working masses, with the division of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903 into Bolsheviks led by Lenin and the Mensheviks.

But there were also differences. Lenin led the progressive, genuine Marxist trend in the working class movement. But Kwame Nkrumah led the progressive trend, a popular national movement, which as yet could not be called Marxist.

Whereas Lenin led a Marxist Party, to power in the Russian Revolution, Nkrumah led a national People's Party to power in the Gold Coast revolution.

The spreading of scientific socialist ideology and understanding was a task to be faced after independence, whereas in Russia the Party had already begun to solve this problem long before the Revolution.

In this basic difference lies the real clue to the specific contribution of Nkrumaism to both the Ghanaian, and to the African Revolution as a whole. Whereas Lenin had to fashion a working class Party fit to achieve working class State power, Nkrumah had to fashion a People's Party fit to achieve national state power.

LEADERSHIP

Whereas Lenin led the Russian working class against the Russian (and external imperialist) exploiters, Nkrumah led the people of the Gold Coast, irrespective of their social status and only excluding the very reactionary wing, against the imperialist exploiters alone.

The victory which was won brought Kwame Nkrumah instantaneously from a colonialist prison to leadership of a Government. From then on it became the task of his leadership to steer a course which would unite the nation to the greatest possible extent, which would unite Africa to the greatest possible extent, and which would gradually advance along the non-capitalist path towards Socialism without allowing a new Africa or Ghanaian capitalist class to develop to such an extent that, once again, a revolutionary overthrow of exploiters would be necessary.

But this path has its own problems. Ghana has not been invaded mercilessly by more than a dozen armies of imperialists and their satellites, as happened to Russia between 1918 and 1922.

But it has to face imperialist and neo-colonialist blackmail and pressures and steer a firm course forward despite these pressures. Moreover it has had to

make up the leeway in ideology, to master "scientific socialism applied to our African social milieu" after power has already been won.

And it has got gradually to gear the C.P.P., the Party of the entire nation, to the task of building socialism. In doing this, after the achievement of independence, there is much to be learnt from the experiences of other Parties of scientific socialism in power.

Their various experiences must be studied, so that Ghana and Africa can learn what is positively useful, what is worth copying, while at the same time firmly rejecting that which is not appropriate.

Marxism applied to Africa can be no "carbon copy" of Marxism as applied to Russia, China, Cuba or any other part of the world.

UNITY

In *Consciencism* Kwame Nkrumah sets out to formulate a philosophy for all Africa that will unite Africans and not divide them.

Whereas Lenin sharpened the consciousness of the working class against the capitalist class in Russia before their Revolution, Nkrumah stresses the common interests of all Africans against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and sets out to unite all of them, whatever their social status, in the progressive struggle. If *Consciencism* appears depart from traditional Marxism in certain respects, this is the reason. *Consciencism* aims to unite all Africans.

It also shows how their only really effective way out of bondage and economic backwardness lies along the path to socialism. It strives not to split them according to social classes, but rather to unite them on the basis of Positive Action.

In the course of such united action some will obstruct, some will be tempted to "get rich quick", some will fall into habits of Negative Action, and these elements will have to be discarded.

But, in African conditions today, there is no reason why any patriotic capitalists should not be won over to the Socialist path. Even in 1848, in the *Communist Manifesto*, and referring to the countries of developed capitalism only, Marx wrote:

"Finally in times, when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands."

If Marx could see such a possibility in Europe even in 1848, it is not surprising that by the 1930s, when monopoly capitalism and fascism were threatening the workers and the small independent capitalists alike, Popular Fronts began to be formed in Europe uniting all the democratic forces against Fascism.

Such a Popular Front did, in fact, begin to achieve in Spain just the sort of progressive national unity which *Consciencism* holds out for Africa today, except that feudal Spain did not

enjoy a social base in the form of communalism as one of the possible ingredients for a future socialism.

Again, to take a quite different problem, religion. Although Lenin was a confirmed atheist, a dialectical materialist, and an ideological opponent of religion, this fact did not prevent him writing in 1909 that

"if a priest comes to cooperate with us in our work—if he conscientiously performs party work, and does not oppose the party programme—we can accept him into the ranks of Social-Democracy."

Very recently, before his death, Palmiro Togliatti, the late leader of the Italian Marxists, wrote to Khrushchov that

"the old atheistic propaganda is of no use... if we want to reach the catholic masses and be understood by them."

In Spain today we have the same attitudes.

When, therefore, in *Consciencism* Nkrumah both expounds philosophical materialism, and yet at the same time makes clear that "philosophical consciencism is not necessarily atheistic", he is following up that same stream of Marxist thought which, though materialist, has always been aware of the positive as well as the negative influence which religion can exert.

POSITIVE ACTION

Marx's great contemporary and collaborator, Frederick Engels, discussed most sympathetically the similarities between the early Christians and modern Socialists.

Lenin and Togliatti each in his own way expressed the need for progressive unity between Atheists and believers, (Pope John did the same), and Nkrumaism and *Consciencism* point the way for the application of Marxism to the African social milieu in this respect.

Hence, we see the uniting force of Nkrumaism. It leads all Africans along the path of non-capitalist development by means of Positive Action, while eschewing the Negative Action that results from the perpetuation of anti-social superstitions, exploitation in all its forms, the division of man on obsolete tribal grounds, corruption, nepotism, hoarding and profiteering.

If all Africa can unite against all these evils, whilst preserving the noble features of communalism that have been utterly destroyed by class exploitation in the developed capitalist countries, a path of evolutions progress opens up for Africa, through independence and unity, to socialism on the basis of co-operation for the common good.

But such progress is impossible without industrialisation. "We have still only to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialisation of our country," as Kwame Nkrumah wrote in *Building a Socialist State*.

And industrialisation not only means more production, it means the creation of a new working class, collectivist in outlook, which will become a steadily high-

er proportion of the population.

So, in addition to the inherited collectivism of communalism, there will be developed the new collectivism of the working class, and the two together will merge in the collectivism of African Socialist society.

In setting this perspective, Nkrumaism has introduced a new concept into Marxism, the practical possibility of "marrying" on a continental scale, the "ancient" communalism of man's original societies with the most modern collectivism of an industrial working class.

This is what Nkrumah described, on the tenth anniversary of the Party, as the "second revolution", aiming at "the creation of a welfare state based upon African socialist principles, adapted to suit Ghanaian conditions."

Such an aim can unite all honest Africans, all Africans of goodwill, and at the same time the guiding light is that same Marxism-Leninism, that same Scientific Socialism which, in developed class societies, leads inevitably to class struggles.

Even in Africa too, as Nkrumah has pointed out, class struggles will become inevitable in those countries where independence is allowed to become a fig-leaf for neo-colonialism and internal capitalism.

One of the features of Scientific Socialism is its dynamic character. The world is in process of development, in process of change. Our scientific understanding of the world must therefore also develop, also change.

Marx never thought of the idea of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" until the bitter experience of seeing the defeat of the Paris Commune of 1871 convinced him that only a workers' "dictatorship" would ever be able to overcome the "dictatorship" of capital.

MARXISTS' VIEW

Marx in his day thought that in the conditions of England at that time a peaceful seizure of power by the working class, through Parliament, might be possible. At a later stage Lenin, in the period following the First World War, believed that Britain could no longer be any exception to the general rule that the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism would have to be achieved by extra-Parliamentary means.

But, today, Marxists in Britain and many other countries have once again adopted Marx's original view on Britain, and believe that the working class, through Parliament, supported by simultaneous mass action outside, can achieve socialism.

Thus Marxists, in a developing situation, change their views.

At one stage, in the introduction of the ideas of socialism to the people of Ghana, much use was made of the concept of "African Socialism".

Now, however, the C.P.P. knows only one socialism—Scientific Socialism, and among the aims of the C.P.P. is "to pursue the study of Scientific Socialism

as enriched and advanced in Nkrumaism".

A certain bourgeois writer on Ghanaian politics recently enjoyed himself immensely at the expense of Kwame Nkrumah by quoting a whole series of statements, over a long period of time, to show the "inconsistency" of Ghana's President. The writer was, needless to say, an enemy of Marxism.

In any dynamic developing society life is changing, and changing rapidly. What was said yesterday in some particular context may not be appropriate today when conditions have changed.

What Jesus said about the suggested Positive Action of withholding taxes from Rome may have been correct in Palestine two thousand years ago, but it is not a guide to action in the 20th century struggle for liberation from imperialism.

What Marx said about revolution in England may not have been repeated by Lenin. But what Lenin said on this particular topic is not now the guiding principle of Marxists in Britain today. In using quotations from the past we must always be careful.

The question is not simply who said it, but why, when, and in what circumstances. If, in present circumstances, the quotation is still appropriate, by all

means let us use it. But if it no longer applies, there can only be harm in trying to make it apply.

The same thing is true of Socialist experiences. Ghana and Africa have a whole socialist world to choose lessons from. Today the Socialist countries range from Cuba to China, and each one has its own specific characteristics, each one may have lessons which can be applied in Africa, as well as warnings from their own experiences which, if heeded, will prevent similar errors being made here.

STUDY

To think that the development towards Socialism in Africa demands only the mastering of the works of Kwame Nkrumah is too narrow a view. Fully to understand Nkrumaism demands the mastering of Scientific Socialism as well, to know how it arose and developed, for only then can the science be fully understood that Kwame Nkrumah is applying to African conditions.

Equally, the studying of Socialist experience from all the Socialist countries is necessary, not for the manufacturing of an African carbon copy of any of them, but for the application to African conditions and African problems of whatever positive lessons can be

learnt and applied here.

Such an attitude demands time. Nkrumaists must study not only the works of Nkrumah, but the background, the basis, for these works. This basis consists of Scientific Socialism as it came into being and developed and is being applied elsewhere, as well as the specific problems of Africa today. Much study is required to master Scientific Socialism, much reading and thought.

This history of the C.P.P. began formally in 1949. But the history of Scientific Socialism began formally in 1848. And before scientific socialism there was a long period of the formation of socialist ideas, as an alternative to the ideology of capitalism.

Even before that, ever since a part of mankind first broke away from early communalism and class societies began to take shape, protests began to be heard, protests of the poor against the rich, protests against exploitation.

And they will continue to be heard so long as society is still divided into rich and poor. But that will not be the case for ever if, "within the shortest possible time" we "bring the good life to the people."

This aim, as expressed by Kwame Nkrumah, is the common aim of all Scientific Socialists.

NEO-COLONIALISM BREEDING GROUND FOR WAR

THE conflicts between the European and American financial and industrial trusts and combines for a re-division of the world's resources of raw materials and markets for investment capital and manufactured goods, exploded into war when they became too intense to contain within the limits of diplomacy. The 1914-18 war brought a re-division of the globe's colonial sectors. Fascism was encouraged to prop capitalism at points where it had been seriously damaged and was faced with popular discontent, as in Germany and Italy, and to bolster it in those outposts which were and remain semi-colonial appendages to Western imperialism, Spain and Portugal.

The uneven development of capitalism brought new contenders into the field who joined in the rivalries that had grown up with the original scramble for colonies. These deepened until they erupted in the two world wars, which, notwithstanding all the pious claptrap about their being wars fought for the maintenance of democracy, were in reality, wars fought for the re-division of the world by monopoly capitalism. "War" Clausewitz has told us "is the continuation of policy by other means". What the powerful trusts were unable to achieve by 'peaceful' competition, their domination over larger and larger areas of the world, they embroiled their countries into military action to achieve for them. This not only gives them a wider sphere of exclusive operation but undermines the power of competing monopolies.

Such changes as there are correspond with the changes of influence that have occurred within the groups themselves. The dominating influence is held by the ubiquitous American formations of Morgan and Rockefeller, with their British and European associates following behind. Dying colonialism is reviving in the international coalitions of neo-colonialism. These coalitions of competing organisms reflect the global character that financial monopoly has attained under the dominance of the most powerful imperialism, that of America. They are also a sign of the struggle for survival of older imperialism against the fierce questing of the more powerful aggressiveness of American imperialism, whose vaster productive force is driving it outwards more and more.

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THE many consortia which are being established in the majority of the new States revolve largely about the same financial and industrial groups that have rooted themselves firmly since the inception of colonial

KWAME NKRUMAH.

Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism.