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EDITORIAL

THE NEW PHASE (5)

Vanguard Activists

IN his book "Africa Must Unite" Kwame Nkrumah says "socialism needs socialists to built it." (page 130). No statement can be more true than this.

Apart from the leadership, the programme and the adoption of the correct forms of struggle, the most important factor in the triumph of the socialist movement in Ghana is the quality of the vanguard activists of the Convention People's Party.

The problem of recruiting, training and deploying cadres must therefore be given highest priority in our Party.

These cadres must understand the Party programme. They must be thoroughly conversant with the ideology of the Party and world outlook of socialism. They must be familiar with the problems, aspirations and attitudes of the people among whom they are to work.

The first point to be borne in mind, however, in tackling this problem is the social origin of the cadres. As we said before, socialism is primarily the ideology of the masses. Hence the cadres of socialism must be drawn mainly, though not exclusively, from among the workers and young farmers who are the principal driving forces of socialism.

It is unrealistic, in fact, it is dangerous—to recruit socialist cadres from those social classes which are hostile to or only conditionally in support of socialism.

What is most important is that in selecting cadres we must not fall for sheer enthusiasm. We must, in addition, look for sincerity, honesty, industry and staying power. The cadres must be efficient, understanding and effective. To achieve this, they must rely more on the force of hard work and less on pontifical repetition of slogans.

Political power means control of the state apparatus. It is the control of the armed forces, the police, law and justice, education and propaganda. It is generally known that in all capitalist countries, by careful process of selection, all organs of the State apparatus are concentrated in the hands of the defenders of capitalism. Finance capital is actually integrated with the State.

It is therefore imperative that when the people take over power, the state apparatus—the machinery of coercion and government established by the ruling class to maintain its power over the people—must be taken over absolutely by the vanguard activists of the people's Party.

It is the fundamental task of the vanguard activists to put the aim of the Party constantly before the people, to raise their political consciousness and fighting spirit, and to inspire all aspects of the socialist struggle.

If we must score and consolidate victories, then our vanguard activists must work actively as the transmission belt between the leadership and the people. They must faithfully report the reactions, the moods, the complaints of the masses to the leadership. While they teach and organise the masses, they must readily learn from the masses.

Strong and dedicated vanguard activists are the only guarantee that the magnificent prospect of a socialist Ghana will be realised in our life time.

Blundering Berkeley Exposes

IMPERIALIST NEW DESIGN

IT has now become the stock-in-trade of the editors, staff writers and columnists of the Western press to keep up a hostile propaganda barrage against Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana and a leading architect of Africa's total liberation and organic unity. These press and radio attacks reflect the bitter uncompromising struggle (sometimes frontal and bloody at other times flanking and disguised) going on all the time between emergent Africa and decaying imperialism. The aim of this propaganda war by the Western press is to provide the smoke screen for dirty intrigues and evil machinations directed against African leaders and the African Revolution.

The latest effort in this propaganda war aimed at restoring the positions of imperialism in Africa appeared in the February 16th issue of the London "Sunday Times" owned by the Canadian newspaper magnate, Mr. Roy Thomson, who also owns a chain of right-wing newspapers in the British Commonwealth and whose services in the cause of British imperialism earned him a peerage in this year's New Year Honours List in Britain. It takes the form of an editorial page article written by Mr. Humphry Berkeley and captioned "The Tragedy of Nkrumah".

Humphry Berkeley is a Tory Member of Parliament representing the traditional conservative constituency of Lancaster. He lives as a political middleman, selling those Commonwealth Governments that care to hire his services to both Whitehall and the City. In this game of a political broker, Humphry Berkeley has found his seat in the House of Commons extremely useful. For one, he can impress unwary Commonwealth governments of his "standing" in Westminster. For another, he can act the "line" between the financial barons of the City and the policy makers in Whitehall.

In short, Humphry Berkeley lives by his wits. And as experience teaches, those smart guys who live by their wits generally pay little regard to the truth. They disregard objective appraisal of situations because they live on the peddling of half-truths and outright falsehood.

MALICIOUS INTERPRETATION
Humphry Berkeley, M.P., has launched a two-pronged attack on the person and position of Kwame Nkrumah. In the first place, he has placed a malicious personal interpretation on some major events in the recent history of Ghana. The se-

by
Julius Sago

cond prong of the attack is to insinuate that Nkrumah is now busy destroying what he had built. In between Mr. Berkeley sandwiches glaring untruths and winds up his article with personal opinions that are both contradictory and uninformed.

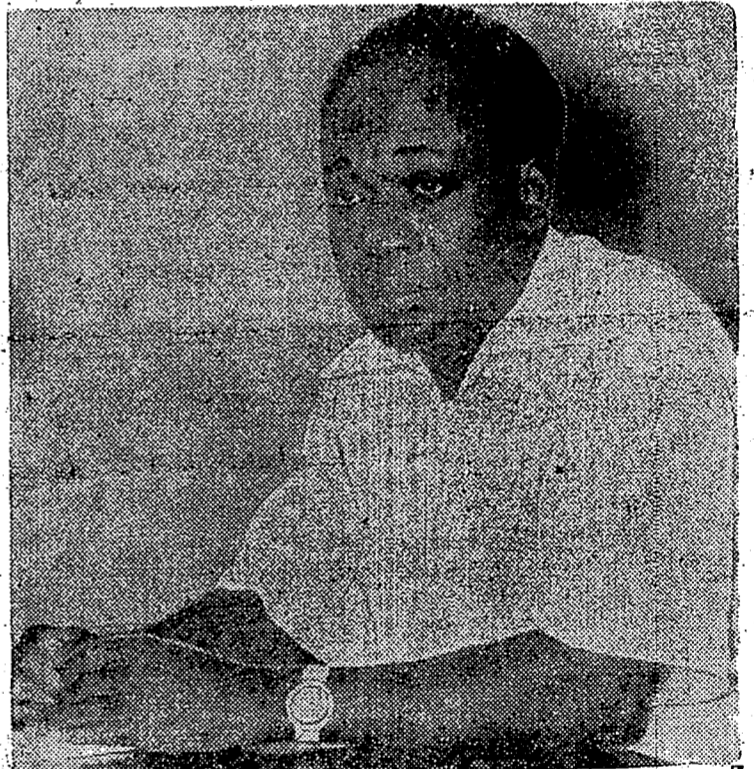
In an attempt to twist events and give a distorted view of history, Mr. Berkeley attributes the disciplinary action taken in 1962 against those public men found guilty of amassing wealth to Kwame Nkrumah's "mistrust of his subordinates". He forgets that these men were censured in the light of the famous "Dawn Broadcast" which received enthusiastic support not only among Ghanaian masses but also among leading world statesmen, including Pandit Nehru of India. Mr. Berkeley does not consider it immoral for one to amass personal wealth through a misuse of his position in the state machinery. Why should he? After all Mr. Berkeley makes his big breaks precisely through similar contacts.

In another attempt to falsify history, Mr. Berke-

ley suggests that "Nkrumah's suspicion of Ghana's middle class—the lawyers, businessmen and civil servants" stems from its brief stay with these men in the United Gold Coast Convention. He conveniently forgets that the split between Kwame Nkrumah and other leaders of the UGCC had nothing to do with personal likes and dislikes but arose from a fundamental cleavage over the strategy and tactics of the national liberation movement. And today the people of Ghana and Africa are grateful to Kwame Nkrumah for having the courage to launch out on a brave new path with the founding of the Convention People's Party. For as we can all see now, this radical departure brought freedom to Ghana and accelerated the pace of the liberation movements throughout Africa.

AN UNCOMPROMISING DEVOTEE

What evidence has Mr. Berkeley for his view that Nkrumah "has ravaged so much of what he set out to do"? Firstly, he refers to attempts on Kwame Nkrumah's life. These, as is well known, have originated from those elements in our society who are closely associated with and financed by imperialism. Imperialism supports such elements precisely because Nkrumah has proved himself an uncompromising devotee to the anti-imperialist struggle. And little reflection will bring home the truth that the more effectively any African leader develops the struggle against imperialist positions everywhere in Africa, the greater will be the determination of the



To think of the Ghanaian without Kwame Nkrumah is manifestly impossible. It is difficult to imagine the African Revolution without him....

We know that when the time is ripe, the leader appears; but social science and revolutionary theory cannot explain the mysterious role of the human personality....

Let the religious continue to call a leader an act of God; the social scientists must continue to beat their brains to unravel the mystery of leadership.

As I see it, Ghana without Kwame Nkrumah could have been, at the most, another Nigeria, more compact and therefore with sharper and fiercer tribal and social antagonisms and with even less political stability.

There would have been, perhaps, as much economic activity, because Ghanaians are intelligent and energetic, and would not sit still under any circumstances. But there would have been no planned economy and no planned industrialisation, because without Kwame Nkrumah there definitely would not have been a socialist Ghana. There would have been a Tema and a Volta River Project, but quite a different Tema and different Volta Project.

No country in Africa was as ripe for neo-colonialism as Ghana. The educated classes of Ghana were longing for it, when the country achieved independence. The cocoa and the bauxite, the gold and diamonds all have magnetic qualities for overseas investors; all they needed was "a favourable political climate", and they would have had it without Kwame Nkrumah.

As things are, Tema is not just another port in Africa. It is a beacon and a port at the same time. How many European or American or Asian countries have built ports in which housing and amenities for the workers rose simultaneously with the docks? In a few socialist countries it was done as a matter of course, but for the capitalist countries to overlook Tema in their appraisal of Ghana is more than impudence.

Continued on page 4

Continued on page 4

Imperialist Strategy In Africa

DURING the past decade the swift advance of the liberation struggle throughout Africa has confronted imperialism with new and serious problems. This applies especially to those imperialist powers with direct possession of colonies in the African continent. The decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State to organise concerted action (including armed struggle) to free the remaining colonies, present them with an even serious challenge.

In some respects this new situation alarms United States imperialism more than the direct colony-owning powers. British imperialism has been forced to recognise that it cannot hold on indefinitely to its remaining colonies, but is still striving to maintain its grip by the strategy of neo-colonialism. This applies also to French imperialism, and its sole remaining direct colony, French Somaliland, is now looking forward to political independence—with the solidarity aid of the African liberation movements.

The Portuguese imperialist rulers still hope to keep their hold on Angola, Mozambique and other small African colonial territories; the Spanish rulers hope to keep their small African outposts, and the apartheid rulers in South Africa (together with the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia) will fight to the bitter end to prevent the liberation of the African peoples.

The colony-owning powers exercise strong economic and political influence (even after political independence) in their own specific regions. But United States imperialism, whose only direct colony was Liberia, seeks to extend its grip throughout the whole of the African continent. During the past ten years it has concentrated its forces to "fill the vacuum" created by the weakened position of other imperialist powers in Africa. Indeed, the victories of political independence since 1957 (abolishing direct colonial rule), have enabled the United States to penetrate new regions of Africa from which it was a great extent barred when constitutional power was in the hands of Britain and France.

These developments have created a situation in which the United States is in a stronger position to exercise economic, political, and ideological influence in Africa than any other imperialist power. In the other hand, the African liberation movements have advanced so rapidly, and their anti-imperialist outlook has become so pronounced, that the United States is forced to twist and turn in its strategy and tactics year after year.

THE GROWING SOCIALIST WORLD IN AFRICA

What is even more disturbing for U.S. imperialism is the impact of the growing socialist world in Africa. This arises not only from the increasing ability to extend genuine socialist aid, but from the great economic and technical advances in the socialist countries which make this possible. Above all, the constituent fight of the socialist countries within the United Nations for world peace and for the abolition of all forms of colonialism, gives a practical demonstration to the millions of Africans who are their real allies.

This is a situation which forces United States ruling circles to constantly re-examine their strategy and tactics in relation to Africa as a whole. The most recent comprehensive expression of their "new thinking" on this problem is a new book by Mr. Vernon McKay "Africa in World Politics" published in 1963.

AFRICA AND U.N.O.

With typical American Brazenness the publishers describe the book as the "first comprehensive analysis of the nature and significance of Africa's multiplying contacts with Europe, Asia and the Americas". It does certainly touch upon Africa's relations with the rest of the world, its growing impact within the United Nations and the alleged Soviet "aims" in Africa, but its main essence is the importance of Africa for United States imperialism. The preface "modestly" admits that:

"American pressure on African events has been exerted in many ways—through diplomatic persuasion in Europe, through our votes on African issues in the United Nations even when we abstained, through the 'Voice of America' and other propaganda media, through the educational exchange programmes of the State Department and other agencies, both public and private, and through economic and technical assistance to Africa."

The author expresses serious concern at the big changes in the United Nations arising from the increasing number of independent States which have become members. Though United States personnel are in key positions in the U.N. administrative machine, in the General Assembly itself the imperialist powers are often defeated on colonial issues:

COLONIAL AND RACIAL ISSUES

"It is quite clear that sharp conflicts over colonial and racial issues have broken down the spirit of co-operation and weakened the United Nations, at least in the short run." (p.414).

Faced with this new situation the need for a more flexible United States policy in U.N.O. is advocated—many would describe it as a deceitful policy:

"In the United Nations African and Asian members are now so numerous that it is even more important for the United States to avoid being stereotyped as a supporter of colonialism. A belated jump to the front of the anti-colonial bandwagon would be somewhat hypocritical, and of little lasting value. An independent posture, keeping the door to both groups open, may still prove valuable in the difficult period ahead." (pp.420-21).

The actual record shows however, that the United States speeches and votes in U.N.O. (while occasionally making gestures on South Africa and Portugal to weaken its rivals), have always favoured some form of imperialist domination in

Africa. In a revealing chapter "Soviet Policy in Africa", the author explains that in the Trusteeship Council the "standard technique" of the Soviet delegates in the fifteen years after the second world war was to press for:

1. Participation of the people in the government.
2. Replacing the tribal system with democratic government.
3. Return of alienated land.
4. Replacing the head tax with an income tax.
5. Increasing the budget for educational, cultural, and health purposes.

The author testifies that in the "early years" these "were voted down one by one". All this helped to "build up the image of the Soviet Union as a friend who always fought for colonial peoples." (p.224). In contrast, "the negative votes and abstentions" of the United States "built up an opposite image of a defender of the colonial powers if not of colonialism".

Before the African and Asian States had reached a strong position of influence in the UNO the United States supported the colonial powers and was not obliged to resort to subtle methods. This book boasts about Soviet representatives for many years being kept off from the visiting missions to trust territories in Africa, or from serving on Petition Committee, and of all kinds of obstruction to Soviet opposition to all forms of colonialism.

"THE ABOLITION OF COLONIALISM"

At the 15th General Assembly a Soviet proposal for "complete independence forthwith" and the elimination of all strongholds of colonialism was rejected, but a new motion put forward by 43 Afro-Asian members was substituted (supported by the Soviet Union) which retained the basic demand for "the abolition of colonialism". This was adopted by 89 votes to nil and 9 abstentions. Among those abstaining were the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, South Africa, Australia and Dominica.

The author bemoans the fact that the United States has a "bad press" on this and many other issues in the United Nations. He consoles himself that with so many colonies achieving their independence, there will be less "opportunities" for the Soviet Union to "exploit" the situation. But he recognises that several "thorny problems" remain, notably the Portuguese colonies, and South Africa.

A valiant attempt is made to praise the "economic aid" which the United Nations has extended to Africa from its "Special Fund", from 1959 to 1962. It does not explain that this is restricted to projects which provide basic cheap services for the overseas monopoly firms in the form of roads, bridges, ports and harbours, etc., which in themselves yield little or no profit. Even so, Africa was allocated only \$42 million in three years—one-sixth of a dollar per head of the population!

Even more ludicrous is the glossy picture painted of loans to Africa from the World Bank. A total of 41 loans for 16 African countries (at high rates of interest) up to February 1962, amounted to \$929 million. When this is broken down it is revealed that \$478 million went to South Africa, Congo, and the Central African Federation (which has now been dissolved). This is in contrast to only \$50 million to Nigeria, Kenya, and Uganda (less than half of one per cent!) which together have a bigger population.

U.S. "CHANNELS"

However, it is fully recognised that United Nations "economic aid" or even the World Bank, occupies only a minor role in relation to loans and grants to Africa. More than 90 per cent of "economic aid" to Africa consists of bilateral grants and loans. Because of its special relationship with its ex-colonies, France has the biggest total, and in 1960 extended loans and grants amounting to \$732 million, while the United States amount was \$231 million, and Britain's only \$144 million.

This is by no means the whole story. The United

States has several "channels" for the penetration of the African countries. In his anxiety to prove to American readers what "tremendous efforts" are being made to "assist" Africa, the author gives a fairly comprehensive list of these "channel". What are they?

First, there are the "private" United States organisations active in Africa. They comprise 223 business firms, 203 missionary agencies, and 173 other educational, philanthropic and civil agencies. They are all listed in a State Department report entitled "International, Educational, Cultural and Related Activities for African Countries South of the Sahara", published in August 1961. It is explained that their activities influence African opinion as well as "policy makers" in Washington, and that some of them openly attempt to bring pressure on governments while others deny any attempt to influence policy (p.247).

The business firms find Africa extremely profitable,

dents Foundation, and the Foundation for All Africa. Truly a formidable list!

by
Idris Cox

and U.S. investments increased from \$298 million in 1950 to \$925 million in 1960.

Among the missionary societies 60 are Catholic, 89 are Protestant, and 54 are inter-denominational or non-denominational. South of the Sahara there were in 1962 more than 3,500 missionary "workers", and in 1957 it was claimed that 37 million Africans had been converted to Catholicism, and 27 million to the Protestant religion. Among the "civic" organisations there are councils, associations and clubs, which include the African-American Institute, the African Studies Association, the American Society of African Culture, the American Committee on Africa, the Africa League, the African Research Foundation, the African Service Institute, the African-American Stu-

These "civic" groups are not so private as they seem. They are assisted by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association to organise meetings and publish journals, and they extend their operations to the formation of branches in various parts of Africa.

Then there are 11,000 "private foundations" or philanthropic organisations (apart from 50,000 other tax exempt organisations), which are active in this field. The Carnegie programme for Africa for 1959-60 totalled projects to the value of \$1,189,500 and Rockefeller \$1,152,600. The Ford Foundation did not begin operations until 1951, but for "training and research" has now advanced \$9,000,000 and of its \$40 million grants to American universities for 1960-62, one-tenth was allocated for

Continued on page 3

NEW LIGHT ON AFRICA'S HISTORY

Little Change in Race Distribution

This is the second of three articles by Dmitry Oldorogge, a prominent Soviet specialist on linguistics, history and African culture and head of the African section of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Ethnography of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

... ARCHAEOLOGICAL study of the Sahara has shown that the Neolithic Age arrived there before it came to Egypt. From certain features in the methods of making stone implements and types of pottery, archaeologists, including the eminent W. J. Arkell, maintain that the Stone Age culture in the Tibesti massif exercised an influence on the formation of one of the ancient cultures of the Stone Age in Egypt—the Fayumic culture.

Discoveries made in Tassili have made it possible to determine what the Sahara was like in the period from the VIIIth-Vth millennia B.C. before the rise of the culture of the ancient Egyptian state.

Tribes of hunters lived in the Sahara in those remote times... Pictures of the subsequent period show domestic cattle, and animal husbandry seems to have developed in the Sahara in the IVth millennium B.C. Cattle-breeding tribes peopled the whole of the Sahara, from the Adrar Anet area in the extreme west, to the Nubian Desert.

ROCK DRAWINGS

Rock drawings show scenes from the life of the cattle-breeders, their huts and utensils, figures of men with weapons in hand and of women with their hair dressed in characteristic styles.

The appearance and development of animal husbandry coincided in time with the formation of the ancient Egyptian state. It is quite probable that as the Sahara dried up the tribes of hunters and cattle-breed-

and themselves as ruddy-skinned.

HARDLY CHANGED

Apparently the three main racial types to be found in Africa to this day had already come into being:

- (1) the Mediterranean race, inhabiting the Mediterranean countries;
- (2) the Negroid race, which was widespread throughout Africa to the south of the Sahara; and
- (3) the Ethiopian race in North-East Africa.

The geographical distribution of each of these is approximately the same today...

We have to use the information provided by three sciences, anthropology, philology and ethnography, which are concerned with a study of the culture of the peoples. Of these three types of sources the most stable from the point of view of time is the first—the racial type.

It is sufficient to recall what happened to the Africans who were shipped to America. They preserved their racial type; but as far as language and culture were concerned they emerged completely with the peoples around them. In Brazil, they have become Brazilians; in Cuba, Cubans, and in the U.S.A., Americans, language is the least stable factor.

The people of Egypt, particularly in Upper Egypt,

have hardly changed in the racial respect since the days of the Pharaohs, nor have the people of North Africa, who have also preserved their ancient racial type. But both Egyptians and Berbers speak Arabic and consider themselves Arabs.

The distribution of the main races, therefore, has undergone little change.

We do not, of course, have any idea what languages were spoken by the population of Africa in ancient times. Today, the people of the whole of the northern part of Africa to the north of the Sahara speak languages belonging to the Hamito-Semitic family. Despite their great diversity we can assert that they represent a single related family and have a common origin.

All the languages of Tropical Africa have a certain unity, in spite of the multiplicity of languages and language groups. They are predominantly languages with musical intonation and a distinctive system of nominal classes. The astonishing sense of rhythm typical of all the peoples of Tropical Africa, is also seen in the development of music and dancing.

So we see that at one time Africa had an integral unity, but that later on the north African countries were cut off from the rest of the continent by deserts, which in effect isolated Tropical Africa. Here an independent culture gradually came into existence.

A REJOINDER TO KWEKU FOLSON OF UNIVERSITY OF GHANA ON: ONE PARTY SOCIALIST STATE (2)

— by Kwasi Oware
KWAME NKURUMAH IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

THIS is not the only example we have been giving always. The Empire of King Chaka of Zululand, the Kingdom of the Bembas of North-Eastern Rhodesia, the Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda, the Bantu of Kavinondo, the Kingdom of the Ashantis and many others are all historical examples which should be studied by a true African "eminent Scholar". In all these societies the art of government was of the highest order and truly democratic.

It was during the fateful advent of the European explorer and exploiter who managed to come in our midst with the Bible in one hand and thieving gadgets in the other, that party politics seized hold on the Africans. Party politics, in reality, were introduced NOT as a means of 'civilising' us but as a weapon with which the Africans could get themselves pre-occupied with trivial domestic polemics and the fight for power among themselves thereby giving way to the colonial grabbers to loot more of our economic wealth without our noticing their unchristian acts.

Why should we hold on blindly to this dangerous system after we have succeeded in extricating ourselves from their fiendish claws?

In preparing our Republican Constitution, the people and their leaders took into deep consideration some of these useful ancient traditions and customs. These were fused with some of the currently acceptable social, cultural, economic and political trends to produce an objective indigenous constitutional instrument. This thought can never be said to be an 'ex post-rationalization'. Our constitution was planned and carefully prepared leaving sufficient scope for future amendments and bearing in mind always that the voice of the people must prevail.

No nation that has suffered from colonial rule can afford to overlook some of its indigenous and useful past social order and copy blindly from that of a foreign country.

Since Mr. Folson's thinking seems to be that of the West we feel that a few historical examples will suffice to enlighten his mind on this issue.

In the political and constitutional history of the United States of America it can be seen that the people in America immediately after their struggle to free themselves from the British colonial domination, found themselves almost in a similar situation as that of the newly independent African states.

CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCEMENT

In fact, during the constitutional advancement of America all their energies were directed towards the achievement of a real union to checkmate British neo-colonialist infiltration. They sought to prepare a Constitution which reflected the true wishes and aspirations of the American people without copying blindly from that of Westminster Abbey. They realised that it was only through a united monolithic society that they could fight the dangers of schism and dichotomy that threatened their young nation.

To this end George Washington, taking an analytical view of political conditions in a 'divided' America, made a striking speech on May 18, 1786, in which he advocated an "indissoluble union" as the only criterion upon which the threat of division then looming across the conti-

nent of America could be combated. He said, among other things, that: "something must be done, or the fabric must fall": "an indissoluble union", he maintained, "was the answer". He was always laying stress on unity and this was highlighted in his famous Farewell Address in 1796. "We have to be united now", he said, "it is the new nation that we are building". Throughout this time there was no mention of multi-parties or even a two-party system in America.

It is a well-known fact that the United States Constitution which was adopted in 1787, makes no provision whatsoever for the existence of political parties, precisely because the "Founding Fathers" were convinced that the existence of different parties in the young State would only serve to undermine its unity and to dissipate the energies of its people in the face of the immensely complicated task that confronted them.

AN ELOQUENT PLEA FOR UNION

George Washington, again in his Farewell Address, said: "For a paper addressed to a people in a peculiar stage of their development, its permanent truth and value are surprisingly great. An eloquent plea for union is followed by a pointed exposition of disruptive tendencies: the politicians' device of misrepresenting 'the opinions and aims of other districts' in order to acquire influence within his own, the forming of combinations to override or control the constituted authorities; the baneful effects of the spirit of Party, a spirit having its roots in the strongest passions of the human mind. (See 'The Growth of the American Republic' Vol. 1 Morrison and Commager).

Absolute neutrality, as we have here, was the main principle of Washington's foreign policy, and nobody succeeded in opposing him. When war broke out between France and England, despite the Treaty of Alliance the Americans had with France, George Washington disregarded the Treaty and pursued a course of neutrality. He felt strongly that America "must insist on its national identity, strength and dignity". His objective, as he later wrote, "was to keep the country free from political connections and under the influence of none". He continued: "I want an American character that

the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for ourselves and not for others."

What is wrong with our choosing socialism and one-party state? After all it is our "own character", circumstances, environmental and indigenous conditions that we want to emphasise.

Again, to return to American post-colonial era. During the Presidential election of 1800, Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson, both Republicans, polled the highest votes. And true to type of the American Constitution, Thomas Jefferson was elected President with Aaron Burr as his Vice.

We want to ask Mr. Folson: what was the nature of that society, with the President and Vice-President virtually steering the affairs of America without any opposing candidate? Could he honestly say it was a multi-party system of society or would he say that the government was not democratic?

A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

And what is more! President Jefferson, during his period, showed striking traces of wanting to create a classless society. He wanted to bridge the gap between the have and the have-nots. At one time, he and his Cabinet came out boldly and proclaimed: "When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, tilted or untitled, in or out of office". Is this not a sign of bringing about equality in a society which is one of the most important tenets of socialism?

As a proof of the socialist currents underlying American politics at that time, we quote Jefferson again: "If it be possible to be certainly conscious of anything, I am conscious of feeling the difference between writing to the highest and lowest being on earth. Thomas Jefferson favoured an equitable distribution of property as a "basis of personal independence and democracy". He wished to exclude from purchasing public land any man already holding fifty acres. Thus, the social as well as the economic politics during the Jeffersonian America could not be anything but socialist. Yet, there was no opposition and the government was truly democratic. It was only the appearance of insoluble differences between North and South that made inevitable the establishment of a two-party system in the United States.

Coming back to our own, we quote part of an article written by Alexander Adande of Dahomey which appeared in the Conference Paper No. F/413 of March, 1959 during the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Ibadan, Nigeria: "In the phase of national construction the fusion of parties becomes a categorical imperative. Beneath its 'idealist' appearance, every poli-

tical party actually represents a definite class or definite economic interest which it must defend in Parliament. The result of this is a squabbling among selfish oppositions that has nothing in common with the true and exclusive interest of the nation... they stop at nothing, lies, demagoguery, compromise, corruption... We have nothing to do with these poisons".

BLACKLEG LECTURERS

We are not, therefore, surprised that our University colleagues have, unfortunately, become victims to the anti-socialist thoughts of some of their Lecturers like Kweku Fol-

son. But, thanks to the organisational initiative of the Convention People's Party under the leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the masses have shown their might to them all, during the recent peaceful demonstration against blackleg lecturers and docile students.

The argument thus put forward by Mr. Folson, that a one-party state breeds a new class of privileged people, is shallow, because whoever those privileged "new rich" are and wherever they may be, the people have the right and the constitutional weapon to deal adequately with them. If the "new rich" is a rep-

lica of the "old rich" it becomes obvious that the majority of the people will have to see to it that their interest takes precedence over that of the "new rich". But if Mr. Folson wants to tell us that the "new rich" he is talking about will be composed of the majority of the masses, the working people in the farms, factories, firms, offices and the classrooms, then he has missed his point.

To be more precise, when one says one is rich it means that one possesses the means whereby one's personality and standard of living can be uplifted. This is exactly what a one-party socialist state is aiming at. This system of social order aims at enriching the personality and living conditions of the majority of the people if not of all the peo-

ple. It aims at raising the general happiness of all and creating equal opportunities for all in which the welfare of each will be a condition for the welfare of all. This can be achieved if the means of production are in the hands of the people. Equality of men in our society is our primary aim. But if Mr. Folson understands "equality" to mean otherwise, as he appears to infer, we may succeed to enlighten him a little bit by using the words of The Abbe de Mably (1709-1785): "The sentiment of equality is nothing else than the sentiment of our own dignity, men have become slaves by letting it grow feeble and only by revivifying it will they become free".

Continued on page 4

Imperialist Strategy in Africa

Continued from page 2

African studies. In 1960 alone, American universities had no less than 76 different programmes on various aspects of African problems.

One must not forget either the activities of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. and the I.C.F.T.U. regional organisation in Africa, for which money has been poured out in recent years, especially to resist the growth of the All-African Trade Union Federation formed in 1961. The author states bluntly that:

"At an early stage, Tom Mboya was singled out as a favourite of American labour... In 1957 he was given \$35,000 by the AFL/CIO and later an additional \$21,000 to build a national headquarters for the Kenya Federation of Labour." (p.262)

After a brief review of various interpretations of America's "national interest" in Africa, the author comes to the conclusion that:

"It is most of all a political interest in having the proper balance of freedom and stability in Africa", and then proceeds to examine this from three aspects: (a) military (b) economic, and (c) political.

THE NEW TECHNIQUE

With the growing African opposition to military bases, the new technique of nuclear war, and the impact of the socialist world, it is argued that "Africa in 1962 contained fewer Western military assets than Europeans had hoped for". At the same time, the United States cannot ignore the new discoveries of mineral deposits in Africa useful for war purposes, or "its growing need for raw materials which may increase its dependence on African resources".

The economic aspect is linked with the military aspect, and the exploitation of Africa's oil, iron ore, bauxite and other resources is emphasised as being essential for the United States. For this reason U.S. government agencies are taking an increasing share in procuring these resources in the

"national interest". It also underlines the decisive importance of the Common Market as a means for the 'restoration' of a sound European economy and in the interests of furthering the aspirations of African peoples". In other words, to maintain Africa as a reserve to produce minerals and raw materials for the imperialist countries!

From the political standpoint the author asserts that if "democracy is to flourish in the United States, free institutions must also continue to exist in other fortunate parts of the world". He lumps together "the dictatorships of Khrushchev, Hitler, Franco, Mussolini and Salazar". Hitler and Mussolini are gone, so it is safe to condemn them! But no word of condemnation for the fascist Verwoerd in South Africa, Chang Kai Shek, or the American "pillars of democracy" which have been set up in South Korea, Thailand, Iraq and many parts of Latin America. Certainly nothing about democratic rights for American Negroes!

The author declares: "It is in our national interest for Africa to remain free of Communist dictatorship", which means in practice that Africa should refuse to have friendly relations with the socialist countries. To prevent this development, it seems to be in America's "national interest" to support one-party systems, two-party systems—anything, providing it does not mean the advancement of socialist ideas in Africa!

AMERICA'S LOSING BATTLE

To protect its "national interest" in Africa and elsewhere in the world, the United States is obliged to build up a huge administrative machine. In the chapter *The Making of African Policy*, this book explains this as the main reason for increasing the personnel of the U.S. Department of State from 4,726 in 1930 with a budget of \$15 million, to \$26,449 in 1950 (twice as much), and a budget of \$331 million in 1960 (twenty-two times as much) and since then it has risen far more.

The author is himself a Professor of African Studies, a Director of Programmes for African Studies, Chairman of the State Department's Advisory Council on African Affairs, and an extensive traveller over Africa. A new development in July 1958, was the formation of a "Bureau of African Affairs" under an Assistant Secretary of State, and an increase of full-time officers from 44 in 1960 to 97 in 1962. This is now the main "powerhouse" for United States operations in Africa, where the number of U.S. "Foreign Service Officers" has increased from 664 in 1957 to 1,359 in July 1961:

THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

The Bureau of African Affairs is the main political channel, but there are many more which enable the United States to penetrate into Africa. The Agency for International Development has no less than 1,310 U.S. representatives in Africa. The so-called "Peace Corps" is planned to reach nearly 10,000 in the autumn of 1963. The United States Information Agency (USIA) had 133 officers and 476 trained propagandists in Africa in 1962 at 43 U.S. "information centres" in 31 African countries, together with USIA libraries in 30 African cities.

Through various channels too numerous to mention, the United States uses films, books, television and radio relay stations, and buys up African newspapers to influence African political ideas. They all dovetail into a comprehensive strategic plan for the advancement of America's "national interest" in Africa, and the author quotes with approval a recent new book on American Foreign Policy which declares:

"... foreign aid is wholly inseparable from politics and is always an economic instrument of foreign policy." (*The New Statecraft - Foreign Aid in American Foreign Policy*, by George Liska).

Despite this vast apparatus in the service of American aims in Africa, the author is by no means confident that its operations

are successful, because racial discrimination against Africans in the United States itself is difficult to explain away—and in contrast to the absence of racial discrimination in the Soviet Union.

"At the height of the controversy over the colonial question, it was extremely difficult to make palatable propaganda out of U.S. fence-sitting in the United Nations. The racial discrimination to which American Negroes are still subjected is even harder to explain to Africans. Since the Soviet Union, in contrast, has escaped identification with racialism and colonialism, American propaganda about Soviet 'colonialism' and the threat of communism in Africa has little effect, and in fact is often regarded by Africans as deceptive counter-propaganda to conceal American support for 'Western colonialism' (p.381).

It certainly seems as if all the money spent on American activity and propaganda in Africa is not reaping a rich reward. After the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State in May 1963, it is even more difficult to do so. United States ties with fascist circles in South Africa and Portugal will reach breaking point when the Addis Ababa decisions are translated into practice.

The author closes his book with the warning that "we must attune ourselves to this revolutionary spirit in Africa", and declares:

"If we fail in the effort, we may find our present system of international security collapsing all round us within the next decade".

What the author really means is that the United States will no longer be able to exercise domination over the African continent. And with this conclusion one can only express the fullest agreement.

London, February 21, 1964.

AFRICA IN WORLD POLITICS: by Vernon McKay, Published by Harper and Row (New York) \$6.75.

Imperialist New Design

Continued from page 1

imperialists and their missions to employ every and any method to eliminate such a leader from the African political scene.

The fact therefore that Nkrumah's life is threatened is not a testimony of his unpopularity with the masses of Africa but the reverse. It is proof positive that he is making a success of the fight against imperialism. He is receiving the enthusiastic acclaim of his people. And this sends the

chill down the spine of the imperialists.

Mr. Berkeley's claim about "arbitrary and ruthless tyranny" in Ghana stands disproved by facts. Nkrumah did not only secure majority of the people of Ghana on his side in the struggle against British colonialism. That support has grown since independence, from 72 constituencies out of 104 in 1956 to 101 out of 104 in 1960 and to 99 per cent of the votes cast in last month's referendum.

which recorded a 93 per cent poll.

The troubles with the projected East African Federation Mr. Berkeley attributes to Nkrumah's "jealousy". It is a known fact that the East African Federation is the brain child of British imperialism. And if it is running into difficulties, this can only be due to a growing realisation among the leaders and peoples of East Africa that the Federation will support neither their demand for complete independence nor Africa's yearnings for effective unity.

winked, thanks to the preachings and activities of Kwame Nkrumah. Mr. Berkeley's ignorant

ITEM	1951	1961
STUDENT POPULATION:		
Primary Schools	154,360	481,500
Middle Schools	66,175	160,000
Secondary and Technical Schools	3,559	19,143
Teacher Training Colleges	1,916	4,552
Universities	208	1,204
HEALTH:		
Hospital beds	2,368	6,155
Rural and Urban Clinics	1	30
Number of Doctors	156	500

available to the people of Ghana after 104 years of colonial rule and after only 10 years of C.P.P. rule:—

in this country is to guarantee the security of the Leader and Founder of the Nation. Those who doubted the connection of the imperialists with recent outrages in the country will do well to take a hint from Mr. Berkeley's article.

In conclusion, the interests for which Berkeley speaks are best revealed by a review of his recent business connection. In 1958 he headed a firm of Public relations men who advertised Ghana overseas at a fee of £18,000 a year. At that time Mr. Berkeley spoke and wrote well of Ghana. However, in 1961, the firm, Michael Rice and Co. Ltd., was dissolved after Nkrumah cancelled the £18,000 per year contract. And Mr. Berkeley became an anti-Ghana and anti-Nkrumah columnist and publicist. No doubt, as

a true Tory, he has been driven by the profit motive!

Today Mr. Berkeley is in banking business. His firm Berkeley, Forster & Co. has an issued capital of £80,000 and made a trading profit last year of £11,717. Mr. Berkeley was host early this month at a Dorchester Hotel luncheon arranged in honour of Mr. Paul Bomani, Tanganyikan Minister of Finance. Why is Mr. Berkeley so affable to Mr. Bomani and so hostile to Kwame Nkrumah even though Tanganyika and Ghana are one party states? The answer is to be found not in politics but in business. Nkrumah terminated the £18,000 per year public relations contract. But early this month Berkeley, Forster and Co. were appointed financial and economic advisers to the Tanganyika Government.

Continued from page 1

The Volta River Project is now half a reality and half a promise. The promise is for the people of West Africa, and not any group of financiers either here or overseas.

There are slums in Accra as well as many new housing estates and beautiful houses. The significance lies not in the slums or in the number of new houses, but in the fact that everyone knows that the slums are temporary, and that the new houses are not limited by a social system but by the physical impossibility of making houses rise up over night.

The traffic of Ghana is too great for its roads, the big hospitals too small and inefficient for the people's needs. The markets are inadequate and not clean enough. The distribution of food too expensive and chaotic. But by which standards do we judge the roads, hospitals, markets schools and living standards of Ghana? We no longer judge Ghana by the standards of a developing African country. We are beginning to grumble, scold and complain in terms of the highest Western standards. Our hospitals are not as good as London's. Our traffic is not as well regulated as in Stockholm. Our markets are not as clean as Les Halles in Paris—or they are no cleaner.

This is the tribute which the world must pay to Ghana, and this is the measure of its challenge to itself.

—BASNER

Africa is grateful to Nkrumah for exposing this British scheme. And one can readily understand the anger of a Conservative Member of Parliament.

Winston Field's determination to resist majority rule in Southern Rhodesia cannot be due to Nkrumah's declaration that "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless colonialism and racial discrimination were driven from the Continent of Africa." Rather it owes much to a realisation of the fact that Nkrumah's activities in Ghana and throughout Africa have exposed the imperialist strategy of securing their interests through the grant of formal political independence which leaves economic and military control in the hands of the former masters. The racialists of Southern Rhodesia are frantic because they know the African can no longer be hood-

A Shady Character?

BERKELEY'S BANK

A GLANCE now, at the doings of Mr. Humphry Berkeley, Tory M.P. for Lancaster.

Last week he was the host at a Dorchester luncheon in honour of Mr. Paul Bomani, Minister of Finance for Tanganyika.

Now why should Mr. Berkeley be doing this? Because he is the most vocal Tory supporter of African nationalism?

Or is he connected with a public relations firm which represents Tanganyika, as he was once connected with a firm which represented Ghana?

No: Mr. Berkeley has left the P.R. business.

But Mr. Berkeley, I can report, has blossomed as a banker.

He is a director of a banking firm, Berkeley, Forster and Co. (issued capital £80,000 trading profit last year £11,717).

Among his co-directors is Mr. Anthony Sumption, prospective Tory candidate for West Middlesbrough.

And a few days before the luncheon at which Mr. Berkeley was host, Berkeley, Forster and Co. were appointed financial and economic advisers to the Tanganyikan Government.

(Crossbenchers Column)

(Sunday Express) 16/2/64

Even the one party system, which Mr. Berkeley dreads, was introduced into Ghana, not by government decree as in some other countries, but by the direct vote of the people.

As for justice, Mr. Berkeley should compare the services provided for the under British colonial rule and since Nkrumah took over. The following table gives the social services

We can now consider Mr. Berkeley's mis-information of his readers. He refers to "punishing taxation" and holds that "elements that can best sustain a developing society have been cast aside". But a fellow Tory, Major-General Sir Edward L. Spears, Bart., K.B.E., C.B., M.C., Chairman of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, Ltd., told the annual meeting of his Board of Directors last April in London that re-invested profits rose from £17 m. in 1957 to £38 m. in 1962; profits declared to British Shareholders have gone up from £403,830 in 1957 to £917,690 in 1960. Major General Spears, who knows the Ghana economy from the inside, declared: "The Corporation stands out as an example of what British capital and skills can do in establishing a successful enterprise in a distant land."

And to demonstrate his ignorance of contemporary world politics, Mr. Berkeley likens Ghana to "the Peoples Democracy of the Stalinist era," but holds that "Nkrumah's socialism is likely to follow the example of Tito"!!

After this jumble of distorted views on recent events in Ghana, of untruths and unpardonable ignorance (the man is a member of Parliament!) Mr. Berkeley openly asserts that "violence or death" are the only way to bring an end to Kwame Nkrumah's rule. He wittingly or unwittingly gives expression to the formula of the imperialists for restoring their position in Ghana and in Africa. And this makes it clear that the heart of the struggle for socialism

AFRICAN BLOOD ON LUSCIOUS FRUIT

HOW much is a life worth? It depends where you live and if you live in South Africa and have a black skin it may be as low as £25. For this is the sum a white farmer was fined in the Orange Free State recently, when he was convicted of common assault on an African farm worker.

It was stated that the farmer hit the African when he found him trespassing on his land. When the African ran away he was hit twice more and thrown into the river where he drowned.

THIN SKINNED
This African's blood and the blood of every other murdered

African is on the luscious fruits which are now being advertised in our press.

"Thin skinned peaches and plums" runs the advertising copy. It is clear that white farmers in South Africa have the very opposite of thin skins.

It is therefore all the more regrettable that Marks and Spencers in Britain are reported to be negotiating for the supply of canned South African fruits for sale in their stores.

Housewives must remember that Marks and Spencers are in business for profit and if they can't sell South African goods then they will stop buying them.

J. S.

Importation of Sahara Gas

ON 13th January, 1962, the "Guardian" reported: "The Societe Saharienne des Recherches Petrolieres (a subsidiary of BP) announced tonight that it had made its first strike of oil in the Sahara... The announcement at this moment of crisis in Algeria gives Britain a stake, if only a commercial one, in the future government of the great desert."

It added: "The Ministry of Power is also considering plans for the construction of local pipelines to distribute methane gas imported from the Sahara to Great Britain."

To complete the picture, the Times (20/9/62) reported that shipments of natural gas will be fed to Britain from the Sahara "in increasing quantities from early in 1964", adding that the Gas Council "was optimistic about its major project for the importation of Saharan gas" and that it had contracted to take 1,000 million cubic metres of methane from the Saharan wells for 15 years.

WHO WILL BENEFIT

In the first case, the big international monopolies who have grabbed the natural gas supplies in the Sahara.

The firm from whom the Gas Council will purchase the gas is the Compagnie Algerienne de Methane Liquide—which is owned 50 per cent by the American firm, Conch International

Methane Ltd. 25 per cent by French Government—controlled companies; and 24 per cent by other French interests.

The Gas Council will not even do the importing themselves. Two special ships are being built, to bring the gas to Canvey Island in liquified form; and there it will be reconverted into gas and distributed along a special pipe-line being built for the purpose. The ships will be chartered by the Gas Council jointly with a company owned jointly by Shell and by U.S. interests. The firm responsible for the transportation will be British Methane Ltd., which is owned 50 per cent by the Gas Council and 50 per cent by the American firm, Conch International which is also (see above) tied up with the production end.

Thus the big monopolies who control the production end, the transport, the shipping, and the private pipeline—all will take their slice.

The workers in the Sahara, producing the gas, will continue to be exploited for miserable pay. As Mr. D. Griffiths (Rother Valley) commented in the coal de-

bate at the end of 1961: "I should like the workers in the Sahara... to have a standard of living similar to that of our people. The hon. Members opposite would not be receiving the imposing profits which they are getting today, and coal would be able to compete on a more equitable basis" (29.10.61).

The decision to import Sahara gas means a cut down of coal production by some 850,000 tons a year—and the subsequent closing down of further pits, and sacking of miners.

Gas, if required, can be produced in Britain from coal by the Lurgi process (two Lurgi plants are being built and others have been under consideration). Imported methane costs 8½d. a therm, whilst present coal gas made by the gas industry costs 12d. to 15d. a therm. The National Coal Board estimate that, by the Lurgi process, they can bring the cost of home produced gas down to 8½d. But the Gas Council, in the interests of the monopolies, have decided to import the Sahara gas.

No wonder the Gas World (24.2.62) comments: "In a sense, of course, the (gas) industry, through its scheme for the importation of methane from the Sahara, has already entered the Common Market."

One Party Socialist State

(Continued from page 3)

In time, if the general mass of the people become "new rich" without one living off the cream of another, then of course, it stands to reason that "their personalities can develop to the highest possible level" thereby having a "reasonable opportunity of enjoying happiness". And this is where we say that Mr. Folson's conclusions become a logical non sequitur since he admits that socialism must raise the personality of the people for a reasonable opportunity of enjoying happiness, and at the same time condemns socialism and the one-party state.

Mr. Folson's theory regarding the incompatibility of socialism with a one-party state seeks to place a hindrance on the development of human knowledge. He arrives at a conclusion

without offering a single suggestion as to how he wanted "his" society to be. He simply ends by saying that the two systems are incompatible. In short, they are impracticable. Perhaps we can safely draw the attention of Mr. Folson to the fact that knowledge is not static. It develops. And one cannot develop one's knowledge by just concluding that something is not good or cannot be done. In so doing, Mr. Folson is trying to break one of the fundamental principles governing the basic philosophical problem concerning the theory of knowledge.

From the old philosophical conception of Francis Bacon (1561—1626) to the modern Materialist theory of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, political scientists and philosophers have got to know that knowledge can develop through experi-

ments and practice. When one does not put one's important ideas into practice one is looked upon as an addephated idealist who does nothing for mankind but day-dreams in an arm-chair. When one feels that a problem is incapable of being solved one is dubbed an agnostic. To this end we may rightly say that Kwaku Folson, with his superficial display of political and philosophical thoughts, belongs to the ancient school of philosophical agnosticism that characterised the philosophy of Emmanuel Kant (1724—1804) and David Hume 1711—1776).

If Mr. Folson feels he does not belong to the camp of agnostics perhaps he may try to tell us where a one-party socialist state can be safely practised since, throughout his article, he continued to say that this cannot be practised in Africa. We are yet to know from Mr. Folson where such a society can be put to beneficial use, either in Europe, America, Latin America, Asia, Venus or Mars.