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**EDITORIAL**

## Towards Ideological Unity within the Party

THERE is need for systematic, widespread, thorough ideological education within our Party, the Convention People's Party. This ideological education must have two aspects. The first is the elaboration, elucidation and enthronement of the official Party ideology, Nkrumaism. The second aspect is the total destruction within the Party of all other ideologies or ideological trends within the Party.

It is when the official ideology reigns supreme within the Party that we can claim to have achieved monolithic unity in the Party. And this monolithic unity is the only secure foundation on which the survival of the Party can be built. It is also the ultimate guarantee that our Party will stick to its chosen course of socialism and will surmount all obstacles, frontal or flanking, overt, or covert, direct or subtle along this chosen course.

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Unlike the political parties in some socialist countries, the membership of our Party is not restricted to a class or two. Membership of our Party is open to every man and woman who accepts the principles, programmes and constitution of the Party. It follows from this that we cannot count on the force of class interest to bind our Party together. We cannot hope to hold our members together because these are all drawn from one class and hence have a class position to defend. If we took this line, the inevitable consequence would be a bitter class struggle that would create havoc among our peoples and slow down the progress of the nation.

We have chosen to follow a path that plays down the class war. This is why membership of our Party is open to all classes,

to all tribes, to all religious creeds. The common factor that binds us together as one solid army is that every member subscribes to the Party principles, programme and constitution—in short, to the Party ideology. Therefore, even more important in our case than in the case of political parties in some other socialist countries, the solid matrix that holds our Party together is one supreme ideology.

Such ideological unity is a great necessity during periods when the Party is confronted with major tasks at home and abroad. For ideological differences within the Party at such times provide channels which the enemy can use, and will use, to attack our rear, cause confusion in our midst and thereby sap our morale and fighting efficiency.

The Convention People's Party is entering perhaps the most crucial period in its entire history. At home, by drawing up, launching and now in the process of implementing the 7-Year Development Plan, our people are finally at grips with vested interest, reaction and the forces of privilege and subversion. It will require a disciplined, imaginative and self-confident people to meet and overcome the wiles, the subtleties and the resistance of all those social and economic forces that, for selfish reasons, oppose our drive for socialism. And these retrogressive negative forces, at every turn, enjoy the sympathy (and even the backing) of world imperialism. They can count on the collaboration of neo-colonialist forces on the African continent.

On the African continent, Ghana faces its severest test to date with the struggle for African political unity reaching its climax of intensity. The neo-colonialists and their imperialist masters have

already shown their hand. They are determined to resist African political union and to perpetuate balkanisation which retains conditions that permit the continued domination by imperialism of this continent. Their methods include vilification, subversion, campaign of lies and threats, even murder. Ghana needs a strong, monolithic Party of the people to hack her way through this web of reaction while building up political immunity at home against attempts at subversion which a forthright, progressive policy in Africa will tend to engender at home. Here again, the answer is a party united on the basis of one and only one ideology and drawing its strength from the broad masses. In short, a monolithic peoples party.

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From its inception, the Convention People's Party had been so preoccupied with the struggle against colonialism that it scarcely had time to give systematic ideological education to its members. Even for a few years after independence, the Party's energy was taken up in consolidating newly-won political power, in dealing with the forces of division and violence within the nation and in rectifying a negotiated constitution in a way that would establish the independence of the nation and the sovereignty of the people in a clear and effective manner. The question of giving systematic ideological education to its membership was actively taken up in 1961 when the Ideological Institute at Winneba was founded on the decision of the Central Committee and named after the Party's General Secretary and Chairman of the Central Committee.

At the founding of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in 1961 the ideological position of the Party was that it accepted "the Marxist socialist philosophy and world view" but aimed at "relating this view to African conditions". The Marxist socialist philosophy however did not come into the Party only in 1961. As far back as 1948 before the Watson Commission, Kwame Nkrumah had declared himself a "Marxist socialist". Albeit, the decision that our ideology seeks to apply the Marxist socialist philosophy to concrete African conditions could be dated from 1961.

There was accordingly the desire to bring out the fact that our view of socialism shared some fundamental principles with Marxism but was not a carbon copy of socialism in the established socialist states of the world. This desire at times found expression in the term "African Socialism". One point, however, must be emphasised. Even though there was the general feeling that Marxist socialist philosophy should be related to the historical conditions of Africa, the exercise had not in fact been carried out. There was no clear cut exposition of this African particularity of Marxist socialism. This was the position in 1961. It was a position that permitted various interpretations, most of which were no more than the projection of personal opinions. The door was open for subjectivism to parade as science.

To enthrone one and only one ideology and enable it reign supreme within our Party, it is necessary to do three things. The first is to define the official ideology and elucidate its tenets to a degree that permits no ambiguous interpretation or false subjectivism. The second thing

is to track down and decimate all views or notions within the Party that run counter to the official ideology. The third thing is to create or spotlight a machinery for ideological education within the Party—a machinery that will help the rank and file of the Party know which views are official and right and which are unofficial and hence wrong.

The next phase in the ideological evolution of our Party was the period from the founding of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute to the launching of "Consciencism". The period extends from February 1961 to April 1964.

The first significant development in the sphere of ideology during this period was that the term "African socialism" came to be given a social and economic content. While most African leaders were content with the use of the label "African socialism" to throw into bold relief the fact that they are concerned primarily with African conditions and problems, a non-African organisation set out to give a definite social-economic content to the term. The organisation is the Italy-based Congress Mediterranean de la Culture. It sponsored a conference on "African Ways to Socialism" at Dakar, Senegal, in December 1962. The chief participants in this conference were representatives of the ruling parties and the social democratic parties of the imperialist countries—Britain, France, U.S.A., West German, Italy, Israel. These were in conference with right wing African political leaders representing governments like Senegal, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, etc. and with carefully selected bourgeois-oriented scholars from a few other African countries.

As soon as this conference

finished its work, the stage was set for a sustained ideological offensive against Africa by the erstwhile colonial powers. The "decisions" of the conference became the subject matter of a spate of political literature each pushing the concept of "African socialism". At least three such books have appeared up-to-date, one each from Britain, France and the U.S.A. A complementary activity was the release by the Western countries of books which tend either to deny the existence of neo-colonialism or to claim that it

works in the interest of African development.

All these intellectual and ideological activities had one goal in common. They were out to convince the New Africa that its way to development and prosperity lay in collaboration with imperialism. In short, "African Socialism" became the ideology which seeks Africa's development through dependence on and partnership with West European and U.S. imperialism.

Meanwhile a second development of far-reaching

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### THOUGHTS FOR NATIONAL DAY

"We can make Ghana a showpiece of African success if this Party gives the correct leadership to our people."

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"This great Party is deeply rooted in the people. The masses swear by it. Its prestige is reflected in the confidence reposed in it not only by Ghanaians but also by Africans elsewhere. The Party therefore has a duty and an obligation to stand by the people. Our performance must be first-class. Our sincerity must be above suspicion and we must always have the courage of our convictions. To achieve this, we have periodically to examine ourselves critically and to establish a firm discipline. In future we shall even be more critical of our conduct and actions."

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"Our youngsters, imbued with a spirit of dedication and service, are thronging by the thousand to the colours of the Party. Looking at them, I am sure that Ghana has a bright future in human material."

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"This is the time, therefore, when we shall need every available hand. The intelligentsia, the workers, the farmers and peasants, all the people must pull together in one great effort to liquidate and abolish all the remnants of the evils of colonialism—illiteracy, disease, poverty, hunger, malnutrition and squalor. All the people must work together, for our interests are one and inseparable and our destiny is one and single."

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... it is most important that the Party should be in a position to give essential leadership to all national action, at all times.

"This demands that the Party leadership must be well-informed and its actions well considered. The Party has therefore built at a great cost, the Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideological Studies at Winneba. Its object is to give Party ideological education."

(Extracts from the Address of the General Secretary of the Convention People's Party and Chairman of the Central Committee to the Eleventh Party Congress at Kumasi on 29th July, 1962).

# New Features of The National Liberation Movement

by Pieter Kueneman

THE process of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism has now reached its final stage. In less than two decades, the national-liberation movement has shattered colonial empires that took the imperialist centuries to put together. On their ruins more than sixty independent national states have sprung up.

"The complete disintegration of colonialism is imminent", the 1960 Statement of the fraternal parties says. "The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the rise of the socialist world system."

In our time the national-liberation movement has acquired new features.

The national-liberation struggles of earlier times were directed against one or other imperialist power. The national-liberation movement of our day is world-wide in scope and is directed against the entire colonial system as such. The national question itself has been transformed from a partial, internal problem into a cardinal international problem.

Another new feature of the national-liberation revolution is that it has produced new sovereign states which, although still within the world capitalist economy, so far as the overwhelming majority of them are concerned are no longer part of the political system of imperialism and exercise an independent role which, objectively, favours peace and the struggle against imperialism and the capitalist-monopolies.

### A NEW FEATURE

A third new feature of the movement is that it has confirmed Lenin's prevision of the integration of the national-liberation movement of subject peoples with the international proletarian revolution into a single world revolutionary process. Only a few decades ago, the national-liberation movement was no more than a potential reserve of the world socialist revolution. It has now become a vital component of the entire process of revolutionary reconstruction on a world scale from capitalism and imperialism to socialism and communism.

A fourth new feature is that the contemporary national-liberation revolutions go far beyond the limits of the aims pursued by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past which cleared the way for capitalism. As Lenin reported to the Third Congress of the Comintern on July 5, 1921: "...in the coming decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the world's population, originally aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism".

Of course, the disintegration of the colonial system cannot be equated with the disintegration of imperialism itself. Monopoly capitalism—and especially state-monopoly capitalism—in the metropolitan countries has still to be overthrown. There are some forty million people who have still to win their national independence and also some newly-free countries where pro-imperialist regimes still exist. In various ways, ranging from armed attack to different forms of political subversion and neo-colonialist penetration of their economies, the imperialists still seek to rob the newly-free peoples of the fruits of their victory. While all this has to be fought and overcome, it nevertheless remains true that for the national liberation movement as a whole a new stage has opened when the struggle for economic independence, social progress and deep-going socio-economic changes has become the Number One problem. In a sense, the economy has become the main battlefield of the national liberation movement as a whole at the present stage.

All this is fully in accord with Lenin's teaching that the national-liberation movement does not end with the winning of political independence. If the national-liberation revolution does not solve all the urgent tasks of national renaissance and lead to profound changes in social and economic life, political independence itself will be unstable and can be undermined or turned into something nominal.

The peoples of the new national states know that they owe their success not to their own efforts alone but also to world revolutionary process as a whole. The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 began not only the revolutionary advance from capitalism to socialism on a world scale—the basic content of our epoch—but also the process of the disintegration of the colonial system. This process was accelerated by the defeat of fascism in World War II and especially by the rise of the socialist world system, which is winning over capitalism in the conditions of peaceful economic competition between the two social systems.

Not only the Communists, but also the revolutionary democrats and even the anti-imperialist sections of the national bourgeoisie in the newly-independent countries realise how closely the future of these countries is linked with the progress made by the socialist world system and the support of the socialist countries, especially the U.S.S.R., and of the revolutionary proletariat in the developed capitalist countries.

### PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Had there been no socialist world system, with its growing influence on the development of society, and had there been no C.P.S.U. or Soviet Union, which, steadfastly adhering to the principles of proletarian internationalism are rendering the national-liberation movements moral, political, technical and even military aid, imperialism would surely have drowned the national-liberation revolutions in blood.

Unity between the new national states and the socialist world system is particularly essential now when the main task of most of the new countries is to consolidate national independence, achieve economic independence and social progress, and when wide opportunities have opened up before the peoples of many of these countries to go ahead towards socialism without going through the capitalist stage of development.

The idea that, with the help of the countries where socialism has been established, economically backward countries advance to socialism without going through capitalism was clearly stated by Lenin in his report to the Second Congress of the Comintern on July 26, 1920: "This is how the question was posed: is the capitalist stage of economic development inevitable for those backward nations which are now winning liberation and in which progressive trends are to be observed since the war? We said no. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, while the Soviet governments come to their assistance with all the

means at their command—in that event it would be wrong to assume that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for the backward nationalities."

Time has borne out the truth of Lenin's words. The experiences of the Central Asian Republics of the U.S.S.R., the Mongolian People's Republic, the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cuba have shown that in our day former colonies and semi-colonies do not necessarily have to go through the capitalist stage of development or the stage of nature capitalism before reaching socialism.

### SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM

The non-capitalist way for former colonies and semi-colonies was impossible at the time when imperialism and capitalism held sole sway in the world arena. Though still difficult, it became possible after the victory of the October Revolution when socialism existed in one country encircled by capitalism. But the rise of the socialist world system and its increasingly decisive role in world affairs has created the broad possibility or a non-capitalist transition to socialism for a large number of newly-liberated peoples. Thus the possibility of the non-capitalist way for economically backward countries has grown with the advance of socialism on a world scale.

This possibility arises from the combination of favourable external and internal objective factors. The rise of the socialist world system, the beginning of comprehensive Communist construction in the U.S.S.R., the intensified disintegration of the colonial system, the entry of world capitalism into the third stage of its general crisis and, lastly, the success of the policy of peaceful co-existence are the favourable external factors. The weightiest of these is the existence of world socialism and the growing political influence and the economic and military might of the U.S.S.R.

The internal factors are found in the qualitatively new stage of the national-liberation movement in our epoch and also in the political and socio-economic processes taking place in the new states.

From the viewpoint of the internal factors and the possibility of non-capitalist development, the new national states fall broadly into two groups.

In the first group are the countries with no developed capitalist relations. Their economies are dominated by foreign monopolies and the main occupation, agriculture, is a mixture of feudal, semi-feudal and even pre-feudal relations. Many of the new national states in Africa belong to this group, which can most easily take the non-capitalist way.

In the second group are the countries in which there are capitalist relations. Their economies are semi-colonial and semi-feudal, with a more or less developed capitalism in some branches. Foreign monopolies occupy strong strategic positions in the economy. Most of the new national states of Asia and some in Africa in this group.

But even in this group of states there are good possibilities for a non-capitalist development. Although capitalist relations exist, they do not predominate. Agriculture, still the basic occupation and affecting the lives of the vast

majority of the population, is in the main a non-capitalist agriculture.

The national bourgeoisie in these countries is generally weak, lacks adequate resources for independent development and depends heavily on state patronage and assistance. Capitalism is not popular with the people, while the ideas of socialism enjoy great prestige.

The experience of the last decade has shown that the attempts by bourgeois governments to develop the new states along capitalist lines have produced a rate of economic growth that is wholly insufficient to eliminate the economic backwardness of these countries and enable them to catch up in a historically foreseeable time even with the present levels of the advanced capitalist countries. At current rates of economic growth, it would take the new states centuries to catch up. In point of fact figures show that the absolute gap between the developed and undeveloped countries is widening, not diminishing. According to data of the United Nations Special Fund, per capita income in the new states has risen in the past decade by only one dollar a year compared with 30 dollars in Great Britain and 50 dollars in the U.S.A.

Thus, the non-capitalist way can be the practical effective and speedy way for the new states to solve the urgent problems of national renaissance and advance through the various transitional stages from pre-socialist, and often pre-capitalist, formations to socialism.

That is why so many fraternal parties, including the Ceylon Communist Party at its recent Seventh Congress, have concluded that the non-capitalist way is suitable and appropriate for their situation. This way will enable these states to halt the growth of capitalism, avoid the agony of passing through all its stages, to restrict and ultimately oust capitalism and turn to socialism, without going through the stage of mature capitalism.

It should be emphasised that non-capitalist development is not the same as socialist development, the objective conditions for which have not yet matured in the new national states. The non-capitalist way is the way of revolutionary democratic reconstruction in the life of the nation which fulfils its historical function of completing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, of preparing the material and social pre-conditions for socialism—a function that capitalism fulfilled in earlier times.

### NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

The non-capitalist way has nothing in common with the reformist concept of a gradual evolution into socialism. It involves bitter class struggles against imperialism and domestic reaction, dislodging them from one position after another. Non-capitalist development is possible only to the extent that the masses are drawn into active struggle to deepen, extend and complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution.

Closely linked with the non-capitalist way is the question of the state of national democracy, first advanced in the 1960 Statement of the fraternal parties. It is to the credit of the Communists that they were able to suggest this solution to a problem posed by life. The concept of national democracy arises from the realisation that victory in the fight for the non-capitalist way depends on the national patriotic forces, including the working class, being able to take over the state management of society. National democracy is a new form of state structure corresponding

to the level of development of the contemporary national-liberation movement.

Of course, national democracy is not the only or the invariable form through which the tasks of non-capitalist development can be fulfilled. And it may be that the specific forms assumed by national democracy in different countries will vary according to the level of their social and economic development, the alignment of class forces, the position of the national bourgeoisie, the degree of working-class organisation and consciousness, and other factors.

Our Party has paid some attention to this question and, at its Seventh Congress in April 1964, accepted it as being appropriate to our conditions. We hold that the thesis of national democracy, like that of a non-capitalist way, has great significance for countries like ours where political independence has been substantially secured but where the objective conditions for the socialist reconstruction of society have not yet matured. National democracy is our answer to the crisis of bourgeois democracy and to the attempts by foreign and domestic reaction to exploit the disappointment and impatience felt by the masses at the failure of bourgeois democracy to deliver the goods.

The thesis of national democracy is based on and continues Lenin's teaching on the state and revolution, and specifically on the revolutionary significance of the struggle for democracy in paving the way to socialist reconstruction. In 1916 Lenin wrote: "We stand for democracy not in the name of capitalism but in the name of clearing the road for our movement."

### NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

National democracy is seen as a state of the national-liberation revolution. Its transitional nature and special form consist in its being neither the state nor the dictatorship of a single class, such as the bourgeoisie or the working class, or of two classes, such as the workers and the peasants. It does not arise from a struggle to overthrow one class and set up the dictatorship of another, but from the joint struggle of various classes and social groups against a common enemy—imperialism and colonialism. National democracy will, therefore, be a state that reflects the will and interests of a bloc of democratic and anti-imperialist classes and social strata—in other words, a state of the patriotic part of the whole nation in which political independence, the main gain of the national liberation revolution to date, is used to deepen and extend this revolution to ensure economic independence and development on the basis of broad democracy and social progress.

National democracy will be characterised, on the one hand, by a fairly long alliance between these classes and social strata and, on the other hand, by competition and struggle between them in the cause of genuine national renaissance. The competition and struggle taking place inside the alliance, will be directed towards winning general acceptance for the standpoint of the most advanced class, the working class, and to prevent, say, the national bourgeoisie from placing their narrow class interests above the national interests. In the course of this struggle the positions of the various classes in the alliance and their social role will, understandably, change. Another transitional feature of national democracy is that it will be possible for different democratic force to guide its line of

march. While the leadership of the working class in alliance with the peasantry is an essential prerequisite for socialist reconstruction and also the guarantee of steady and unswerving progress along the national-democratic and non-capitalist way, it may be that other participants in the bloc of democratic forces will act as the guiding force in the initial stages.

The fight for a national-democratic state involves a continuous struggle for certain political, economic and ideological preconditions.

The defence of peace and peaceful co-existence is an essential external condition for this development. The possibility of establishing a national democracy is a corollary of peaceful co-existence, and that is why a national democracy must be a peace-loving state that rejects entanglement in imperialist military blocs and foreign troops on its soil, and pursues in foreign affairs a policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

### ECONOMIC SPHERE

Relations of friendship with the socialist world system is another essential external condition for the state of national democracy. This is necessary in the fight against the old and the new colonialism and to break free from the unequal exchange which the new states experience within the world capitalist economy and which holds up their development. The extensive and many-sided aid of the socialist world system is a powerful factor furthering development along a national-democratic, non-capitalist way.

In the economic sphere, the national-democratic state should nationalise the enterprises owned by foreign monopolies; resist neo-colonialism and steadily restrict privately-owned home capital; develop national industry and a state sector that will become the foundation for independent development; it should abolish feudal and semi-feudal relations in the country-side; carry out radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry; curb private property trends; and encourage agricultural co-operation.

Extending and consolidating the state sector are special tasks of national democracy. In fact, the state sector can be described as the economic base of national democracy. It develops through confiscating or buying out foreign enterprises, through restricting private capitalist development; starting new state-owned industries, especially basic industries through state control and ownership of banking and insurance, state intervention in the control of and eventually, in a monopoly of foreign trade and internal wholesale trade. Only through the state sector can foreign and even domestic capital be combated successfully, through planning used to advantage and through representatives of the working people being trained for economic administration.

The state sector, its development and extension becomes the arena of sharp class battles between reaction and progress in many of the new states. Reaction tries in every way to oppose and compromise the state sector and even to plunder it for the benefit of private capital and speculators. Very often plans are not ensured adequate finance, raw materials, equipment and skilled manpower. Top officials in the administration closely linked with political reactionaries or capitalist firms also indulge in economic sabotage in the state sector. This has been our experience in Ceylon, and our Party and the people have had to fight many

battles against this.

In many of the new states the state sector has a state-capitalist character. But in the qualitative sense it differs from the state-monopoly capitalism in advanced capitalist countries where the monopolies use the state to advance their interests. In the new countries the state sector is generally directed objectively against imperialism and private capitalism. Here the state sector, generally speaking, arises from the objective need to struggle against the dominance of foreign monopolies and to build an independent national economy. It should be borne in mind that while the state sector can be a major economic lever to ensure national-democratic and non-capitalist transformations, everything depends in the final analysis on whose interests the state serves and who wields political power, depends on the correlation of class forces and the sharpness of class struggle. Where mass struggle is weak, the national bourgeoisie can succeed in using the state sector for its own narrow interests. Vigilance and the ceaseless activity of the masses are therefore essential for the state sector to become the economic foundation of national democracy.

The non-capitalist way in agriculture, retail trade and small-commodity production is likely to be more complicated and to take a much longer time. It will be necessary to proceed carefully in these spheres and, after abolishing feudal and semi-feudal relations and carrying out a radical land reform in the interests of the peasantry, to encourage co-operation through propaganda and the force of example, with full respect for the voluntary principle. But the national-democratic state will have to undertake this task as well, for small-producer economy is fertile soil for breeding capitalism. State power should be used to regulate the operation of economic processes and restrict the growth of private property relations. In these spheres development will generally take the form of mutual co-operation, economic ties, competition and even assistance aimed at influencing these sections economically and transforming private property relations.

### POLITICAL BASE

Raising the standard of life is fundamental to the success of a state of national democracy. The plain fact is that in most of the new national states there has been very little improvement in the economic conditions of the people. In some cases, it is possible to say that economic conditions have worsened. It is essential therefore for Communists in the new states to pay close attention to economic questions and their solution, to elaborate both long-term and short-term economic programmes, and to mobilise the masses to realise these programmes.

The political base for national democracy is the united anti-imperialist national front. This includes workers, peasants, intellectuals and the anti-imperialist sections of the national bourgeoisie, whose objectively progressive role in these countries is still not exhausted.

A peculiarity of the present stage of development in the new states is that in most of them a working class has not yet taken final shape. Non-proletarian social strata, particularly the peasantry, constitute the bulk of the population. Only about 85 million out of the total population of more than 1,000 million in non-

# U.S. Imperialist 'Special War' in South Vietnam

(Following are excerpts of the paper presented by Professor Nguyen Van-Hieu, a Member of the Central Committee of the National Liberation front of South Vietnam, at the recent Peking Symposium)

**WE** have come here from the scene of an aggressive war now raging in the form of a "special war" conducted by U.S. imperialism, and of a liberation war of the entire people of South Vietnam.

be held throughout the country to achieve peaceful reunification of Vietnam. However, U.S. imperialism moved in, ousted France and foisted its puppet administration in South Vietnam.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism has used economic and military means. Eighty per cent of U.S. aid is military aid. From 1954 to 1963, the U.S. poured nearly four billion dollars into South Vietnam. The present rate is nearly two million dollars a day. Most of this huge sum has been used for military purposes: feeding 600,000 mercenary troops and all kinds of

with a short time of its establishment, dropped its deceitful mask of "independence" and "democracy". This was clear not only to the labouring masses who are the most cruelly oppressed and exploited, but also to the intelligentsia and business circles. From 1955 to 1959, the whole of South Vietnam was a hell on earth. The people who demand elementary rights and democracy were suppressed by blood and fire. Many intellectuals and scientific workers who asked only for peace, independence and reunification of their country, were barbarously tortured or simply liquidated. That is why the

At the same time, the U.S. applies modern tactics and techniques in attacking the people's armed forces.

Their most widely advertised technique is that of lightning attacking by helicopter-borne troops. According to a *Reuter* report of July 7, 1964, American aircraft, mostly helicopters, made 30,000 sorties, moving half a million troops, in 1963 alone.

The U.S. imperialists often boast of their new techniques in anti-guerrilla warfare, from quick-firing carbines to napalm bombs, from toxic chemicals to phosphorous shells. Continuing the crimes of the Hitlerite fascists they have made use of scientific discoveries and employed barbarous means of war long been banned by international conventions.

The *National Guardian* of April 18, 1963 wrote that the purpose of operation "Ranch Hand" approved by the White House "was to hit the guerrillas in the belly by destroying the ricefields". U.S. aircraft spread poisonous chemicals on 200 occasions on many areas; from August 1961 to May 1964, infecting 20,000 persons, many of whom died, killing thousands of domestic animals and destroying more than 300,000 hectares of rice and other crops.

Relying on their superiority in finance, armaments and war materials, the U.S. imperialists thought that they could attack quickly and win quick victory over the South Vietnamese people. But the past three years have proved that "special war" is a natural outgrowth of the new colonialism of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam. It is also the last stage of new colonialism in South Vietnam.

## THE LIBERATION WAR OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The imperialists can only see the strength of dollars, aircraft and toxic chemicals, but do not see that the most basic and decisive factor is MAN.

MAN in South Vietnam means the Vietnamese people. Vietnam has for centuries been united historically, economically and culturally. The Vietnamese people have a tradition of indomitable struggle against foreign aggression. They overthrow the yokes of Japanese and French imperialists, victoriously carried out the August Revolution, conducted a 9-year war of resistance against the French colonialists assisted by the American imperialists, and wrote a glorious page in their history at Dien Bien Phu, which led to the conclusion of the 1954 Geneva agreements.

In the first years after the signing of the Geneva agreements, the South Vietnamese people used non-violent methods of struggle to demand improvement of living conditions, peace, independence, democracy, etc. But the enemy answered with bullets and bombs. Our compatriots have gone through the darkest days under the ruthless terror of the imperialists and their henchmen. From 1959 onward, the South Vietnamese people were compelled to take up arms in self-defence and they are resolved not to lay down their arms so long as the U.S. imperialists do not give up their aggressive policy.

The extensive and resolute struggle of the entire South Vietnamese people led to the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on December 20, 1960. The Front rallies patriots from all walks of life and of different political parties, religious creeds and nationalities to oppose the U.S. imperialists and achieve independence, democracy, improvement of living conditions, peace and neutrality in preparation for the reunification of the fatherland. The Front is the only genuine representative of the most urgent aspirations of the South Vietnamese people. Un-

der its leadership, the South Vietnamese people have smashed the perfidious plans of the U.S. imperialists one after another and are defeating their "special war" in South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese people are carrying on an extensive and powerful guerrilla war, a nation-wide, all-round and protracted war against an enemy who has absolute superiority in material forces and modern weapons.

The fundamental strength of the South Vietnamese people lies in their politics and the fundamental weakness of the enemy lies in their politics, too. From the beginning of 1961 to the end of April 1964, the numbers taking part in political struggles both in the countryside and the towns amounted to over 90 million, multiplying the number of people by the occasions, and these struggles are sometimes non-violent and sometimes violent in form, combining legal, semi-legal and illegal forms of struggle, and using revolutionary might to demand improvements in living conditions and democracy, to oppose terror and the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and to demand independence, peace and neutrality.

In the course of the struggle, a powerful political force has taken shape, with an organization comprising people of all social strata, tendencies and ages, having a high degree of consciousness. The great majority are peasants. The national liberation struggle in South Vietnam is therefore closely linked with the struggle for the liberation of the peasants. At present, over two-thirds of South Vietnam, with a population of more than 7 million, has been liberated under the leadership of the South Vietnam Liberation

fought 64,000 battles, big and small, put out of action over 300,000 enemy troops, including more than 2,000 Americans, and captured tens of thousands of guns of various kinds. The people on a large scale use such rudimentary weapons as bows and arrows, bows and booby traps. The Liberation Army also has modern weapons captured from the United States and its henchmen.

In the "special war", the main force of the enemy is the army of the puppet administration. The morale of such an army is bound to be low. According to incomplete figures, from early 1961 to late June 1964, over 65,000 enemy troops deserted and a sizeable number joined the Liberation Army.

## PILLAGES OF THE U.S.

The policy of herding people into "strategic hamlets" is the most cruel policy of U.S. imperialism. It harms the interests and life of the entire people. Therefore, when the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys come and set fire to the houses, destroy crops and force the peasants to leave their land to live in concentration camps, the peasants become guerrillas. Contrary to the aim of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to separate the guerrillas from the people, it is precisely the people in the "strategic hamlets" who rise up to smash the imperialist jails, not once, but dozens of times, not in one place, but in thousands of places.

This is a liberation movement conducted by the peasants themselves, the movement has its own laws, which the South Vietnamese peasants have mastered and are successfully using. In the course of the struggle a huge organized political force has

the movement of destroying "strategic hamlets" is that the people not only destroy hamlets one by one, but in whole groups, and turn the destroyed hamlets into "fighting villages" of their own. Everywhere the "fighting villages" surround enemy posts, embodying the people's strategy of turning the enemy's position from initial one of encircling the people to that of being encircled by the people.

The failure of the "strategic hamlets" plan is a most bitter failure for the enemy, because he considered it the "backbone" of his plan to attack and destroy the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam.

The helicopter-borne troops tactic of the enemy, which was loudly publicised as invincible, has gone bankrupt in South Vietnam. Wherever they go, enemy helicopters now find our crop fields bristling with sharp spikes and everywhere they meet guerrillas ready to shoot them down with any weapon to hand, as people shoot down birds.

So far, 80 per cent of the helicopters brought by the U.S. to South Vietnam have either been shot down or damaged.

In their defensive, confused position, the U.S. imperialists have used toxic chemicals against the South Vietnamese people. Of course, this caused considerable losses to our people, but it cannot subdue us.

As most of the families of members of the puppet army and administration have their own homes in the countryside, they also suffer damage. Therefore, not only the people but the members of the puppet army and administration oppose the barbarous war means of the United States.

The U.S. imperialists try to rely mainly on the manpower and material resources of the colonial country to feed their aggressive war, hence if they use toxic chemicals, they deprive themselves of their own source of food to a certain extent and defeat their own purposes.

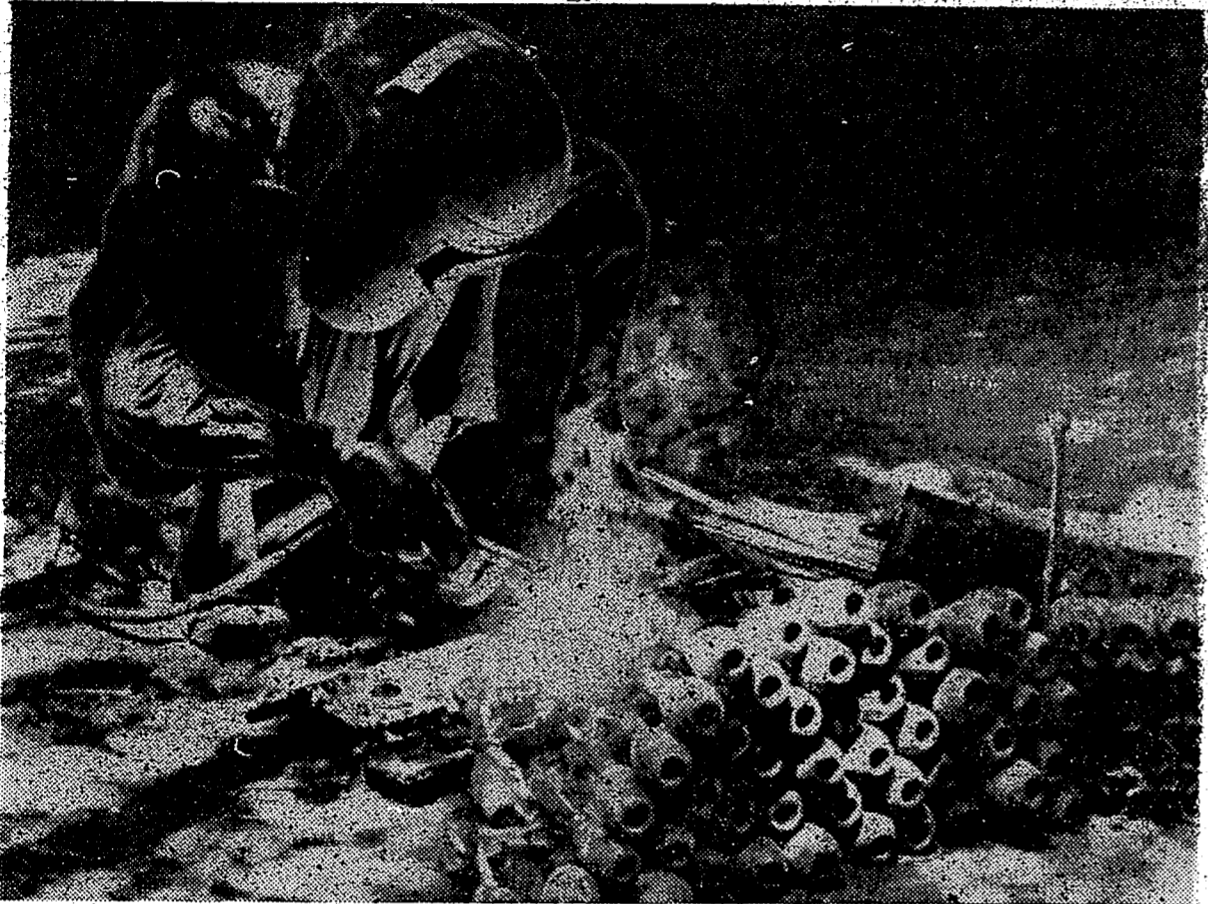
No matter what weapons and techniques they use, the U.S. imperialists and their "special war" will certainly be defeated because:

(1) The army of their henchmen on which they must rely to conduct their "special war" is weakening day by day. It is precisely because the morale of this army is very low that the U.S. imperialists must place their hope on weapons and technique. Even if they bring in more U.S. troops, they will not avert defeat because the main factors of the war remain unchanged.

(2) The forces of the army and people of South Vietnam are developing day by day. The South Vietnamese people have an ardent patriotism and an indomitable spirit of struggle. They have mastered the science of "revolutionary war" through their own struggle and by studying the rich experience of other national liberation movements.

(3) The world situation is becoming more and more favourable to the movement for national liberation, peace and social progress. Progressive mankind is recognising the patriotic movement in South Vietnam as part of the world movement for national liberation and for the defence of world peace.

The victories scored by the South Vietnamese people have proved that in our times, when a nation, however small or weak, has united and risen to make sacrifices to win victories and has been armed with a correct political line, it will never be conquered by any imperialism, not even U.S. imperialism.



"Our country must be free from any traces of imperialism"—these are the by-words of the popular liberation forces in the South Vietnam. They are determined to liberate their mother-land at all costs. Above pictures shows a freedom fighter preparing home-made grenades in one of the liberated areas.

Before dealing with the "special war", we should like to express some of our views on neo-colonialism.

Since the Second World War, the people of the colonial countries have risen in powerful struggle to win national independence. Many countries have liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke. The forces of peace and social progress have developed greatly with the rapid growth of the socialist countries. On the other hand, the imperialist countries are torn by contradictions: the more they try to find new methods to stave off their conflicts the more acute their contradictions become.

This situation has compelled the imperialists to collude with the reactionaries and traitors in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to maintain their colonialist domination in new forms and by new methods.

## NEO-COLONIALISM

How has U.S. imperialism been carrying out neo-colonialism in South Vietnam?

The old colonialist rule of France collapsed completely in 1954 and the Geneva agreements on Vietnam were concluded. These agreements solemnly recognised the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people. They provided that on July 20, 1956 free general elections were to

lackeys, building 111 airfields and 11 military ports.

In short, the main characteristic of neo-colonialism is that imperialism colludes with the local reactionaries and maintains their rule and interests by means of economic and military "aid" and builds military bases and military alliances, etc.

## SPECIAL WAR

U.S. imperialism has gone farther than any other imperialism in undertaking neo-colonialism. The U.S. imperialists are using what they call "special war". "Special War" is aggressive war of a new type which suits the policy of neo-colonialism. While economically the imperialists use the reactionary puppet administrations to exploit the people, in carrying out aggressive war, they use mainly the armies of the puppet administrations, but supply arms and money, and take direct command and bring in their own troops to take part in the fighting to a certain extent.

This is the kind of war they are testing in the southern part of our country to gain experience to suppress the national liberation movement in the world.

Why has U.S. imperialism unleashed "special war" in South Vietnam?

The new type of colonialist regime in South Vietnam has,

South Vietnamese people rose and put up fierce resistance.

In face of this surging struggle, to save the neo-colonialist regime they installed the U.S. imperialists went a step further and changed their policy of violence into "special war".

In February 1962, the United States set up its Military Command in Saigon disguised as M.A.C. (Military Assistance Command). That command comprises more than a dozen generals and directly commands the war through a system of "military advisers" who now total about 30,000 men. U.S. officers and troops have been personally shooting and killing our compatriots.

## U.S. EXPORTATION OF ARMS

The United States also illegally brought into South Vietnam tens of thousands of tons of armament, hundreds of aircraft, tanks, warships and other war materials. U.S. aircraft, in South Vietnam now number over 700, that is, five air divisions, equivalent to the strength of the whole Indo-China battlefield in the past.

The U.S. Staley-Taylor plan provided for the concentration of the major part of the South Vietnamese population—that is, 14 million people—into 17,000 prisons which they called "strategic hamlets" to isolate the guerrilla forces, which they hoped to wipe out.

fed and well educated than the other developments would automatically follow.

Mr. Walker who paid a courtesy call on Mr. Ebenezer Adam, the Northern Regional Commissioner, in his office at Tanale, also praised Ghana's policy of non-alignment.

MOROCCO: Mr. G. Mennen Williams the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, discussed economic problems during an hour-long meeting with King Hassan II in Rabat yesterday, it was announced.

Mr. Williams currently visiting Morocco said the talks were

(Continued on page 4)



The United States of America is apt to defend its imperialism in South Vietnam at the expense of the lives of even innocent children of that country. Evidence of these atrocities can be seen in this picture.

National Front, and over 1,500,000 hectares of land, or more than half of the cultivated land, is owned by the peasants.

From early 1961 to June 1964, the armed forces and people of South Vietnam

come into being, with an armed contingent that is rich in experience.

Of the 8,000 "strategic hamlets" set up by the enemy over the past three years, over 80 per cent have been destroyed by the people. A new fea-



FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26th:

GHANA: The body of Mr. Jean Marie Mboudou, a Congolese student of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, was flown to Congo (Brazzaville) yesterday for burial.

Mr. Mboudou died in a motor accident on the Accra-Winneba road at the weekend.

The body was accompanied by representatives of the Institute and members of the Young Pioneers Movement.

\* Mr. R. Walker, deputy British High Commissioner in Ghana, has praised Ghana's educational and agricultural policies and explained that education and food were vital needs of every nation.

He said if everybody was well

# Liberation Movement

Continued from Page 2

socialist Asia (i.e. a little over 8%) are workers. The figure for Africa is 15 million out of 270 million (5.5 per cent). The biggest proportion is in Latin America, where 30 million out of 214 million (14 per cent) are workers.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working class has increased nearly fourfold since the Second World War and now numbers over 130 million. A feature of this growth is that it has taken place largely in the expanding state sector. Hence the young working class taking shape in these countries is, in a sense, emerging free from exploitation by private-property capital. The working class, in these countries is not only the decisive and uncompromising enemy of all oppression, but also the least subject to the divisive influences of feudal, tribal, religious and caste differences. It imparts militancy and clearly-defined goals to the national-liberation movement, which often uses specifically proletarian methods of struggle ranging from strikes to armed uprisings. The fact that the working class is becoming an influential force on these continents is seen in the rise of the strike struggles, in its growing class consciousness and degree of organisation, in the development of working-class unity and the appearance of Communist parties.

The political tasks of the state of national democracy are to safeguard and consolidate political independence against

all encroachments by old and new colonialism; to democratise social life and the state administration; to ensure a broad inner democracy for the people; enable them to take part in shaping and determining state policy; and to draw them into active participation in building the new life.

The State of national democracy has also to establish ideological foundations which are an essential part of the preparations for socialist reconstruction. It should combat imperialist and capitalist ideology among the people, rebut anti-communism, expose obscurantism and superstition, abolish illiteracy, promote national culture and scientific education, and popularise scientific socialism.

## FAULTY SOCIALISM

At present, it is not only the Communists who speak about socialism in the new national states. Even large sections of non-proletarian strata and their political and other organisations put forward socialist slogans and ideas. In some cases, this is designed to deceive the masses. But mostly their socialist theories are variations of utopian and petty-bourgeois socialism. Although these theories are a long way from being scientific socialism, Communists should adopt a positive attitude to these developments and seek to guide them in the right direction. We should bear in mind that this phenomenon arises both from

the impact of the example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and from the realisation that capitalism cannot ensure a rapid development of the productive forces. That is why socialism is the declared aim of official policy in many of the new states. Many of the theories of so-called national socialism were engendered in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the quest for the best methods of ensuring national development. We should therefore search out and support all that is democratic and rational in these theories and use them to help the progressive forces in the fight for revolutionary social political and economic reforms and for strengthening contact with the socialist world system.

It would be foolish to imagine that all the conditions and hallmarks of a state of national democracy will mature and appear at one and the same time. They will crystallise in the course of a series of struggle over a long period. It is possible that there will be several stages in the process of establishing a state of national democracy in which the character of the tasks and the functions of the state will vary from one stage to another. But the main line will be that of carrying through the national-liberation movement to the end and preparing the conditions for the transition to a society in which socialist relations will predominate.

It is with this understanding that the Ceylon Communist

Party is active on many fronts to secure conditions that will permit non-capitalist, national-democratic development in our country.

## DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS

We have formed a front with other parties of the Left on the basis of a concrete programme of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic demands, realisation of which would mean carrying through the national-liberation struggle to the end; we have expressed our readiness to extend this front into a united front of all progressive forces, including those in Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. The formation of this front led to a polarisation within the government, with a majority led by Mrs. Bandaranaike publicly acknowledging that no further progress was possible without the co-operation of the working class and proposing the formation of a coalition government with the left. But unfortunately due to powerful opposition from the Rights in the Cabinet and certain opportunist decisions and mistaken tactics on the part of one of the parties in the United States Front, the coalition government included only that particular Left party. The United Left Front was thus weakened. The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries have made full use of this weakness to mount a campaign against the government. The demand of our Party that the other two Left parties, including the Communist Party

should be included in the coalition government, meets with growing support not only in the working-class and progressive movement but also in the government.

While fighting to overcome contradictions and vacillations in the government's foreign policy, we support all that is positive and valuable in it—peaceful coexistence, universal and complete disarmament, and close and friendly relations with the socialist countries.

The fight for a democratic public life and for a democratic state administration has had success in the shape of democratic electoral reform, and steps to break the powerful press monopoly. A recent development is the acceptance in principle of forms of working-class participation through the trade unions in supervising the work of public sector enterprises. We are campaigning also for the removal of reactionaries from top-ranking positions in the armed forces, the police, and the state sector. We want Ceylon to be declared an independent republic.

## NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

In the economic sphere, we are fighting for the nationalisation of the foreign banks, plantations and other enterprises. This fight made some headway recently with the nationalisation of the insurance system and the distribution of oil products in Ceylon. One of the conditions for the formation of the coalition government was an agreement to nationalise import trade and wholesale trade essential goods. Public-sector industries have been started with the generous aid of the Soviet Union and

other socialist countries, and mutually beneficial trade with the socialist countries has been extended with the signing of a new trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. We are campaigning for radical agrarian reform and the harnessing of our rivers for purposes of irrigation and generation of electricity.

Virtually all the private schools have now been taken over into the system of public education. This is a step forward in realising our Party's demand for a unified state system of free education that would be national, democratic and scientific in content.

## AIMS OF THE PARTY

These are some of the ways in which our Party is working to create conditions that will permit a non-capitalist, national-democratic way of development. We realise that much remains to be done and many difficulties to be overcome, including powerful opposition from the foreign monopolies, domestic reactionaries and the Rights in the government. Among these difficulties was an unprincipled and systematic attempt, aided and encouraged from Peking, to split and confuse our Party—an attempt that, fortunately, we were able to resist and smash.

The growth of the national-liberation movement poses new problems of theoretical and practical significance. Many of them can be solved only by the collective efforts of Marxists of the different countries, the more so since of late different views on questions of principle have emerged. We should not be afraid of debate and difference of opinion. We cannot close our eyes to the realities. However, discussion

is fruitful only if its purpose is to search for positive solutions.

Even when viewpoints differ, discussion among Marxists-Leninists should help to cement the unity of our movement and to find the correct solutions to the problems.

Guided by these considerations, our Party has declared for an international conference of the fraternal parties. All international democratic organisations should meet from time to time to reach agreed decisions on questions of common interest, without allowing differences of opinion to disrupt their unity.

Differences should not be a reason for refraining from a meeting. On the contrary, an international meeting is the normal and correct way to overcome differences. The 1960 Statement says: "The Communist and Worker's parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to share experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultation and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals."

We hold that the existence of differences indicates the need for frank discussion of the issues. Difficulties can only be overcome by the collective initiative and effort of all parties. Hence our Party cannot agree to let things drift. It would be naive to think that all difficulties will disappear of themselves.

Joint elaboration, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the experience accumulated by the international Communist and working class movement of the new theoretical problems that have come up since the 1960 Meeting, will help to cement our unity.

# In Death We Unite!

by  
**Sidi Siraju Ali**  
a tribute to the late  
**JEAN MARIE**

BY the unexpected, sudden and untimely death of Comrade Jean Marie a Congolese student of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, the Institute has lost a true and sincere Cadre, a young and brilliant student, a brother, a friend, a fighter and Revolutionary Congo (Brazzaville) an outstanding patriot, a potential revolutionary, a violent enemy of neo-imperialism and a true and worthy son.

Comrade Jean Marie died young and died tragically in a crash.

As a brilliant student and a revolutionary, Comrade Jean Marie endeared himself to the entire student body of the Institute and to all those who came across him. Though he spoke little English, he made friends very fastly both in and outside the College Campus.

A youth with limitless energy, unceasing smiles and friendliness, he quickly adapted himself to all aspects of student life and intimated to friends that he so liked Ghana that he intended to stay further after completing his course of study. Jean Marie's popularity on the campus was extraordinary; and to both lecturers, students and staff Jean was a symbol of true brotherhood, unbreakable solidarity and unity between the Congo and Ghana and indeed all Africa.

In discussions with fellow students, Jean Marie exhausted the little English he spoke in violent condemnation of Imperialism, Colonialism and neo-colonialism. He was relentless in his attacks on the

crimes of United States military adventurism in the Congo and was unsparing in his condemnation of all tools and stooges of imperialism. He regarded Tshombe, Godfried Munongo, Mobutu, Kasavubu, Kalonji and all reactionary instruments of United States, Belgian and British Imperialism as his personal enemies.

No one could have failed to detect in this young and fine Cadre a restlessness and untiring determination to go back home after his orientation course to take part in the fight for the consolidation of the Congolese Socialist Revolution.

When Jean Marie left the campus of the Ideological Institute that tragic Saturday on his way to Accra, little did he know those were his last steps, his final farewell and tragic end.

## WE SHALL CONQUER.

Death is an inevitable debt heartless monster, that bloody, senseless, shameless tyrant and villain; whose treachery no science has succeeded in unraveling and who has ravaged... and tortured the hearts and souls of men; deprived Nations of their gifted sons; separated mothers from their children and broken homes leaving misery, despair, anguish and sorrow wherever it's cowardly shadow passes-by. Death! that took away the life of dear Comrade Jean Marie!

But to us Comrade Jean Marie is not dead and cannot die; for to die in the cause of the African motherland is to live! And Jean Marie's death will be to us in the Ideological Institute a greater challenge to live and die in what we believe right and is right—the continental unity of Africa, the destruction of traitors, mercenaries, cowards, stooges, Nouakchotism and the triumph of Scientific socialism.

To all Foreign Students from the Gambia, Nigeria, Senegal, Kenya, Somalia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola, Swazi, Bechuana and Barotseland and from nume-

rous other African countries in the Kumasi College of Technology, Ideological Institute, University of Ghana (Legon) Institute of Public Administration (Achimota) Cape Coast University of Science Education, Polytechnical and numerous Secondary and Technical Institutes on Ghanaian Government Scholarships Comrade Jean Marie should serve as an exceptional example of supreme sacrifice, un-wavering patriotism, a stubborn heart and unconditional devotion to the cause of the unity of Africa. His death must unite us and be a constant reminder to the fact that the titanic task before us—the task of fighting inner and outer re-action, capitalism, neo-feudalism and defending socialism is priceless and that no pride however great and painful is too dear and to die in the process of that struggle is to immortalise yourself for ever in the hearts of all men, a deed of heroism and an act of honour.

To our bereaved Congolese students they have seen for themselves, by the countless hundreds of Ghanaian mourners—lecturers, (foreign and Ghanaian) students, staff, workers, market-women and in fact, the entire people of Winneba and hundreds sympathisers from Accra, Cape Coast and elsewhere that Ghana shares with them the unbearable grief, heart-breaking and nerve shattering sorrow of the passing away of Comrade Jean Marie.

Death is an inevitable debt which we all will pay and to those who like Jean Marie died thousand miles from home upholding the banner of African irredentism, their death is an inspiration, a challenge and their names will forever remain immortal symbols of revolutionary resistance and struggles against tyranny and cowardice.

Jean Marie has died a valiant Soldier, a revolutionary patriot, a true and loyal son of mother Africa.

**MAY HIS HEROIC SOUL REST IN ETERNAL PEACE, FAREWELL JEAN MARIE—FAREWELL ALL FALLEN PATRIOTS.**

## DIARY

Continued from page 3

very cordial and ranged over numerous subjects of mutual interest, particularly economic relations.

**TANZANIA:** President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was given a tumultuous welcome when he returned to Dar-es-Salaam yesterday from his visit to China. Drums throbbed and crowds cheered and waved as he stepped from the aircraft, followed by his wife and members of his party.

Sheikh Abeid Karume, first Vice-President, Mr. Rashidi Kayawa, second Vice-President, cabinet Ministers and Members of the Diplomatic Corps were also at the airport to greet the Tanzanian President.

During his visit, President Nyerere had talks with top Chinese leaders, including Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, Father of the nation and signed a Sino-Tanzanian Friendship Treaty.

\* The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) said in a statement yesterday the OAU Liberation Committee meeting in Moshi should discuss Rhodesia as if the British Government was engaged in nothing new towards a solution of the problem.

The statement was issued by the ZAPU representative in Tanzania, Mr. Francis Nevic who with other ZAPU members was presenting a petition to the "Committee of Nine".

**SUDAN:** Fresh fighting has broken out in the Sudan as a result of the new Sudanese Government formed three days ago which ousted a lot of the progressive political figures.

Nine people, all southerners, have been killed and three members of the security forces, injured in the fresh clashes in Upper Nile Province.

**U.A.R.:** The Chairman of the German Democratic Republic, Herr Walter Ulbricht, yesterday had formal talks with President Nasser in the Kubbeh Republican Palace in Cairo.

Speaking at banquet in honour of Herr Ulbricht, President Nasser said the UAR had

always carefully followed a policy which would not help in the consolidation of the partition of Germany.

He added that to this end "we have always tried to preserve our relations with the German people on both sides of this imaginary partition line".

\* United Arab Republic troops will stay in the Yemen as long as the Yemeni Government wants them, Mr. Anwar Sadat, Speaker of the U.A.R. National Assembly, told a press conference in Cairo after a secret Assembly session.

\* An official French economic delegation is due to arrive in Cairo today to conduct negotiations with Government authorities.

France is at present keenly interested in expanding and consolidating economic co-operation with the UAR and also to break the supremacy claimed by the U.S. dollar as international exchange currency.

**RHODESIA:** The British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, yesterday had discussions with Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Southern Rhodesian African Nationalist leader, at his detention camp about 400 miles from Salisbury. The meeting took place under strict security.

Mr. Nkomo was understood to have made it clear to Mr. Bottomley that only a constitutional conference leading to majority African rule in the territory would satisfy his people.

According to informed sources, Britain's vacillation and indecision over the Rhodesian crisis also came under fire during the talks.

**KENYA:** A Conference of the Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity opened in Nairobi, yesterday.

A ten-man delegation led by Mr. Kojo Boiso, is representing Ghana at the conference. Thirty-five Ministers are attending.

The Congo issue is believed to be one of the major issues to be discussed by the Council.

**MONDAY, MARCH 1st:** **KENYA:** The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Ministe-

rial Council has adopted a 15 item agenda for its fourth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya. Principal items include Congo (Leopoldville) under which the conference's political committee will deal with four sub-sections:

1. Report by the ad hoc commission which is presently being finalised.
2. Complaint by the Congo (Leopoldville) against four member-states of the OAU alleging interference in the Congo's internal affairs.
3. Complaint by the Congo (Leopoldville) against the Congo (Brazzaville) alleging that guerrillas have been infiltrating across the border into the Congo (Leopoldville) and
4. A complaint by Uganda against the alleged bombing of Uganda villages by the Congolese Air Force using planes supplied by the United States.

Another principal item is consideration of the ad hoc commission on the Algeria-Morocco border dispute which recently held its eighth session in Addis Ababa.

\* The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) has in a memorandum submitted to the Ministerial meeting of the Organisation of African Unity here urged that the British Government, availing itself of the presence of two British Ministers in Rhodesia, should dissolve the "Settler Government of Ian Smith forthwith".

**U.A.R.:** All members of a spy ring, which included several Germans, have been arrested by the United Arab Republic authorities in Cairo, the Middle East News Agency has reported.

**ALGERIA:** **ALGIERS:** An Afro-Asian Economic Seminar has ended here with a call for closer Afro-Asian economic co-operation and stronger economic ties between Africa and Asia and socialist Countries.

**TUESDAY MARCH 2nd** **GHANA:** Kwame Nkrumah has sent a message to President De Valera of the Republic of Ireland on the occasion of the state funeral of Sir Roger Casement.

The message said, I would like to repeat to you, Mr. President, the tribute which I paid

to his work for Africa when I last visited Ireland in May, 1960.

"Though Roger Casement was first and foremost an Irish patriot, he always realised that the cause of Irish Independence was bound up with the establishment of freedom and liberty in other parts of the world.

I recall that speaking of the Congo in which he did such splendid work in exposing injustice and tyranny, he said, I am sure the claim of the Congo people must appeal to every sincere and genuine Irish native. The more we love our land and wish to help our people the more keenly we feel we cannot turn a deaf ear to suffering and injustice in any part of the world".

Kwame Nkrumah said the burial of Sir Roger in the country of his birth "is an international event in which particularly those who have fought for Africa freedom would like to share in paying tribute to this great man".

\* Mr. René Maheu, director-general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), praised Ghana for the tremendous strides she had made in the field of education and science.

The UNESCO head was speaking at the Accra Airport, shortly before he flew to Conakry Guinea, after a four-day visit to Ghana during which he attended the official opening of a £57,900 UNESCO regional centre for educational documentation and research in Accra.

Mr. Maheu said Ghana was pursuing its educational programme along the right lines and he felt his organisation should give all the necessary support and encouragement.

He praised Kwame Nkrumah for his keen interest in technological scientific and Cultural education.

**GONGO:** The Alliance of the Congolese Nationalist Movement (MNC) and the Congolese Democratic Party (PDC) have refused to take part in this month's general election's unless there is first a round table conference at which all political factions in the Congo are represented.

# Towards Ideological Unity

## Editorial :

(Continued from page 1)

ing significance was taking place. Kwame Nkrumah was busy rationalising Ghana's and Africa's experience in the struggle against colonialism. In addition Kwame Nkrumah was busy forging a system of thought that could provide the intellectual guide for Africa's advance to complete independence and self-induced development. The results of this effort were the key books—"Towards Colonial Freedom" published in 1962, "Africa Must Unite" published in 1963 and "Consciencism: An Ideology for Decolonisation and Development" published in 1964. These three books, taken together, give us a theory and philosophy of development that show how the New Africa can achieve a fast rate of all-round development within the context of full independence.

In the light of these developments it was possible for the Party Programme for Work and Happiness to drop every reference to "African socialism" and to enthrone Nkrumaism. Paragraph 16 of the Party Programme reads:

"The actions and practices of the Party must be based on policies founded on a well-defined ideology. Such an ideology has been worked out by Kwame Nkrumah and expounded in his writings and speeches. It is based partly upon a study of the operations of colonialism and neo-colonialism and partly upon the study and application of socialist principles to African conditions. This ideology is known as Nkrumaism which is a guide in our struggle for the total emancipation and unity of Africa".

Thus between 1961 and 1964, two roads to Africa's progress have emerged.

One road is that of dependence on West Europe and U.S.A. It is euphemistically referred to as the doctrine of partnership. (The authors forget that economic partnership of unequals is subjection for the weaker.) Its economic and political practice issues in neo-colonialism. Its ideology is "African socialism".

The other road is that of full independence and self-reliance. Its economic and political practice is Nkrumaism, thus taking the name of the foremost exponent of this strategy of development and progress.

When, therefore, in April 1964, Consciencism, which is the philosophy of Nkrumaism, was released on a gasping world, the Convention People's Party had achieved its aim of finding the African particularity of Marxism. At the same time, developments on the African continent had exposed "African socialism" as the ideology of reaction in the

service of imperialism and neo-colonialism on this continent. Accordingly it was quite natural for the C.P.P. to abandon the term "African socialism" and embrace Nkrumaism.

It was natural for the Chairman of the Central Committee to state in an interview to the world press that "Ghana has taken to the road of scientific socialism—a course that is rooted in our traditional concern for one another's welfare". The incisive analysis was complete. The scientific synthesis was achieved. In Nkrumaism, scientific socialism rises majestically in its African setting.

Now, what is Nkrumaism?

Some term it the ideology of the New Africa. Others say it is scientific socialism applied to the historical conditions and serving the aspirations of Africa. Useful as these views are, they are in reality mere labels. It is still necessary to get down to details, to pin-point the component parts and fundamental tenets of Nkrumaism. It is by drawing the attention of Party members to these canons of Nkrumaism that we can be sure that there is and can be no injection of harmful subjectivism into our ideology.

There is another reason. The confusion that would inevitably arise if each leading Party activist is free to give his own interpretation to Nkrumaism can now be averted. The nation would see the road ahead of it much more clearly and would be in a stronger position to mobilise its efforts. Those who persist in putting out wrong personal views as Nkrumaism will then be seen for what they are—the covert enemies of our revolution.

Nkrumaism is a dialectical synthesis of the three Africas. The three Africas are traditional African life, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa. Nkrumaism resolves the crisis of the African conscience by uniting in one philosophical system the quintessence of the three Africas.

Its canons can be set out as follows:—

1. egalitarianism—the view that all men are equal and must therefore be given equal opportunities;

2. humanism—the view that each individual is a personality in himself and must be allowed full development by being treated as an end in himself and not as a means to an end;

3. industrialism—a technical industrial system organised on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production;

4. collectivism—the view that the group is responsible for the individual and individual development must proceed within limits made necessary by the welfare of the group;

5. dialectical materialism which asserts the primacy of matter, the independent existence of matter and mind, but recognises interaction between matter and mind and solves

the matter-mind controversy by way of categorial conversion;

6. the absolute necessity of regarding all Africa as a single society.

These are the six canons of Nkrumaism. The first two—egalitarianism and humanism—are distilled from traditional African life. The third—industrialism—is taken from Euro-Christian civilisation but given a new organisational form made necessary by the need to uphold the egalitarian and humanist principles. The fourth—collectivism—is taken from both traditional Africa and Islamic Africa. Dialectical materialism—the fifth canon—is taken from world thought but its connection with traditional Africa is demonstrated while two innovations are added—the primacy, not sole reality, of matter and categorial conversion. The sixth canon—African Unity—is the scale of operation (the optimal zone) forced upon Africa by the logic of the modern world, concretely by the balance of world economic and military power.

Every ideology, to be complete, must have both its philosophical principles and its theory of practice. Nkrumaism has its own principles to guide its practice. These could be set down as follows:—

1. the ingredients of social change are positive and negative action which are discovered through a statistical analysis of the socio-economic facts of life;

2. positive action grows by being armed with an ideology, by operating through a mass people's party uniting all the progressive forces in society, by constant self-criticism;

3. The triumph of positive action over negative action is achieved through revolutionary struggle;

4. The state, in a progressive society, is the instrument for establishing the hegemony of positive action; its ideal form is a people's democracy with a one-party system; it regulates the behaviour of men in society in accordance with the egalitarian, humanist and collectivist norms of social ethics.

Outlined above are the principles and practice which taken together constitute the ideology of Nkrumaism. Any dark areas within this system of thought must be cleared up through reference to Consciencism. To uphold principles and views that are contrary to these is to negate Nkrumaism. To hold such contrary views and term them Nkrumaism is not only intellectual dishonesty but also a calculated attempt to undermine Nkrumaism. It is the proverbial Judas' kiss.

Our Party is nearly sixteen years old. For twelve of these sixteen years "no conscious effort had been made to provide party members with the requisite education in party ideology of socialism".

For another three years,

the ideological education programme of the Party had not been supplied with a fully worked out socialist ideology "based on the conditions, circumstances and peculiarities of our African life." Thus the fully developed ideology of Nkrumaism has been available for just about one year. It will take some time before it is fully grasped by all sections of the Party. This explains why differing ideological views within the Party today should not come as a surprise. And this is sufficient reason for a very strict procedure and high powered action to be undertaken to disseminate the new ideology of Nkrumaism.

The differing ideological trends within the Party, historically explained, nonetheless constitute a challenge to ideological unity in the Party. Before the arrival of Nkrumaism, complete with its philosophy Consciencism, these views could be explained as honest mistakes in the search for an African particularity of scientific socialism. But after the arrival of Nkrumaism, such mistaken views, if persisted in, constitute serious attacks on the official ideology of the Party. They must now be seen as gross violation of Party discipline and flagrant assault on the monolithic unity of the Party.

At the moment, three main attacks are being launched against the ideology of the Party. These attacks could be described by the following notions:

1. Nkrumaism is African socialism (which is a vulgarisation unrelated to the truth).

2. Nkrumaism is synonymous with Communism (which hides a deliberate confusion).

3. Nkrumaism is a negation of scientific socialism (which is absolutely wrong).

The first two are attacks from the political right wing within the Party. The third attack comes from the political left wing within the Party.

We shall consider these right and left ideological trends within the Party in the order in which they are listed above.

The attempt to equate Nkrumaism with "African socialism" covers the tactics of peddling erroneous views studded with falsehood, subjectivism and scientific untruths. Quite a collection of views is put across as "African socialism." It all depends on who the speaker is.

One interpretation of African socialism is a share-out of the spoils of office. This formula clearly has nothing to do with socialism. It is supposed to bring out the egalitarian principle in socialism. But when it is used by party activists anxious to sit tight on their ill-gotten gains, it becomes a formula for the even distribution of the plunder of office. This way lies ruin for the body politic. Ghana will not survive on such a view-

point let alone move forward to socialism.

A second rendering of "African socialism" is a return to the traditional African society. The holders of this view argue that socialism was with us even before European influences reached these shores. Colonialism and imperialism merely disturbed existing socialism in Africa. And now that imperialism has been routed in Ghana, the way is again clear for a return to a status quo ante imperialism which was socialist in every regard.

This view is a negation of the standpoint of Nkrumaism as elucidated in Consciencism.

The analysis of traditional African society made in Consciencism reveals only two principles on which we can build our new egalitarian society. These are egalitarianism—the view that all men are equal and must be given equal opportunities; and humanism—the view that every individual is a personality in himself and therefore must be treated as an end in himself and not just as a means to an end. It is these two principles, and nothing more, which must be fitted into the new African society. This "will enable African society to digest the Western and the Islamic and the Euro-Christian elements in Africa and develop them in such a way that they fit into the African personality" (Consciencism p. 79). Surely what is envisaged here is not a move backwards into traditional African society; but rather a move forwards into a new and higher form of African society in which the egalitarian and humanist principles of traditional Africa re-assert themselves in new surroundings.

There is a second consideration. Traditional African society was not a technical society in the industrial scene. But the logic of the contemporary world is that Africa must industrialise. The power of the modern state derives from industrialism. Therefore we must construct a new technical society, but a society in which the noble principles of traditional Africa (egalitarianism and humanism) manifest themselves in a modern technical environment.

A third viewpoint often labelled "African socialism" and which constitutes a vulgarisation of Nkrumaism, is the notion that "our socialism is not atheistic". This phrase is also used to cover an attack on philosophical materialism which is the foundation of scientific socialism. It is in this respect an attempt to enthrone philosophical idealism.

The answer to this viewpoint is twofold. In the first place, the philosophical basis of Nkrumaism is dialectical materialism. This position is made abundantly clear in Consciencism. At p.75 we

read: "...there are two real philosophical alternatives. These alternatives coincide with idealism and materialism". The choice between the two is made at p. 76. "On the philosophical level, too, it is materialism, not idealism, that in one form or another will give the firmest conceptual basis to the restitution of Africa's egalitarian and humanist principles. Idealism breeds an oligarchy, and its social implication, as drawn out in my second chapter, is obnoxious to African society. It is materialism, with its monistic and naturalistic account of nature, which will balk arbitrariness, inequality and injustice.... In sum, the restitution of Africa's humanist and egalitarian principles of society requires socialism. It is materialism that ensures the only effective transformation of nature, and socialism that derives the highest development from this transformation".

It is therefore the standpoint of Nkrumaism to combat all forms of idealism whether it reflects in supernaturalism, in social inequality or in metaphysics.

In the second place, the materialism of Nkrumaism, as clearly discussed in Consciencism, has significant points of difference from the materialism of Marxism. The materialism of Marxism asserts the sole reality of matter and is monistic in the matter-mind controversy. Hence Marxism is atheistic. Consciencism, on the other hand, postulates only the primary reality of matter. It accepts the independent existence of matter and mind. But it establishes a connection between the two by way of categorial conversion.

Thus Consciencism departs from the monistic view by accepting the truism that matter and mind are real and independent; it rejects parallelism by asserting interaction and interconnection between matter and mind; but is fully materialist by asserting the primary reality of matter.

Because of this, the standpoint of Consciencism does not negate absolutely the concept of deism. Hence "Philosophical Consciencism, even though deeply rooted in materialism, is not necessarily atheistic" p.84.

Having freed itself from an obligatory opposition to the concept of deism, Nkrumaism is able to take a coldly objective view of religion. It sees religion as a social factor which cannot be kept out of the reckoning. But it coolly analyses the viewpoint of religion as both positive and negative depending on what role it plays in the social evolution of a people. The social practice of Nkrumaism demands that religion help the forward march of the people to socialism. To the extent that it does this, religion could be regarded as a positive force in society. But as soon as it ceases to

do this, then religion must be treated as a negative force, an enemy of the revolution.

This standpoint of Consciencism also makes it possible to disagree with a religious sect or a denomination or the leadership of a particular church without taking an absolutely anti-religious position.

The standpoint of Nkrumaism on religion therefore is not a mere tactical move. It derives logically from its philosophical standpoint of rejecting the sole reality of matter while upholding its primacy.

The fourth viewpoint of "African socialism", again a vulgarisation of Nkrumaism, is the denial of the existence of classes, and hence of the class struggle, in African society. This view is clearly unreal and quite unscientific. Our society contains classes in both senses of the term. We have classes in the Marxist sense of groups of people who occupy different positions (owners and suppliers of labour) in relation to the means of production, distribution and exchange. We also have classes in the demographic sense i.e. different income groups. And this position is not peculiar to Ghana. It is common to all Africa because it is the inevitable concomitant of colonialism which is but a variant of capitalism. If this were not so, Consciencism would not stress the need for statecraft in emergent nations to eliminate or prevent the consolidation of classes.

However, even if our society contains classes, Consciencism does not make a fetish of the class struggle by which is meant the conflict between capital and labour. Not because this conflict is absent in African society. But because it is but one of several contradictions in present day African society. Other contradictions exist—the neo-colonialist contradiction, the feudalist contradiction, the clash of civilisations and a host of secondary and tertiary contradictions. The technique of Consciencism is to lump together the progressive aspects of all these contradictions under the label "positive action". By the same process, all the retrogressive aspects of these same contradictions are lumped together under the label "negative action".

Now, the conflict between these two sets of forces—positive action and negative action—constitutes the motive force for social evolution. "There is a fundamental law of the evolution of matter to higher forms. This evolution is dialectical. And it is also the fundamental law of society."

It is out of tension that being is born" (Consciencism p.103). Again at p.106 we read that Consciencism "recognises the creativity of struggle, and, indeed, the necessity of

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# Hold High the Banner of Nkrumaism

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the operation of forces to any change."

The denial of the existence of classes in society renders the "socialism" that takes this standpoint blind and inert. The social forces the conflict between which engenders social change are lost sight of. What then is the stimulus to social change? The search for this stimulus leads to all sorts of idealistic concepts. Some postulate supernaturalism; others postulate the universal mind; others seek refuge in philanthropy. Little wonder that the 'socialisms' that get their guidance from such intangible sources invariably end up betraying the cause of the common people!

Apart from the 'African socialism' trends, there is a second line of attack on Nkrumaism. This is the view that maintains the synonymy of Nkrumaism with Communism. The argument is that since it accepts some of the basic tenets of Marxism, then Nkrumaism can be equated with Communism because Marxism is also the theoretical foundation of Communism.

On the theoretical plane, this view is an apparent fallacy. On the practical plane, it harbours a dangerous confusion.

Historical evidence and everyday experience show that differing social political practice can share a common ideological fountain head. The implementation of the same ideals can take various forms. For example, the constitution of the British Labour Party accepts some of the tenets of Marxism e.g. the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. But the social political practice of the British Labour Party is different from that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The fact that aircraft share some common principles governing their motion does not mean that aircraft types cannot be distinguished. Again the acceptance of some basic tenets of an ideology can take place side by side with the development of new ideas which alter the emphasis on these tenets.

Nkrumaism shares much common ground with Marxism. But Nkrumaism has its distinctive personality. Some of the points on which Nkrumaism differs from Marxism can be set down as follows:—

1. Marxism asserts the sole reality of matter and hence is atheistic; Nkrumaism asserts the primary reality of matter. Hence "philosophical conscientism, even though deeply rooted in materialism, is not necessarily atheistic" p.84.

2. The dialectics of Marxism is two sided. The dialectics of conscientism is multi-sided. "Matter is a plenum of forces in tension."

3. The ethics of Marxism is not fully developed. Conscientism on the other hand attaches the greatest

significance to its ethical doctrine which constitutes the terms of reference even for the activities of the State.

4. In Marxism the State is the instrument of class dictatorship. While admitting the essential truth of this view, Conscientism holds that the State is the great regular of human behaviour; that it regulates social behaviour in accordance with the ethical norms of society; that in a progressive society it is the instrument of positive action; and that the State builds socialism by maximising positive action and by weakening negative action through a process of ideological education and the corroding of the social and economic conditions that breed negative forces in society.

5. Nkrumaism explicitly stresses the development of the individual even though this is implicit in Marxism. Conscientism seeks to promote individual development "in such a way that the conditions for the development of all become the conditions for the development of each; that is, in such a way that the individual development does not introduce such diversities as to destroy the egalitarian basis of society" p.98.

6. Nkrumaism makes an organic new continental African society a major prop in its entire edifice. On this point Marxism is silent.

7. On the institutional forms that socialism may take, Nkrumaism refuses to accept anything which had been laid down elsewhere as the ideal. At p.94 of Conscientism we read: "...if ideals must be pursued throughout the changing scenes of life, it may be necessary to modify or replace institutions in order that the same ideals should effectively be served. There are no particular institutions, which, irrespective of local circumstances, are uniquely tied to their ideals. Institutions should be shot through and through with pragmatism".

From a practical point of view, the charge that Nkrumaism is synonymous with Communism is a dirty trick on the part of our enemies the aim of which is to stir up emotional resentment to socialism. Our experience of colonial rule includes a sustained effort by the propagandists of imperialism, of political reaction and of philosophical idealism to equate communism with everything horrid, barbarous, bloody, immoral and dishonourable. Our people have been told that communism means nothing more than sadistic bloodshed, senseless violence, crude expropriation, etc. Every means including cheap literature, cinema, press, radio, the pulpit, the classroom, has been used to implant this false image on the minds of our people. Once this abso-

lutely false image of communism had been planted in the minds of our simple folks, it became a tactic of imperialism and reaction to seek to discredit every progressive idea by giving it the communist tag. In short, anti-communism has become the battle slogan of all reactionary and retrogressive ideologies.

In the face of this game of calculated calumny, it is important to make the position of Nkrumaism clear on the charge of it being synonymous with communism. If by communism is meant the false image of violence and bloodshed painted by imperialist and reactionary propaganda, then Nkrumaism has nothing to do with communism. But if by communism we understand the ideals of a new society in which man is a brother to his fellow man, then Nkrumaism is most certainly on all fours with communism. This ideal society is defined in Conscientism as one in which "the conditions for the development of all become the conditions for the development of each" (p.98).

The third and last set of attack on Nkrumaism comes from the political left. Its point of view is that Nkrumaism is not true socialism because it rejects the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A variant of this view, in practice, is the notion that until the trade unions lead the peoples movement, then that movement cannot be socialist.

This viewpoint is ultra left and derives from the attempt to transplant the social political practice of Europe and parts of Asia to Africa. The error of this view arises from two points. No allowance is made for the fact that the African social milieu is different from the European society in which Marx put his principles into practice. And there is the mistaken notion that the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the heart of Marxism.

The African social milieu today is quite different from that of Europe when Marx wrote. We are just emerging from colonialism and are at grips with neo-colonialism. Western Europe at the time of Marx was and remains the beneficiary of imperialism. Contemporary Africa lives with the problems of feudalism and a crisis of cultures. Western Europe of a century ago had rid itself of feudalism and had a homogenous civilisation based on christianity, Roman law and Greek philosophy. In addition, Africa today has the capital/labour conflict. In short, whereas Western European society in the time of Marx had one fundamental contradiction—the capital/labour conflict—contemporary Africa is riddled with several major contradictions with the capital/labour conflict as just one of these.

Therefore, while the practice of Marxism in West European society centred around the class conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the position in contemporary Africa is different. African Marxists have to take into account many other contradictions besides the proletariat/bourgeoisie feud. Conscientism therefore cannot talk of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Rather, it is nearer our position to talk of the supremacy of positive action. This concept includes the former but is not synonymous with it.

A second consideration of some importance is that the proletariat/bourgeoisie conflict is not the heart of Marxism. The motive force of social change is the conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed. Therefore, the starting point in a Marxist analysis of society is to find out the contending forces. The exact relation of these contending forces will vary with different types of society. Thus in a feudal society, the conflict is between the landlord and the serfs. In a capitalist society it is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. And in a new nation emerging from colonialism it will be between all the progressive forces (positive action) and the retrogressive forces (negative action). The positive action versus negative action concept of Conscientism therefore is not a negation of the fundamental law of social evolution set out in Marxism, but its fulfilment within the context of contemporary African society.

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We have gone in some length into the various ideological trends within the Party. A systematic struggle must be waged among Party membership to combat and defeat these erroneous and harmful views. It is therefore necessary at all-time to be able to spot these negative ideas in whatever garb they might be masquerading. Party membership must be armed with a few rules of thumb by which to identify those Party activists and members who hold views contrary to the official ideology of the Party.

These erring comrades can be spotted through what they say. Some of their wrong views can now be set out in simple terms. They are:—

1. socialism is a share-out of the spoils of office

2. there was socialism before the white man came

3. our socialism rejects classes and the class struggle

4. Pan-Africanism but without caring for the social and economic content of African unity

5. we are non-aligned between socialism and capitalism

6. the universities are independent

7. private enterprise is always more efficient than public enterprise

8. our economic development should be based on partnership with foreign capital

9. diplomatic understanding between African states will result in African unity

10. the position of the older comrades is always correct.

These then are the criteria by which alert Party members can always discover the propagators of wrong views within the Party. It is possible that new views and arguments will be employed at some future date. Therefore the ultimate check on these wrong views is the early mastery of the Party ideology by all activists and by the rank and file.

To help the Party membership in this exercise it is important to emphasise the point that the views expressed by Party members are not automatically correct simply because they emanate from leading activists. The General Secretary of the Party and the Chairman of the Central Committee is personally responsible for formulating Party ideology and for directing Party ideological education. His books—more especially "Towards Colonial Freedom", "Africa Must Unite", "Conscientism" and a few

to be published—constitute the fountain head of our Party ideology.

In conclusion, it must be brought home to all Party members that ideological differences within the Party have a social and economic origin. Comrades tend to hold views which go to cover their social and economic interests. Therefore the source of opposition to the official Party ideology must, at all times, be traced to those social and economic interests which fear our socialist revolution. These forces (some inside the Party and others outside) oppose our forward march because they see their vested interests threatened by every positive step taken to bring socialism nearer. In other words, ideological conflict is a form of the struggle of vested social and economic interests against our advance to socialism. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah:

"By our determination to build a socialist Ghana and to liquidate the remnants of colonialism in Ghana and throughout Africa we have incurred the displeasure of the neo-colonialists and the forces which today are in the service of imperialism. By our decision

to transform radically the social structure of our country and to remove any colonialist influence from our society we have brought into focus the very contradictions in our society. Those who through the result of our struggle have acquired some means of economic power will not be happy with our declared intentions and may tend to resist our action. So it is possible, and this has been the case, that imperialism has infiltrated again into our ranks through them; thus they have lost their integrity and loyalty to our cause, and now seek to destroy our revolution from within."

There is no more urgent task before our Party than to seek out and destroy those forces within our Party which work against our cause. An important front in this struggle is the ideological front. It is out of the unrelenting struggles against wrong ideas and concepts that Nkrumaism will emerge supreme and triumphant.

Forward to monolithic unity within the Party!

Hold high the banner of Nkrumaism!!

Long live the Convention People's Party!!



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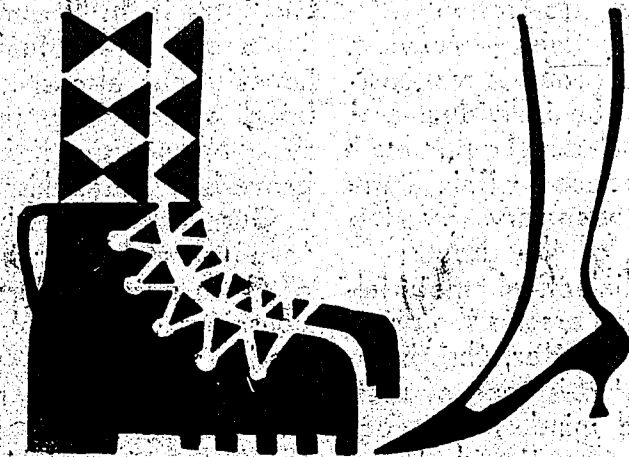
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