

THE SPARK



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Smith makes up his mind...

OAU must take up this challenge

EDITORIAL

The Issues at Stake

THE Summit meeting of African Heads of State and Government opens today. It is the second meeting since the Organisation of African Unity was set up two years ago at Addis Ababa.

It must provide Africa with another chance to decide the path along which the organisation should evolve. The struggle must rage around one central issue—shall the O.A.U. serve as an instrument for promoting or for containing the African Revolution?

The fourteen months since Cairo have been packed with events of great significance for the African revolution. It is important to access these events impassionately in order to discover the forces at work and the trends they portend.

The first set of facts relates to political stability of African governments. Imperialism is running amok. Neo-colonialism is determined to strike at popular regimes. The wave of political assassinations and threats to overthrow governments in Africa are object lessons on the methods of imperialism if African countries are divided.

The second set of facts is that many African countries are faced with upheavals which are a direct result of their failure to grapple with pressing economic problems.

This fact brings out the vital place of the economic factor in the present African situation. It poses the problems of the path of development in all its harshness and urgency.

Since Addis Ababa, Africa has learnt a few lessons about economic development. We now know, if we did not know—that foreign assistance particularly aid from imperialist countries is nowhere coming forth in the volume and at the rate, desired by the receiving countries.

We should become wiser... on the point that this aid is invariably tied. And tied in the long-run to conditions that secure the economic advantage of the donor country.

Furthermore, Africa has learnt from the Geneva Conference on World Trade that the advanced economies of Western Europe and North America would not willingly accept the view that developing countries should seek economic reconstruction along the road of improved terms of trade for their agricultural and mineral products. The advanced countries have demonstrated once again that economic matters have little to do with philanthropy.

The consequence of all this for Africa is great. We can no longer rely on assistance from outside. Nor can we hope to advance by leaving our economy at the mercy of foreign investors.

Africa has got to depend on herself. And it has become even clearer in the past years

(Continued on page 4)

IAN Smith has thrown down the gauntlet to Africa. On the very eve of the meeting of African Heads of State and Government, he yesterday made clear his intention to make a unilateral declaration of independence—i n d e p e n d e n c e which he hopes will enable less than a quarter of a million white settlers to go on imposing an apartheid-type regime on four million African.

TAKE UP

This is a challenge which the Organisation of African Unity must take up, and take up now. Failure to do so would reduce the current proceedings in Accra to the level of a grim farce.

It is not enough to "deplore" Mr. Smith's action. It is not even enough to "condemn" it. It must be met by firm resolute and united counter-action.

If the member-states of the Organisation of African Unity cannot unite on this issue—the salvation of our brothers in Zimbabwe—then there is nothing on which they can unite.

RESOLUTION

The Council of Foreign Ministers of the O.A.U. has during the last week spent many hours discussing the "Rhodesian problem". It has drafted a resolution for consideration by the Heads of State and Government.

Its terms have not yet been made public. But there are indications that the resolution in no

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

- An African Force NOW
- U.N. action NOW
- Trade boycott NOW
- A workers' ban on goods for Smith NOW

way met the demands of the situation even before Mr. Smith flung his challenge in the face of Africa.

The African Heads of State and Government, gathered in Accra, sweeping aside all considerations of diplomatic ceremony and protocol, must meet immediately to co-ordinate their moves to secure the liberation of Zimbabwe.

MOBILISATION

There must be the immediate mobilisation of an African military force, with outside assistance if necessary.

Every independent African state must at once sever all trading relations with the racist regime, and immediate steps must be taken to assist countries like Zambia who face the threat of counter-measures by the racist regime.

The African states must take immediate action to get United Nations action to check this threat to peace on our continent.

Nor must action be confined to govern-

ment, every African worker will strike his blow for the freedom of his brothers by refusing to load or service any ship, plane or train carrying goods for Smith's regime.

The appeal must go out to workers throughout the world to back boycott of Smith's pariah regime.

The O.A.U. must also demand that Britain, whose passivity during recent months has enabled Smith to build up his power and establish links with his South African and Portuguese allies, take immediate action.

A REBEL

Nor should this action be confined to sanctions; British spokesmen have in recent weeks repeatedly told the world that if Mr. Smith declared unilateral independence, he would be guilty of treason, and a rebel.

Those guilty of treason are arrested and brought to trial. Let Britain arrest Mr. Smith and bring him to trial.

Were Mr. Smith an African, or an Adoni, or a British Guianese, there

is no doubt what would happen: troops would be sent, Mr. Smith and his accomplices would be arrested and their party banned.

If Mr. Wilson and his government are sincere in their protestations of goodwill for the Africans of Zimbabwe, let them take off the kid gloves.

There will be those in Africa and elsewhere who will urge delay, who will seek to prevaricate and manoeuvre. They must be swept aside, for every day, every hour that Smith remains in power will make the eventual liberation of Zimbabwe more difficult—and more bloody.

THREAT

The Smith regime constitutes a threat to peace in Africa. It is already three months since the *London Economist*—no friend of the African liberation—bluntly declared:

"The pieces are falling into place for a thorough-going alliance of the white south, with Rhodesia assigned the major task of holding the Zambesi frontier against the black north."

"The time will come when Mr. Smith will feel secure enough to go over from the defensive to the offensive in his pursuit of independence."

Mr. Smith considers that that time has now come; he made up his mind to go to the offensive. He must be stopped—and stopped NOW.

Mr. Smith's decision once again underlines the price the African people are paying for disunity; it underlines the tragic folly of the refusal of Zimbabwe's two major national movements, Z.A.P.U. and ZANU to submerge their differences and establish a common front in the interests of the liberation of their country.

EMPHATIC

Members of the six-nation Reconciliation Committee set up by O.A.U. took the view that Mr. Nkomo and the Reverend N. Sithole, leaders respectively of Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., both of whom are held in detention by Ian Smith's racist regime, would have accepted their proposals for reconciliation.

They were emphatic in their view that the unco-operative and shortsighted attitudes of the representatives of the two parties to whom they held talks should not be taken as those of the two leaders.

JUSTIFIED

The Commission's repeated warnings to the representatives that their attitudes could only play into the hands of Ian Smith and the white minority have now been tragically justified.

It is to be hoped that in this, their people's hour of trial, more farsighted elements in the two parties, elements who place the interests of their people above functional differences, will come to the fore.

The Volta Project and its Impact on Africa

IN AN address to the National Assembly almost five years ago Kwame Nkrumah predicted that newer African nations such as ours which are determined by every possible means to catch up in industrial strength must have electricity in abundance before they could expect any large-scale industrial advance.

Osagyefo was firmly convinced that Ghana, and for that matter Africa, must progress towards a balanced economy, which meant the creation of an industrial sector which can balance the agricultural potentialities which is already being developed.

It is in the light of this that the Volta River Project stands out as a unique and veritable image of the African Industrial awakening.

Closely related to the Project are the schemes for the construction of an aluminium smelter at Tema and the resettlement of some 80,000 riverine people whose homes are almost completely inundated by the Volta Lake by now.

On September 17th this year at a short but impressive ceremony Osagyefo the President switched on the first generator at Akosombo. The second generator is due to be commissioned shortly, followed by the others at intervals of three months.

The Volta River Project represents the largest single industrial development that has ever been undertaken in Ghana and ranks among the largest dams built elsewhere in the world.

The economic rationale

and in the north.

The Government of Ghana and the Lending Agencies have already satisfied themselves that the Scheme is economically viable and that there will be a considerable yield on the Capital investment paving the way for the amortization of the foreign loans.

The economic viability of a project of this kind depends on the nature and the size of the market for electrical power in this country.

The aluminium smelter, the mining industries and the general consumers, both domestic and industrial, constitute the main demand for the power generated by the Volta Project.

Competent investigations have conclusively shown that the Project will begin to pay its way by 1970.

The Project will confer a number of direct benefits on the national economy by means of creating new employment for Ghanaians in the operation of the hydro-electric installations and transmission lines and in the industries that will be built.

Ghana could derive a great range of other benefits from the Volta Project.

First there will be power for the mining industry and for the many other industries which will be attracted by power, the cost of which could be very cheap measured by any world standard. The domestic consumers demand can be expected to increase tremendously.

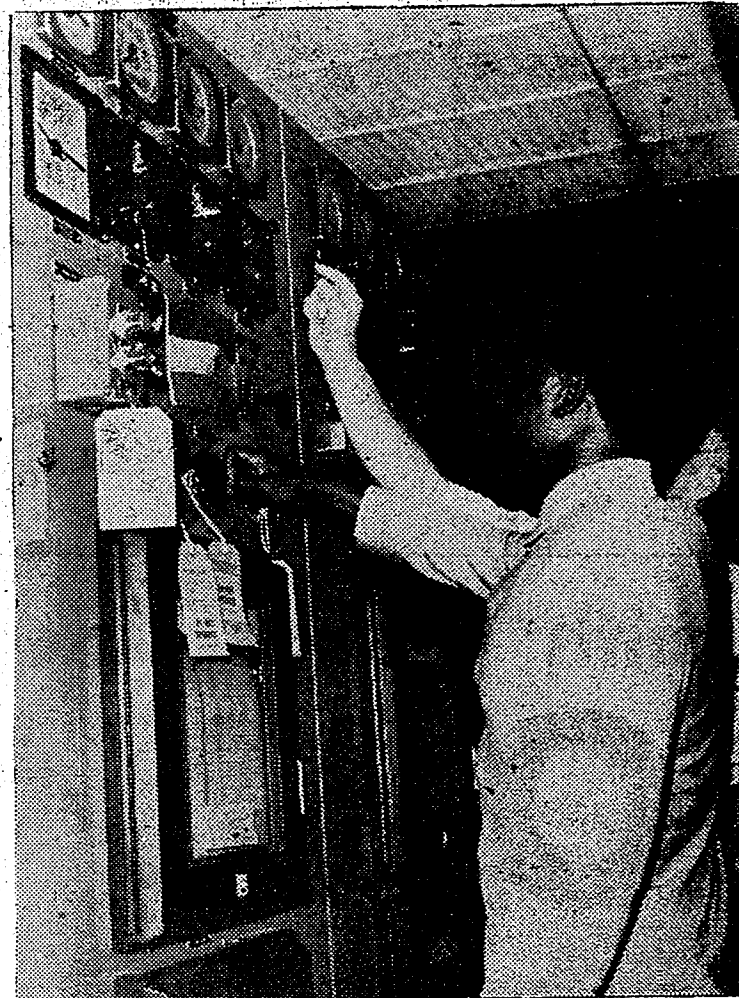
It is anticipated that the water from Lake Volta will also be used to irrigate the vast Accra plains which now

miles, and the annual rice and fall of the level of the lake will expose a great tract of land which will provide first-class opportunities for growing more food.

Fisheries in the lake will yield an annual catch of about 20,000 tons of fish of several species.

The great Lake Volta will stretch for some 250 miles and become an inland waterway. It is in this regard that the Volta provide a means of fostering inter-African trade and African Unity.

In a report by Kaiser Engineers and Constructors incorporated which the Government has accepted, it has been stated categorically that the lake will provide the basis for developing a system of navigation and transportation, through



Kwame Nkrumah switches on—and a dream comes true.



At the control panel. The project was completed about a year ahead of schedule.

**THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING... (4)**

whose homes have been inundated by the massive Lake Volta.

This scheme has cost the Government more than £8 million. Years of detailed and patient work have gone into the enumeration and recording of houses, land, crops, livestock and communal facilities.

Most delicate ethnic problems were revealed, and great care and understanding were exercised in ascertaining the position and importance of fetiches, burial grounds and other factors of significance to the people.

In place of about seven hundred villages which will be submerged the Volta River Authority has built fifty-two new townships for those to be resettled, who can be described as the early beneficiaries of the Project.

Their new places of living have all the modern amenities such as piped clean water, latrines, streets, schools, clinics etc. They have also been introduced to new mechanised system of agriculture.

In these townships 12,500 core houses are nearing completion. In addition to possibilities for growing more crops, facilities also exist for individual farmers

to develop the pig and poultry enterprises.

Power is flowing from Akosombo—a realisation of a cherished dream of Kwame Nkrumah, in appreciation of whose services the project has been aptly described as his "brain child".

The Volta River Project as it now stands is about a year ahead of schedule and the original estimate of £70 million by the World Bank has been reduced to a little over £56 million.

At least three reasons can be given for this present very satisfactory result. First and foremost President Nkrumah's foresight in going out to tender under favourable world conditions in 1960. Second, the excellent combination of the staffs of the Volta River Authority, Kaiser Engineers and Constructors Incorporated as the consulting engineers and Impregilo as the main contractors; and third the productivity of both the Ghanaian and expatriate labour force.

The Volta River Project which is the Number One priority undertaking in Ghana's Development plans will thus greatly strengthen the infrastructure of Ghanaian economy and provide a basis for a more accelerated economic growth and development.

Of the numerous benefits that accrue from the exploitation of rivers one, in addition to their use to generate hydro-electricity and for irrigation, stands out.

This is the importance of such schemes as a means of linking nations and fostering healthy trade relations between them. The mighty rivers of Africa are no exceptions.

The famous Kariba Dam on the Zambezi, the Aswan Dam on the Nile and the Roseires in Sudan have already hit the world headlines. Now, it is the Akosombo Dam on the Volta. Soon it will be the Kainji Dam on the Niger to be shortly followed by many others.

Osagyefo the President has made no secret of the reasons for the Volta River Project.

There can be no better long-term investment than the Volta River Project, which will make a big contribution towards the economic emancipation of Ghana and, for that matter of Africa as a whole.

It is no wonder therefore that the President and the Government of Ghana have never wavered in their faith in the Volta River Project.

Basically the Project is a hydro-electric scheme comprising a main dam, a power house capable of generating 768 megawatts of electricity when in full production and a transmission grid running round the country for some five hundred miles.

The rockfill dam at Akosombo is 440 feet from bedrock and behind it is the fast spreading Lake Volta whose ultimate size will be 3,275 square miles—the largest man-made lake in the world in terms of surface

of the project is judged by the direct as well as the indirect benefits it is destined to confer on the national economy and the promotion of trade not only in Ghana itself but between our country and her sister African nations along the west coast

yield a return on Capital Investment and to make possible the amortization of foreign loans within the stipulated period of 25 years. This in itself is a clear indication that the Volta Project will be a profitable undertaking.

lie fallow for the growing of crops like rice, sugarcane and groundnuts.

The aluminium smelter at Tema with a capacity of 120,000 tons, will be the major consumer, ensuring a regular annual income of £2½ million.

The Volta Aluminium Company is a consortium of United States Aluminium Companies, namely Kaiser Aluminium and Chemical Corporation and the Reynolds Metals Company. The United States Government lent Valco about £35,000,000 (through the Export-Import Bank) for this project.

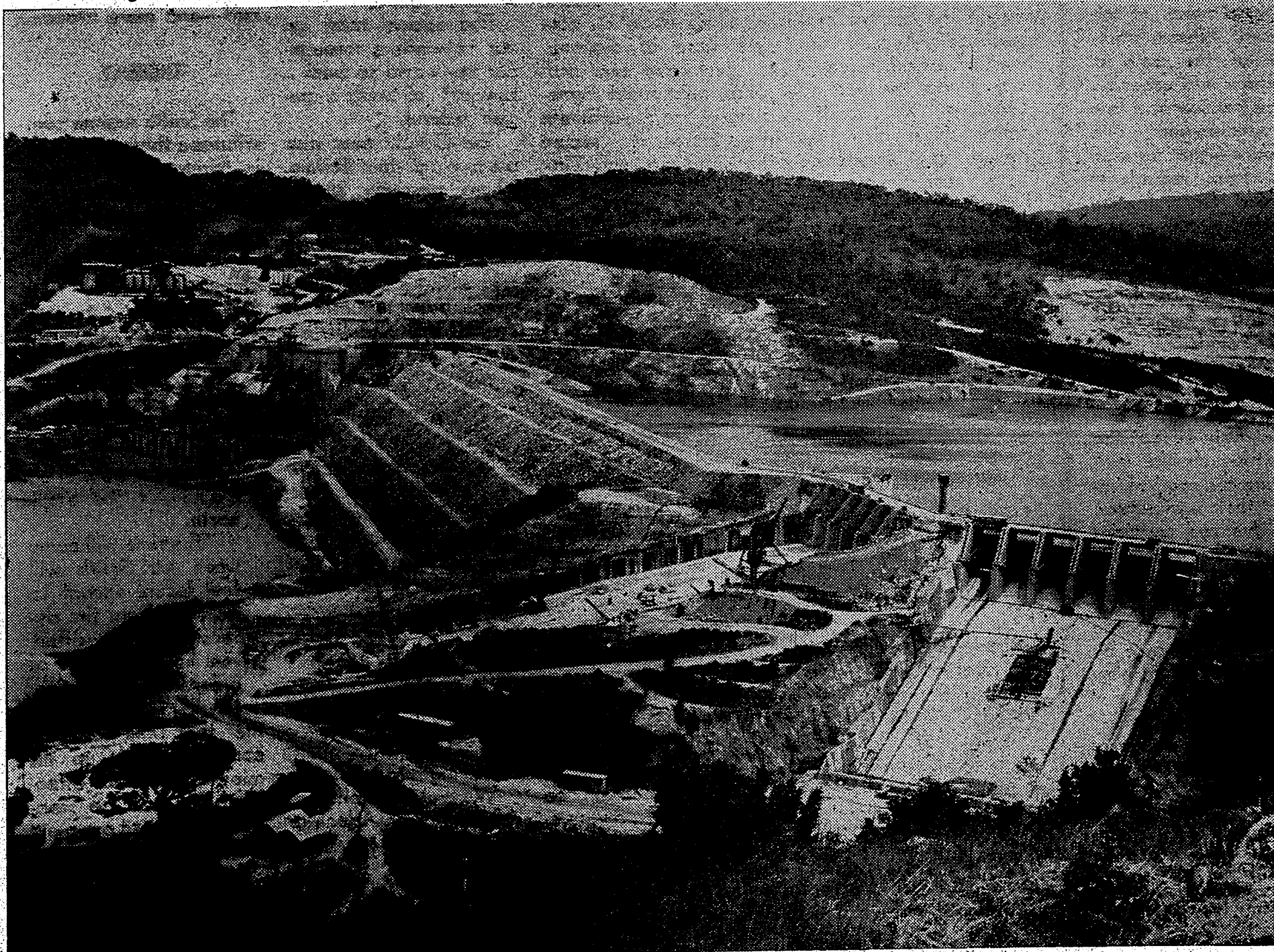
Secondly, agriculture will benefit in a variety of other ways. The shore line of the lake will extend over 4,500

net-work of harbours on the lake.

This, will offer cheaper transportation facilities and open up the areas on the fringe of the lake as well as encourage large movements of agricultural produce, foodstuffs, forest products and timber from principal trading centres in Ghana to neighbouring African states.

On the other hand cargoes such as cattle and other cash crops can be conveniently conveyed from these countries into Ghana. This will be an important factor in the development of inter African trade.

A very important aspect of the whole project is the resettlement scheme which involves the rehabilitation of some 80,000 people



The rockfill dam is 440 feet from bedrock, and behind it stretches the biggest man-made lake in the world.

THREAT TO PEACE

POWERFUL American corporations like Bethlehem Steel, United States Steel, Republic Steel, Armco Steel, Newmont Mining, Johns Manville, Union Carbide, Olin Mathieson, Alcoa, Kaiser, crop up among all the post-war primary materials producing projects on this continent. Their alliances are spread among the leading metallurgical and financial companies of Europe combinations that mask the underlying competition. This competitiveness erupts to the surface when circumstances cause a breakdown in the facade of peaceful co-existence between rival imperialists operating in the sovereign States of others, to which they make assumptions of power and use as pawns in the struggle for monopolistic supremacy.

KWAME NKRUMAH, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism.



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

FOR FREEDOM

Joint Memorandum To The African Summit Conference Of The Heads of States By The Representatives Of African National Liberation Movements In Non-Independent Territories Addis Ababa, May 21st 1963.

WE, THE representatives of African national liberation movements in the non-independent territories of our motherland, Africa, humbly submit this Joint Memorandum to our brothers and fellow freedom-fighters, the Head of African Independent States meeting here in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

1. All Africa must be liberated now: Empty words and pious resolutions will not suffice. This Summit Conference of African Independent states should issue an ultimatum to all colonial and racist powers in Africa to start immediately the transference of power to the African peoples in the respective non-independent territories or else face the consequences. It should be made absolutely clear that where the ultimatum is not headed the African Independent States shall intervene directly.

2. No African country or nation is really free until all Africa is free. Accordingly, we urge most strongly that in all African Conferences no forms of discrimination or differentiation of status should ever be entertained among us African peoples. We are all African freedom fighters. The fact that we are not yet free is not due to any lack of the revolutionary spirit in our movements. It is due to the oppressive tactics of the imperialists as well as some historical and political realities in our territories. We urge sincerely that in this Summit Conference we be accorded a status commensurate to our position as brothers and comrades of the other African freedom fighters who have already won their independence. We request that the opportunity be given to us to participate in and address the Summit Conference as associate members.

3. We propose that a body known as the African Liberation Bureau be now set up in an agreed Capital of an African Independent Nation. The functions of the African Liberation Bureau would be the following:—

- a. To co-ordinate the struggle for African liberation in all non-independent territories.
- b. To receive, distribute and transport funds and other forms of aid, including military equipment and personal, on behalf of the African national liberation movement.
- c. To administer the Refugees Relief programme for our African territories. These refugees are in desperate needs for food, housing, medical attention and schools for the children. We urge that aid to alleviate these hardships be pledged at this Conference.
- d. To insure the security and protection of leaders and personnel of African national liberation movements operating outside their respective countries due to harsh conditions at home.
- e. To organise the training of personnel for administrative, military and diplomatic services.
- f. To co-ordinate information, propaganda and research for total African liberation.

The site of the African Liberation Bureau should be geographically close to the still non-independent territories theatre of liberation operations. The African Liberation Bureau may organise regional offices as need for such offices necessitate.

5. We request that every political party in an independent African country should pledge a specific sum of money or material aid, including military equipment for special value, to be delivered at regular intervals to African national liberation movements through the African liberation Bureau. We believe, of course, that giving such sums of money or material aid through the African Liberation Bureau does not necessarily absolve the African Independent States from giving further aid directly to individual movements as needs arise. We also urge that the all African Independent Governments must be prepared to permit the transportation of military equipment through their respective countries to the theatres of liberation operation, and to receive and store such equipment on behalf of the liberation movements should situations so necessitate.

6. We propose that a Committee whose members are drawn from the Independent African States and working through the African Liberation Bureau should be set up to confer with the leaders of the African national liberation movements of all shades of opinion in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Islands, St Tome and Principal, Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, French Somaliland, Comoro Islands, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland with a view to enhancing the formation and strengthening of united liberation fronts in these respective territories for the rapid achievement of the goal of total African liberation.

7. Shortage of manpower is a most serious handicap in the liberation movement and in the struggle against neo-colonialism both on the independent and non-independent countries. Training institutes for administration, military personnel and diplomatic services as well as schools for the refugees' children are most desperately needed. We propose that every university, training institute or academy in Africa should also be requested to set aside at least 100 places every year for youths from the non-independent territories.

8. The power of the Press and all other forms of information must never be overlooked. At least one nationalist paper printed and published by the political liberation front or movement in each non-independent country is absolutely essential. We urge the African Independent States to pledge that they shall donate at least one press and make available after in formation media to the non-independent territories through the proposed African Liberation Bureau. We also call for an African Freedom News Agency to be organised by the African Liberation Bureau. At the same time we request the African Independent States not to allow dissemination of news and press release against African liberation.

9. We urge most strongly that all African countries be vigilantly on guard against neo-colonialism which continues to mar the Africans' hard-won independence. To this end we fully support the steps being taken to establish an African Common Market and Payments Union as well as common defence arrangements and the harmonisation of monetary zones. We also welcome the proposal to establish an African Development Bank and propose that another Bank to be known as the All African Central Reserve Bank be established to come to the aid of deserving African Nations that may from time to time find themselves in recurrent Budget difficulties.

10. We would like to remind the delegates to this Summit Conference of the African Head of States of the resolution passed in 1960 by the Conference of African Head of States calling for the economic, diplomatic and consular boycott of South Africa as well as the refusal of landing rights and reseriving of South Africa's aircrafts and vessels. We urge our brothers to implement the spirit and the letter of that resolution as indeed all the resolutions to be passed at this Summit Conference. We further urge that the terms of this resolution be extended to include the fascist regime of Portugal, the racist settler regime of Southern Rhodesia and the imperialist Britain. We also recommend strongly that African member-nations of the British commonwealth withdraw from that organisation if the United Kingdom continue to suppress the African people. Also those African nations with bilateral relations with France should sever those relations unless France liberates her remaining colonial areas.

Lastly we wish to call the attention of the Heads of African Independent States to the existence of political organisations sponsored by colonialist powers and functioning within African Independent States. We urge strongly that steps be now taken to eradicate such organisations immediately.

PAN-Africanism is now sufficiently long established to merit discussion from a historical point of view. This does not imply that it is a phenomenon of the past. The very fact of the Summit Conference being held in Accra is sufficient to disprove that. Indeed some of the most glorious pages in the story of Pan-Africanism are yet to be written.

It is perhaps appropriate, at present, to trace some of the main features of the background against which Pan-Africanism arose.

The salient facts, of when various Conferences were held, who attended them, what the resolutions consisted of are now fairly well established.

There is at present, it seems to us, a tendency simply to write and re-write these facts with varying degrees of emphasis, while reaching very little that is new or valuable in the way of conclusions.

ISOLATED

The additional tendency is to treat the growth of Pan-Africanism as an isolated development, growing into a powerful ideological and political force, quite independent of what had happened in the rest of the world.

If it is true that imperialism is a world-wide system, it would seem that Pan-Africanism, which was to embody powerful anti-imperialist ideas and motivation, can only be thoroughly understood in its inter-connections.

It is from this point of view that the following comments are put forward in the attempt to place the heroic struggles of the African peoples in a true setting.

It is only a preliminary attempt offered in the hope that the areas and the depth of research will be extended in new directions.

DOYEN

Perhaps the spirit in which we offer these comments is best summarised in the following passage written in 1919 by Dr. Dubois, doyen of the Pan-African Movement:

"...do we strive to know the problems of the other forward forging groups whose difficulties are inevitably intertwined with ours?"

"Beyond these questions lie, the suffering groups, Ireland, India, Russia. From long tradition—since the draft riots of the Civil War—Negroes have had no sympathy with the Irish. But they must not rest in this unreason. Let every coloured man read this month a history of Ireland. If he does not rise from it bitter with English cruelty and hypocrisy, he is callous indeed.

"The cry of oppressed India sounds right in our own land in the persistent attempts of England to secure the transportation of Hindus accused of the treason of trying to make their country free.

"And finally, the one new idea of the World War—the idea which may well stand in future years as the one thing that made the slaughter worth while—is an idea which we are likely to fail to know because it is today

Some Thoughts On The Background to Pan-Africanism (1)

by a Spark Correspondent

hidden under the malediction hurled at Bolshevism. It is not the murder, the anarchy, the hate, which for years under Czar and Revolution drenched Russia, it is the vision of great dreamers that only those who work shall vote and rule".

The Conference of Berlin in 1885 was an attempt to legalise and make permanent the conquest of the African continent. With no reference to the will of the African peoples, the statesmen gathered around the Conference table acted like the robbers they were, to carve up the apparently unconscious victim, allocating vast areas of rich territory and the lives of millions of ordinary men and women to each other.

CONSOLIDATION

The next two decades were to be spent in consolidating their loot. Once this was completed they then began to turn hungry eyes on each others' shares.

In 1911 when the German gunboat loomed up off Agadir, the challenge was about to be thrown down. The struggle for a new re-division of the world erupted into World War, three years later, only a mere 29 years after "the final settlement" of Africa in Berlin.

No wonder Lenin, writing in 1916 could make this comment on imperialism, in his work of the same name; "Domination and violence that is associated with it—such are the relationships that are most typical of the latest phase of capitalist developments".

Up to the last quarter of the 19th century, there had been capitalists in Britain, who were opposed to the idea of owning colonies, not from any humanitarian motives, but because they thought their domination of the world through their industrial superiority was permanent.

CHALLENGE

When they were faced with the challenge of the new German capitalism and that of the United States, they hastily abandoned their objections, and set out to consolidate their existing possessions and extend their rule wherever possible in Asia as well as in Africa.

The scramble for the colonies, for the division of the world by the capitalist powers is shown by the accompanying table taken from Lenin's *Imperialism*.

	Percentage of territories belonging to the European Colonial Powers (including United States)		
	1876	1900	Increase/Decrease
Africa	10.8	90.4	+79.6
Polynesia	56.8	98.9	+42.1
Asia	51.5	56.6	+ 5.1
Australia	100	100	—
Aemira	27.5	27.2	- 9.3

We can see from these statistics why the colonial powers thought that the re-division of the world was complete. Once that situation was reached the only way to get more colonial territories from each other which the laws of their system required, was to resort to open war.

The very completion of this process of the world carve-up indicates what Lenin meant when he called imperialism the final stage. Capitalism at this stage

had now become moribund with the total division of the world as one of its essential characteristics. Expansion could take place now only by open confrontation between the imperialist powers themselves.

Now all the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system were intensified to the full. The basic contradiction was between the social character of production and private appropriation.

From this basis arise the other major contradictions between capital and labour, between the capitalists themselves, and between the oppressed colonial peoples and the imperialist powers.

"It is clear why imperialism is moribund capitalism, capitalism in transition, to socialism, monopoly which grows out of capitalism is already capitalism dying out, the beginnings of the transition to socialism" (*Imperialism*).

The year 1900, when the carve-up was completed, saw a Congress which was held in London under the aegis of Henry Sylvester Williams, the Trinidad lawyer. It was the means of introducing Dr. Dubois himself to Pan-Africanism. Already that deepening contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples was finding expression and relation to Africa, though in a rather indirect way.

HORROR

The onset of the First World War, revealed the horror of imperialism in its most brutal form, when millions of men were slaughtered and maimed so that the colonial world could be re-divided among the victors.

Although the First World War appeared to give temporary victory to one particular group of imperialist states, (Britain, France, the United States and Belgium) in fact the system as a whole suffered its first significant defeat: in one-sixth of the world the very system of capitalism was itself smashed and the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, was established.

Throughout the world, the crisis of capitalism had set in and deepened continuously.

Not only had the working class and peasantry of the former Tsarist Russia and its empire been smashed, but in Europe the war weary masses were making militant demands on the capitalist class.

In Germany and Hungary socialist revolutions were put down by armed force, in Britain, soldiers were mutinying and in the colonial countries the people were also reflecting these same developments.

In Ireland the armed up-

rising of 1916 set in motion the developments which were to win her her independence. In India the national liberation movement grew rapidly, in Africa the development was begun.

REVOLUTION

The war had been hurriedly concluded because of the Russian Revolution and the growth of unrest throughout the world.

At Versailles in 1919 the imperialist victors, met to

allocate the colonial territories of the defeated German and Austrian Empires.

It is symbolic that at the exactly that time, in Paris, 57 delegates met to urge on the conquerors some of Africa's demands.

Many of the delegates came, amongst them our were in fact Afro-Americanly beloved Dr. Dubois. Initially much of the ideology of Pan-Africanism sprang from the experiences of the Afro-American people oppressed in the United States, some of whom sought relief from their sufferings by a policy of "back to Africa".

SOLIDARITY

Others, like Dubois, saw it as the means of developing solidarity between two oppressed peoples.

For any ebullition of action and feeling that results in an amelioration of the lot of Africa tends to ameliorate the condition of coloured peoples throughout the world. And no man liveth to himself.

These ideas were to merge, however, in the developing fight for liberation of the peoples in the colonial countries of Africa themselves.

At the 1919 Conference in Paris, the demand for political rights was not seen as an immediate call, but presented as an ultimate objective. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, relating to a similar conference two years later:

"They were more concerned in those days with social than with political improvement, not yet recognising the pre-emption of the latter in order to engage the former".

It was some years before the truth of Nkrumah's saying "Seek Ye First the Political Kingdom" was to become a principle of the Pan-African Movement.

LABOUR LAWS

The 1919 Conference implicitly accepted the existence of capitalism, not yet realizing that it was capitalism which gave rise to the very system of imperialism. They did call for labour laws intended to protect the people and for some restrictions on the exploitation of the natural wealth of Africa which they saw being carried away to the metropolitan centres to the increasing impoverishment of Africa.

Their feeling that political rights was a thing of the future and not an immediately realisable aim was expressed in a sentence like the following:

"The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits. In conformity with the principle that the Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government".

The background to the growth of the Pan-African Movement is that of the whole world, the imperialist world, which by now in acute and deep crisis presents the possibility of a new level of the struggle which was to develop with amazing rapidity.

Indeed the speed of the growth of the liberation movement and the socialist world; over a mere half century, is in itself the most convincing proof of Lenin's assertion that Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism and is the justification of Kwame Nkrumah's optimism in his *Neo-Colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism*: that the final victory of liberation and socialism is imminent.



STUDIES IN NKRUMAISM

Nkrumaism as an application of Scientific Socialism (2)

THE communalist tradition provides a foundation which can be built upon. But this demands selection of the positive factors in communalism that must be preserved, and the rejection of the negative factors. The collectivist mentality must be preserved and developed as in self-help schemes.

But such negative manifestations as tribalism, nepotism (the bringing of the extended family into Ministries and state corporations), and anti-social superstitions and customs must be discarded.

The penetration of these latter factors into socialist society, or into a society moving towards socialism, can act as a brake on progress.

SELECTIVE

Equally, Nkrumaism is selective in its acquisition of part of the legacy of Euro-Christian and Moslem ideology. We should never forget that Marxism itself represents the revolutionary wing of the Euro-Christian tradition.

There is much in Christian teaching which stresses human relations between man and man: "Love thy neighbour as thyself", "Peace on earth and goodwill to all men", and there are classic denunciations of property and exploitation, as in the Epistle of St. James.

But we must not forget that "Render unto Caesar..." was given as advice against Positive Action against Roman Imperialism. The statement was a reply to the question as to whether the Jews should refuse to pay taxes to their imperial exploiters.

The advice may have been absolutely sound in the place and time when it was given, but when such is used as a test, as it has been used by generations of imperialists, to demonstrate that Jesus was opposed to national struggles for liberation, it can do untold harm.

MOSLEMISM

So, incidentally, can the parable of the talents, especially in its latest translation in the *New English Bible*, where it reads as a direct incitement to getting rich quick.

In the Moslem tradition one great common factor has always been prominent. Because the imperialist conquerors were mainly Christian and the Moslem were in the main religious nationalists defending themselves, their religion and their culture against European imperialism, there is a strong anti-imperialist tradition in Moslemism of lasting value.

At the same time, in moral behaviour, it is hard to accept the orthodox Christian view of moral superiority over the Moslems. Both trends have their distinctive moral values, and much of the humanistic moral values of both can be incorporated into the framework of Nkrumaism, the ideology for mainly pre-capitalist newly-independent societies aiming at taking the historical "short-cut" from communalism (with accretions) to Socialism.

In Europe, since the foundation of Scientific Socialism, a main task has always been to keep this new doctrine pure and to

combat the endless inroads of alien ideology from the capitalist class and from the petit bourgeoisie.

Thus Lenin was particularly vigilant in defending Marxist ideology, "Bolshevism" in the Russian context, from distortions and from watering it down, from twisting it into a Russian form of European Social Democracy (such as the ideology of the British Labour Party).

* * *

In Ghana, too, such alien influences are attacked: "The composition of the Party has become socially heterogeneous," as Kwame

Nkrumah said on the 10th anniversary of the C.P.P. in 1959, "and there is the danger that our socialist objective may be clouded by opportunistic accommodations and adjustments to petit bourgeois elements in our ranks who are unsympathetic and sometimes even hostile to the social aims to which the Party is dedicated."

The Debate in Parliament in September 1965 on realising the aims of the Dawn Broadcast underlined the fact that such dangers are

still far from overcome. If the difficulties for Lenin and the Bolsheviks were great, then the difficulties for Nkrumah and the C.P.P. are in many ways greater.

Lenin had, ever since 1902, been working to purify the organisation and the ideology of the Bolsheviks from petit bourgeois and disintegrating influences.

When the Soviet State was set up in 1917, it had at its head a seasoned Party of the working class,

well-versed in the ideology of the working class.

Though there was a universal shortage of skilled personnel to take over and administer a workers' and Peasants' State, the Party was already strong enough to be able quickly to proceed with socialisation on a large scale, to lead an armed defensive struggle against the internal property-owners and the external imperialist interventionists, and, by 1928, to launch out on history's first

socialist Five-Year Plan based on the public ownership of industry and aiming at the collectivising of agricultural production within a short period of time.

BACK CLOTH

It is against such a backcloth, together with the initial economic backwardness of Russia and the devastation of war, that the Russian experience must be considered.

In Ghana, there is no

close parallel to this Russian experience. When Nkrumah returned to Africa from Europe he was returning to a continent which was in the main at a pre-capitalist, tribalist, communalist stage of development.

There was no question of a working-class revolution against capitalism, no question of a militant Party of the working-class, and there had been no years of consolidating the Party organisation on the basis of Marxist ideology.

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

that self-reliance, in terms of Africa today, can mean only one thing—the pooling of all our resources on a continental scale.

Today our leaders must make up their minds on the path along which Africa's future is to proceed. Broadly, they must tell all Africa whether the O.A.U. will help rid Africa of all imperialist encumbrances or weakly serve as a convenient cover for promoting imperialist interests. Specially the Accra Summit must find clear cut answers to three main problems—

1. Will the O.A.U. help liberate the rest of Africa on a formula of a revolutionary over-

throw of imperialism or is it to succumb to intrigues aimed at replacing colonialism with neo-colonialism in independent countries?

2. Will the O.A.U. pursue security for African states on the basis of complete independence from foreign powers or within the framework of imperialist defence systems?

3. Will the O.A.U. seek Africa's economic reconstruction along the path of integration and unified direction of Africa's economy along the path of unequal partnerships with the imperialist powers?

The O.A.U. must take on a shape that will enable Africa move forward.

It will serve no useful purpose either to mark time or to seek refuge in self-defeating hybrid resolutions and threadbare declarations.

We look forward to a United Africa under the canopy of a Union Government.

G.D.R. Supports Rhodesia's Liberation Struggle

THE Government of the German Democratic Republic has condemned Ian Smith's plans for a unilateral declaration of independence and the creation of a racist bloc embracing Rhodesia, Southern Africa and the Portuguese-occupied territories.

"The G.D.R. will continue to render support to the African people of Rhodesia in their just struggle for a democratic solution

of the Rhodesia problem on the basis of the right of self-determination and the creation of an African majority rule", declared a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the G.D.R.

The spokesman condemned the backing which West Germany is giving to the Smith regime by sending ex-Hitler pilots and S.S. men to train the settler regime's army.

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YOUR WINTER SCHEDULE (24th Oct. 1965—31st March 1966)

	GH 704	GH 702	GH 700	AZ 537
	Mon	Wed	Sat	Mon/Fri
ACCRA	DEP 1000	1000	1000	2355
ROME	ARR. 1655	1615		0610
ZURICH	DEP. 1745	1705		
AMSTERDAM	ARR. 1900			
LONDON	DEP. 1950	1820	1625	

