

# THE SPARK



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## EDITORIAL

### ADDIS ABABA AND AFTER...

#### A BIG INSULT

ON the 6th of June, the Tanganyika Government closed down the "Safari Hotel" at Arusha because the Manager and his white guests showed disrespect to President Sekou Toure of Guinea. Though a stern action has been taken by the Tanganyika Government, "The Spark" feels that the incident is significant. It transcends the boundaries of Tanganyika. It embraces the whole continent. It should not escape unnoticed and it should not be minimised or, worse still, ignored. It is not unrelated to the ever-bewildering events of our day.

Two striking things come out:

1. two African Heads of States were insulted and

2. the incident followed closely after Addis Ababa.

Those who hold the view that the problems of racial discrimination could be solved by rational argument and through human brotherhood have got a lot of questions to answer.

That the incident should happen nowhere but Tanganyika, where we are told absolute racial harmony exists at all levels, shows that much of the kindness that is shown to Africans by some Europeans is patronage to an inferior.

In the distorted minds of the racists we are inferior to the whites. They are ignorant of their own history and that of our culture. They forget that Cicero advised Tacitus not to buy English slaves as they were so ignorant and incapable of learning. They even forget what their ancestors were doing when the Benin bronzes were being made.

We see wisdom in the view of Kwame Nkrumah that "only a free and independent people—a people with a government of their own—can claim equality, racial or otherwise, with another people." In this age of the African revolution we can go further to say that we envisage a grand strategy—the strengthening and swift

# HAS DE GAULLE CAUGHT THE POINT?

## Nkrumaism on the Ascendancy

AFTER an interview with General de Gaulle on the work accomplished at the African Summit in Addis Ababa, Mr. Leopold Senghor made the following statement: "General de Gaulle is not opposed to African unity.

Far from it! He is absolutely delighted with the success of the Addis Ababa Conference." The French newspaper "Le Monde" adds: According to semi-official sources, it seems General de Gaulle believes that something constructive was achieved at Addis Ababa".

More than this, *Le Monde's* semi-official sources reveal that "although he could make no direct statement on African affairs, the President of the French Republic seems to regard the organisation of Africa adumbrated at Addis Ababa as a positive achievement towards a federalism of the various African regional groupings."

Further, in an important article published on the 30th May, and regarded as the first official Soviet comment on the Addis Ababa Conference, "Pravda" indicates that the U.S.S.R. is very appreciative of the results of the unprecedented meeting which, among other things, led to the setting up of the "Organisation of African Unity".

"The Independent African States," according to Pravda's commentator, Morris Maievski, have declared that they are basing their unity upon a policy of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, peaceful co-existence and international co-operation a policy which in fact had been ratified by the Bandung Conference. Such a policy is in keeping with the vital interests of peoples struggling for freedom, peace and progress. The Soviet Union warmly supports the efforts being

transformation of our continent into one mighty fortress to serve as a bastion against all these ills. The problem has passed the stage where parochial solutions are enough. There must be a continental solution.

The time has come when those who propose to stand in the vanguard of the African revolution for human dignity must display courageous militancy or be left by the wayside. There was a time when leaders could appease the phoney white liberals and the African masses. This is no longer true.

made by the African States to ensure unity and solidarity."

#### LACK OF U.S. INTEREST

Here we have two official attitudes expressed by two great international powers on the decisions reached at the Addis Ababa Conference. Although from a socialist standpoint Pravda's article may be regarded as a perfectly relevant act, since the USSR had sent a telegram of support and wishes for the success of the Conference to the African Heads of State meeting at Addis Ababa, it should be noted that so far as the West is concerned, it was not General de Gaulle who sent a message to Addis Ababa, but President Kennedy. Why has President Kennedy failed to issue a public appraisal of the discussions taken at Addis Ababa?

A probable explanation could be found in the fact that although the newspaper "Le Monde" considers as somewhat excessive the following statement by a journalist, it nevertheless quotes it with obvious approval: "The real victor at Addis Ababa was General de Gaulle." Let us agree at least that the lack of enthusiasm displayed by President Kennedy's entourage over what was accomplished at Addis Ababa, denotes a certain degree of embarrassment.

Mr. Mennen Williams had from past performance led us to expect a certain sense of satisfaction from America in

matters affecting Africa. Can it be that this embarrassment is due to the fact that instead of the initials OAS (Organisation of African States), which become a strange resemblance to the American "OAS", we have letters OAU? this notwithstanding, it appears that General de Gaulle has given clear proof, on this occasion, of statesmanship and great strategy.

#### DE GAULLE'S STRATEGY

General de Gaulle has given remarkable evidence of his skill as a strategist since the "Organisation of African Unity" came into existence at Addis Ababa. Indeed, it does seem, judging from the semi-official sources to which "Le Monde" alludes, that the President of the French Republic has come to accept the concept of "a federalism between the various African regional groupings";

in other words, a sort of federation of micro-unions, which are substantially different from (Union of African and Malagassy States or Brazzaville Group) the UAM even if that body had been broadened.

Even as early as the UAM Conference at Ouagadugu, enlightened observer could notice that the foundations of the African and Malagassy Union were undermined. And some do not hesitate to attribute this to the fact of America's sudden rush into the French sphere of influence in Africa.

To this must be added the social and political convulsions that have rocked the UAM States notwithstanding the fact that as a common feature of balkanised Africa the organisation has been a costly item for General de Gaulle.

Nevertheless the UAM has this to be said for it. It has proved to be a rich experience so far as Africa is concerned.

When the African and Malagassy Union was created, its clearly enunciated aim was to develop the member States through economic, technical and cultural co-operation. In the eyes of its promoters the finan-

cial assistance and technical support given by France were a guarantee of success. Within the term of office of only

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General Charles de Gaulle... Second degree balkanisation?

three Presidents, (that is, in barely three years) the UAM has demonstrated the precarious character of co-operation and its unviability, even on the triple basis of an economic, technical and cultural arrangement among balkanised states.

It would appear, in the light of "a federalism between the various African regional groups" attributed to the Head of the French State that there is now realisation of the inevitability and the necessity for Africa to be endowed with political institutions. And this would seem to justify the use of the term "federalism" by the President of the French Republic, who is known to be a stickler for the correct term.

#### NKRUMAISM VERSUS DE GAULLISM

"Federalism" indeed implies a political system.

confederation which is of necessity endowed with political institutions, like for instance, the Helvetic Confederation at its beginning. The logical result, if we have not misunderstood the gist of the idea attributed by French official sources to General de Gaulle—and we stand to be corrected—is that the President of the French Republic has awakened to the fact that Africa, at its present stage of evolution, needs political institutions both at the regional and the continental levels.

If this is so, then paradoxically enough, the Head of the French State would be helping Africa to take a big leap towards the continental government suggested by Dr. Nkrumah. There and then, the discussion would no longer centre around the nature

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### The New Directive

"The Party must now base its organisation on reaching the people directly by the house-to-house and street by street method all over the country, so that we may chase out the enemy, routing him without giving him a moment's rest to re-group his forces.

"Our Party's new down-to-earth organisation will also enable our development work to be tackled more forcefully and on a mass basis, as we shall be able to bring everyone into useful local activity."

(Extract from the speech of Kwame Nkrumah, General Secretary of the Convention People's Party and Chairman of the Central Committee, on the occasion of 14th Anniversary of the Party—12: 6: 63.)

# The Teachings of Kwame Nkrumah (I)

## THE FIGHT AGAINST COLONIALISM

**KWAME** Nkrumah is a revolutionary. He made his debut in politics in the mid-forties when the revolutionary fervent in world history hit an all-time high—a period characterised by the general weakening of imperialism coupled with the rise of U.S. imperialism to the position of pre-eminence among the imperialist powers, the emergence of the world socialist system, the victorious sweep of national liberation in Asia, the awakening of Africa and the birth of the U.N.O. as an instrument capable of exerting a moral force in international affairs. He entered the arena and lives in a revolutionary era. Quite naturally his ideas have grown and crystallised within that context.

But Kwame Nkrumah is not an ordinary revolutionary. He has been buoyed on by the revolutionary ideas of his age, but to the store of revolutionary knowledge and experience, he has made significant contributions. In Africa's struggle to liquidate colonialism in all its forms and to build a socialist society Kwame Nkrumah is both an architect and an engineer, a seer and a leader, a thinker and builder.

From the very beginning Kwame Nkrumah has an all-Africa perspective. However, he was forced by the naked facts of African political life to start his activities as a leader of the people in his own home country—(then Gold Coast). Accordingly Nkrumah's teachings could be divided into two closely related categories—the struggle within a single African country and the struggle on the all-African plane.

In the first category he deals with the national revolution, the problems of consolidating and democratising political power in the newly emergent African state, and the problem of economic and social reconstruction leading to a socialist society.

Under the second category, Kwame Nkrumah treats the problem of linking the politically independent African states with the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism (with its variant apartheid) and neo-colonialism throughout Africa.

While in the first category he deals with problems of the national, the democratic and the socialist revolutions in the second, he deals with the African revolution.

Accordingly, I intend to present the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah under four main headings as follows:

- the struggle for freedom from colonial rule;
- the consolidation and democratisation of political power in the newly emergent African state;
- the building of socialism in a single African state;
- the African struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

A fifth study will try to assemble Nkrumah's teachings on the Party as the organisational expression of the will of the people in the struggle for the realisation of these objectives.

Between 1945 and 1947 Kwame Nkrumah was a student in London (at the London School of Economics and Political Science). He took an active part in the politics of the coloured and colonial peoples. He quickly identified himself with the Pan-African Congress, an organisation concerned with the rights of African people and their

struggle against colonialism. But he succeeded in giving that organisation a much needed orientation. For his contact with the Pan-African Congress contributed greatly to that organisation going a step further in its activities—from a mere critique of colonial oppression to the drawing up of a formula of action aimed at overthrowing colonial rule. This fighting formula was adopted at the Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England, from October 15-21, 1945 as a "Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of the World" It was written by Kwame Nkrumah.

Nkrumah's next big effort came in 1947 when he reduced his ideas on the nature of imperialism and how to fight it into a book which has now been published under the title "Towards Colonial Freedom". No publisher in Britain could be persuaded in 1947 to handle his book. And quite understandably too. For this book, now a classic of the African struggle, contains all Nkrumah's ideas about how to organise and lead the national liberation movement in the fight for the overthrow of colonialism and for building in its place a new society "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. The rest of this article is based wholly on this book because in Nkrumah's own words it "is exactly as it was written originally" and "the views I expressed there are precisely the views I hold today." (Foreword p.x).

Nkrumah rejects outright the notions that the aim of imperialism is to bring civilisation to a people (doctrine of "assimilation") or to prepare them for self-rule (doctrine of "trusteeship" or "partnership"). Imperialism, he asserts, is a doctrine of exploitation. In terms of government, it "is the policy which aims at creating, organising and maintaining an empire" (p.1). Contemporary imperialism is the dominance of finance capital. It supercedes the dominance of industrial capital which was preceded historically by the dominance of merchant capital.

Nkrumah then accepts the teachings of Marx and Lenin which he describes as "the most searching and penetrating analysis of economic imperialism". (p.II). Imperialism is not just an accident. It is a logical outcome of the inner contradictions of the capitalist system and its own incon-

sistencies "foreshadow its doom and demolition" (p.II). Colonialism is characterised by the following features:

- the export of capital to sources of raw materials;
- the frenzied struggle for monopolistic control of these sources of raw materials;
- exclusive markets for manufactured goods of the imperialist powers;
- making colonial peoples non-manufacturing dependencies and prohibiting them from trading with other nations except the "mother country".

v. exploitation of colonial cheap labour.

"The purpose of this exploitation and oppression is to squeeze out super-profits" (p.29).

Thus colonialism is something practised not by a nation as a whole but by some financial interests and monopoly groups within the nation primarily for their own good.

Note that some of the spoils of colonialism are passed on to the Government of the 'home country' in the form of taxes, and to a privileged section of workers in the 'home country' in the form of inflated wages on which an "aristocracy of labour is reared.

However, it is these financial groups and monopoly combines that exercise control and direction over the colonial governments. Summarising, Nkrumah writes: "The colonies are thus a source of raw materials and cheap labour, a 'dumping ground' for spurious surplus goods to be sold at exorbitant prices. Therefore these colonies become avenues for capital investment, not for the benefit and development of the colonial peoples, but for the benefit of the investors, whose agents are the governments concerned" (p.xvii).

Imperialism, in its operation and very nature, creates the conditions for its own destruction. In the colonies, it helps the "emergence of a colonial intelligentsia" which plays a big part in "the awakening of national consciousness among colonial peoples". It also leads inevitably to "the emergence of a working class movement" for capitalist exploitation must of necessity bring into being a class of workers. And these three elements, fused together, lead to "the growth of a national liberation movement" (p.39).

In the "mother country", imperialism leads to increased conflict among capitalist and financial groups. In addition the development of capitalism to an advanced stage brings into being a large and powerful "proletarian movement in the capitalist countries" (p.41). This movement also has an inte-

rest in the destruction of capitalism and ipso facto imperialism.

Between the imperialist countries themselves, imperialism means a "struggle for a re-division of the already divided world, a struggle waged with particular fury by new financial groups and powers seeking newer territories and colonies against the old groups and powers which cling tightly to that which they have grabbed" (p.38-39). This struggle often leads to wars, both local and global.

Thus the national liberation movement in the colonies and the proletarian movement in the imperialist countries gradually and inevitably reinforce each other and thus constitute "a coalition... against the world front of imperialism", p.41.

Having traced the genesis and shown the inevitability of the national liberation movement as well as its world relations with other powerful forces fighting imperialism and its creator capitalism, the next problem for Nkrumah is how to organise the colonial struggle.

The first thing he says is "Organisation of the Colonial Peoples." It must be "an organisation of labour and youth" (p.41). And it must seek to abolish political illiteracy, that is bring political education to the entire people.

Nkrumah's teachings on the nature, the composition and the leadership of this "organisation of the colonial masses" are extremely important and constitute the kernel of his political faith. Knowing full well that African society is riddled with economic interests, social groupings and class interests, Nkrumah insists that the "organisation must root itself and secure its basis and strength in the labour movement, the farmers (the workers and peasantry) and the youth" (p.41-42).

It does not specifically exclude any group or class in a position to join or contribute towards the fight against colonialism. But it makes it abundantly clear that "the organised force of labour, the organised farmers and the responsible and cogent organisation of youths" constitute the motive force of the colonial liberation movement" (p.42). Even in his appeal to "farmers" Nkrumah is careful to make a vital distinction, for, at p.41 he regards farmers as workers and peasantry, in other words the rural workers and the small (self-employed) farmers.

Again, in the 1945 Pan-African Congress Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of the World written by Nkrumah and attached as appendix to *Towards Colonial Freedom* the leadership of the workers in the colonial struggle is emphasised. The relevant portion reads: "Colonial Workers must be in the front lines of the battle against imperialism" (p.45).

At the time he wrote (1947) Nkrumah knew what harm intellectualism had

done to the colonial struggle. It had retarded its speed and diluted its radical content. He also foresaw, with real prophetic insight, the betrayed of national liberation movement through opportunism which more often than not arises from the intellectual and aspiring business classes. The role of the intellectuals, Nkrumah insists, is to clear the way for the upsurge of a powerful labour movement by "fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly demonstration and strike; freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses" (P.45). Admittedly this is the task for which intellectuals as a rule are admirably fitted. He goes further to counsel that "the type of education" given to the national liberation movement "should do away with that kind of intelligentsia who have become the very architects of colonial enslavement" (p.41).

Nkrumah's teachings on the position of workers and toiling masses generally in the national liberation movement cannot be overstressed. For it is precisely a glossing over this point or a confused understanding of it that often leads to tragedy—to the not uncommon experience of the national liberation movement losing its bearings or failing to achieve all its objectives.

Briefly stated, the correct application of Nkrumah's view ensures two things. In the first place it ensures that the national liberation movement moves on swiftly from the termination of colonial rule to the building of a socialist society. If the working people are not in the "front lines", the probability is strong that after political independence a capitalist (and therefore, neo-colonialist) regime will be created in place of the socialist society envisaged by the people.

In the second place, it is only an organisation of the masses based on the revolutionary initiative of the workers, peasants and youths that can generate the staying power which is so essential in the fight against an enemy whose principal weapons are intrigues, subterfuges, inducements and delay used in conjunction with bullets and bayonets. It alone will guarantee success should a resort to "positive action" be forced on the national liberation movement.

Again, it is a tribute to his analytical insight that at a time when some colonial politicians either ignored the masses whom they contemptuously refer to as the "rabble" or merely used the masses to play their game of sabre rattling which formed part of the war of nerves against imperialism, Nkrumah boldly recognised the existence of classes in African society and entrusted the dynamic role in the struggle for freedom and socialism to the most revolutionary of these classes—the workers, peasants and youths.

Nkrumah sees the national liberation movement as achieving its objectives in three interlocked stages.

The first stage is the struggle for freedom from colonial rule. The key to victory in this stage is the conquest of political powers. Hence his famous dictum "seek ye first the political kingdom".

As soon as political independence is won, the first stage closes and the second opens. This second stage is concerned with the creation of a political system in which power is wielded by the people themselves and not by a class of men who think they know best what is good for the people. It is during this stage that the newly-won political power is consolidated and rendered safe from the intrigues and machinations of imperialism which is always seeking for new ways and forms to re-establish itself. The fight is for "democratic freedom" which Nkrumah defines as "the establishment of democracy in which sovereignty is vested in the broad masses of the people" (P.43).

It must be added that success at stage two is a necessary and indispensable condition for proceeding to stage three. This is the stage when the struggle is for the total reconstruction of society, when a new and just society is built in place of the oppressive and exploitative one created by colonialism. The basic task here is freedom from poverty and economic exploitation". This of course means the abolition of capitalism as an economic system and the substitution of socialism in its place.

Thus the national liberation movement moves through three stages to achieve its objectives of freedom from colonial rule, peoples political power and socialism. In the words of Nkrumah, "the goal of the national liberation movement is the realisation of complete and unconditional independence and the building of a society of peoples in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (P.43).

Lastly, positive action. To a great extent Nkrumah is known to the African masses as the father of "positive action". Some political critics think this was merely imposed on Nkrumah in 1950 by the exigencies of the Gold Coast struggle. This assessment is incorrect. Nkrumah is not a pragmatist. On the contrary, he is a leader who charts and sees his way long before the event takes place. He always tries to be the master of events and not a slave to them.

The ideological foundations for "positive action" are present even in his *Towards Colonial Freedom* written in 1947. He debunks as "incoherent nonsense" the views that imperialism prepares peoples for self-government or has a moral conscience to which the colonial peoples can appeal. He then asserts that "the only thing left for the colonial peoples to do is to obtain their freedom and independence from these colonial powers" (P.XVIII). Against P. 28-



29 he writes: "We therefore repeat that only the united movement of colonial peoples, determined to assert its right to independence, can compel any colonial power to lay down its 'white-man's burden'."

And the Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of the World" written by Nkrumah and adopted by the Pan-African Congress in 1945 has this say: "The object of imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to colonial peoples to govern themselves, they are defeating that objective. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step... And it adds significantly: "We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive for these ends by all means at their disposal."

### What must be done

THE duty of any worthwhile colonial movement for national liberation, however, must be the organisation of labour and of youth; and the abolition of political illiteracy. This should be accomplished through mass political education which keeps in constant contact with the masses of colonial peoples. This type of education should do away with that kind of intelligentsia who have become the very architects of colonial enslavement.

Then, the organisations must prepare the agents of progress, must find the ablest among its youth and train their special interests (technological, scientific and political) and establish an education fund to help and to encourage students of the colonies to study at home and abroad, and must found schools of its own for the dissemination of political education. The main purpose of the organisation is to bring about the final death of colonialism and the discontinuance of foreign imperialist domination. The organisation must root itself and secure its basis and strength in the labour movement, the farmers (the workers and peasantry) and the youth. This national liberation movement must struggle for its own principles and to win its aims.

It must have its own press. It cannot live separately from, nor deviate from the aims and aspirations of the masses, the organised force of labour, the organised farmers, and the responsible and cogent organisation of youth. These form the motive force of the colonial liberation movement and as they develop and gain political consciousness, so the drive for liberation leaves the sphere of mere ideas and becomes more real.

—Kwame Nkrumah

## WE ASK...

# Where does the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd. come in?

WE publish below a photostat of the editorial of the "New Ashanti Times" of June 1. It deals with 'African Socialism'.

We believe that this editorial comment will be of interest to our readers both for its contents and the source from which it emanates.

The *New Ashanti Times* is the mouthpiece of the foreign mining interests operating in Ghana and especially in the Ashanti Region. Its imprint reads: "Printed and published by the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd".

## CANVASSING SOCIALISM

What is the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd? It is a British company engaged in gold mining. Its capital is raised and owned by British shareholders. Its Chairman is the British Tory Major-General Sir Edward L. Spears, Bart., K.B.E. C.B., M.C., Flnst. The company's head office and its Board of Directors are all based in London.

The *Ashanti Times*, by coming out with its June 1 editorial on "African Socialism", has created a record. For this is the first time, to our knowledge, that a foreign company in Ghana has come out openly to canvas the cause of socialism.

However, we must scrutinise the sincerity and investigate the motives of the *Ashanti Times*. We are bound to take this line, for one has to fear the Greeks even when they offer gifts.

The editorial refers to Section 9 (1) of the C.P.P. constitution which speaks of African socialism. But the constitution does not define this term. However, *Ashanti Times* editorial in its second paragraph undertakes to define the term. Do the interests behind the paper not think that a definition of African socialism in the context of Section 9 (1) of the C.P.P. constitution is the job of the Central Committee of the Party? And why should foreign capital arrogate to itself the task of defining the ideology of the C.P.P.?

However, for the edification of these prospecting socialists, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Chairman and General Secretary of the C.P.P. in March this year openly stated: "Ghana's policy of non-alignment does not mean that it has no ideology. Ghana has taken to the road of scientific social-

ism—" And in his recently published book "Africa Must Unite", he writes: "The structure of the C.P.P. has been built up out of our own experience, conditions and environment. It is entirely Ghanaian in content and African in outlook, though imbued with Marxist socialist philosophy" (P. 129).

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

It is interesting to note that the foreign mining interests that speak through *Ashanti Times* quarrel over the concept of the class struggle and religion in the teachings of Marx. Naturally, they fear the awakening of class consciousness among the people, for they wish to continue indefinitely the system of a small group of capital owners exploiting the masses who live by offering their labour power. They place undue emphasis on religion forgetting that Ghana is a secular state, forgetting that scientific socialism does not ignore institutionalised religion but rather explains its origin and function; forgetting that Dr. Nkrumah who proclaims his adherence to Marxist socialist philosophy is at the same time a person who pays much attention to the religious factor in human life.

The *Ashanti Times* makes great play of the fact that the Soviet Premier has challenged the idea of African Socialism. We do not oppose things simply because Khrushchev opposes them. Please note that our editorial of February 22, this year, for example, sharply criticised the U.S.S.R. stand over the Iraqi coup that toppled General Kassem's government.

All this notwithstanding, are genuine socialists not entitled to view with great suspicion a concept—this time African socialism—which well-known imperialists have helped to propound and disseminate?

## DAKAR CONFERENCE

Surely the *Ashanti Times* should know that last December a conference held in Dakar gave its blessing to the concept of African socialism. This conference was organised by a phoney "Congress Mediterranean de la Culture" and the leading lights present were Lord Listowel, former Governor-General of Ghana, M. Guy Mollet and M. Pierre Mendes-France for-

mer Premiers of France, Moshe Sharett, former foreign minister of Israel and Harris Wofford, special adviser to President Kennedy.

When such personalities, distinguished for their contribution to prosecuting the cause of imperialism, gather to fashion out an 'ideology', African patriots have every reason to be very suspicious. And our suspicion is today borne out by the fact that foreign capital in Ghana now preaches 'African socialism'.

We assert most emphatically that if African socialism means real socialism, these gentlemen can never accept it, let alone advocate it.

The "*Ashanti Times*" writes about African socialism teaching "the state ownership and control of the main means of production and distribution." Does this include mining, may we ask?

## SUPER PROFIT

We can well imagine what sort of reaction our question will create on the Board of Directors. Only on April 4th, in London, the

Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd., held its 66th annual general meeting with its Chairman, General Spears presiding. The following facts emerged from the Chairman's report:—

1. Profits re-invested have increased from £17m in 1957 to £38m in 1962.

2. Profits declared and paid to British shareholders have gone up from £403,830 in 1957 to £917,690 in 1962.

3. Output of gold has risen to around 42,000 tons a year.

The Chairman said: "The Corporation stands out as example of what British capital and skills can do in establishing a successful enterprise in a distant land."

The Chairman even made a sly comment (though loud because guarded!) on Ghana's internal politics. Said he: "The strengthening of the position of moderate and able Ghanaians, whose only motive is to serve their

country's best interests, has produced a striking change in the economic climate".

The Corporation is so well inside Ghanaian politics that it can tell who are "moderate and able"! It can tell what the "motives" are and also who is serving his country's best interest!!

There is the good old adage "Tell me who your friends are and I'll tell you who you are". We now know that the "friends" of African Socialism are foreign private investors like the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd. If these people who are capitalists in their own country parade themselves here as socialists, their aim can only be to destroy socialism by creating confusion as to its meaning.

Does it not now become even clearer that African socialism is a neo-colonialist ruse?

## NEW GHANA'S OLDEST NATIONAL PAPER

# ASHANTI TIMES

GHANA'S NATIONAL WEEKEND NEWSPAPER

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## African Socialism

SECTION 9 (1) of the Party's Constitution states that it is the duty of a Party member to pursue a study of the principles of African Socialism and to endeavour to be guided in action by these principles. What is "African Socialism"?

African Socialism, according to the definition of a leading Party member, is synonymous with "Nkrumahism" and means "Scientific Socialism" adapted to African conditions and circumstances. It entails the creation of a society in which the State provides the basic necessities for her citizens from birth to death. Features of this society include a consciously planned economy, State ownership and control of the main means of production and distribution, and a democratic form of Government.

African Socialism differs from Communism in that it sees nothing inconsistent between adherence to Socialist principles and a belief in God. It also holds that African society is not the expression of a class struggle and that, whatever revolution African Socialism introduces will not be mainly a revolution in which one class attempts to prevent another class from continuing to sit on its neck.

In the past African Socialism has had to meet criticism from certain reactionary quarters in the Western World who entertained sometimes selfish fears regarding the radical features of the young Nkrumahist State. In recent months, however, African Socialism has been criticised by the Communist Bloc. Mr. Khrushchev, speaking at Sofia in May, 1962, was bitter about African claims to be building Socialism. He said: "In a number of Asian and African countries which have thrown off the chains of Colonialism, they now say that

Socialism is being built there. . . But what kind of Socialism do they mean? What forces do they intend to lean on building Socialism?" Spokesmen from Communist countries complain that African Socialists undervalue the degree of class differentiation in their countries. Communist writings on the subject insist that the class struggle must take place everywhere and that the victors of Socialism can only be achieved by this means.

These views have been repeated by "The African Communist", organ of the South African Communist Party, which in a recent article attacked what it described as the "popular fallacy" existing in Africa that Communism is "foreign". It further claimed that as the ideals of Marxism have "international validity" it was absurd to talk of "African Socialism". Equally absurd, it added, was the attempt to "propagate a type of socialism founded on so-called religious lines". Most recently it has become fashionable for pro-Communist journalists to infer that "African Socialism" is a neo-Colonialist ruse.

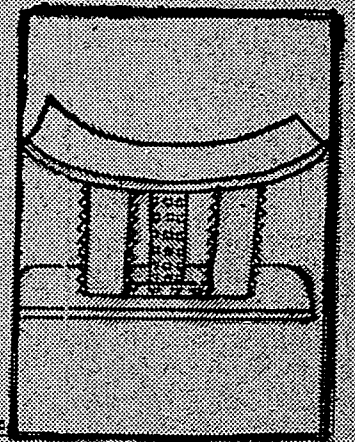
It is understandable, though not excusable, that certain reactionary circles in the West should attack the principles of African Socialism, but why should Communists now do so too? Why should they simultaneously talk of Socialist Solidarity and abuse the system, a Socialist system, freely chosen by the people of Ghana? It seems that they, like elements in certain capitalist countries, find it hard to accept a system of government that is not an exact replica of their own.

Surely the answer is that Africa can accept or reject what she wants from East or West and adapt it to her own conditions and circumstances. To quote Osagyefo Dr. Kwame

Nkrumah: "We wish to learn from the capitalist and socialist systems. In so far as is practicable, we want to adapt to our own circumstances what is best in both of them, but we are not prepared to be forced to say that we belong irrevocably to either camp."

Marx was a great man and a shrewd observer of society. If Africans want to borrow some of his ideas why should the West be shocked? Equally, however, if Africans do not accept all his ideas — e.g., the universal applicability of the Class Struggle and dialectical materialism (which in practice demands active measures to suppress religion) — why should the Communist Bloc be shocked? As the principal speaker at a recent symposium on "Nkrumahism" said, Africans had just thrown off one sort of foreign domination and if they were made to feel that socialism was foreign they would not readily accept it.

If Africa can successfully develop a Socialist society, which, while owing much to Marx, is not committed to prostrate atheism among its own people or to export its political system to peoples of other races against their will, it may provide the bridge — which in this nuclear age it is so vital to find — leading to eventual reconciliation between East and West.



# THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION

NOBODY would dare nowadays to question the necessity for the new African states to remould the educational system inherited from the colonialists. Even amidst neo-colonialist circles, it is admitted that educational systems have to be "adapted". This is, in fact, one of the various attempts being made to divert the main ideals of African Revolution from their normal course, and here, for example, to substitute the concept of some technical or local changes to the radical and politically-inspired break with the past which is needed.

In that field, where, on many aspects, the progresses are still too slow, it is still necessary to recall why a deep-reaching break with the past is a must.

First, the colonial education was strictly confined to a small fringe of the population, which was indeed, organised in order to avoid the spreading of culture among the whole people.

Secondly, it was intended to provide the colonisers and their regime with low-ranked tools, messengers, clerks etc., sometimes with primary school teachers in view of the fact that few Europeans were willing to take up such jobs; in some other cases, the colonial big firms felt that they were interested in training, technically and ideologically their African managers, not because they needed them, but because they saw them as valuable allies for the future.

## THE GROWING STRENGTH

Anyway, without forgetting to take into account the small variations between the methods of various imperialisms (which is to say, small variations in the form and power of European capitalism), the basic feature remains of an education entirely directed towards fulfilling the immediate human requirements of colonialism; this include, in the last years, political requirements, since the colonialist governments themselves, faced with the growing strength of liberation movement, tried to make in that field some concessions—intended to pave the way for neo-colonialism, when the need would arise.

But, in all cases, the breakdown of African graduates trained during the colonial period makes obvious of their intentions as taken to train no technicians, practically no engineers, in short, all the professions urgently needed for economic development. At a lower level skilled workers are, in a tremendously inadequate number. We should add that in the educational field itself, the colonial powers have been very cautious, to say the least, in training secondary school teachers.

## SIGNIFICANT CHANGE

Thirdly we have to consider the content of colonial education. It is generally described as westernisation; but, while this domination connotes actually one of the main features of the system, it cannot be said to express the whole truth: On another hand, the colonialists, being no imaginative people at all, brought in the syllabuses and the educational structure they were used to in their native countries, without any significant change; consequently, they merely crossed out African history, African art and so

forth, all subjects they had to ignore and to destroy in order to justify and maintain their rule.

But, when speaking about westernisation about the racialist and so-called assimilationist education another element is too often neglected. Colonial westernisation had never meant to export the whole of western culture, which has been built up from the unceasing class struggles on the ideological and cultural field (bourgeoisie against feudalism for 2 or 3 centuries, working class against bourgeoisie since one and half centuries). All what they wanted to impose was the culture of western ruling class, that is the capitalist culture by the way, a culture which, at the very time of the colonial conquest was already worn-out, and starting its degeneration process.

Thus, for instance, marxism and scientific socialism (which, after all, is also a theory originated in that same geographical area known as Western Europe) was excluded from the syllabuses, even, the progressive cultural elements included in the Western bourgeois culture were under-rated or distorted.

## SOVIET REVOLUTION

On the whole, the westernisation process was intended, not only to achieve African submission to the rule of Western Europe but, in a deeper sense, to a small African elite with reactionary and capitalist way of thinking.

This trend has been, quite naturally, increasingly strengthened since the Soviet Revolution of 1917, and, perhaps, even more in a subtle way, since the end of the last war.

If, in spite of such odds, a not negligible fraction of African youth has succeeded in fighting their way towards a cultural mastery, which they used as a weapon for the national struggle. It is precisely because they fought against the limitations of the colonial education.

There is no need to insist here upon this aspect of the struggle led by the African revolution leaders, since it did not and it could not—affect significantly the general picture in the educational field at home when independence was attained. Considered as a whole, and in relation with the nation, the situation was—or is—always bad, and

To avoid any misunderstanding, we have to stress here that we do not intend to discuss the educational achievements of any single African state. Our purpose is to define general principles but not to criticise any single country neither to praise any.

represents a serious threat to the future of the new emerging states threatening the democratic development, still more, the socialist progress.

Finally, we have to point out that we have only taken into account the best cases: the educational apartheid in South Africa would present us with a much graver case not speak of the systematically obscurantist policy enforced in Congo by the Belgian colonialism.

## AFRICANISATION

Therefore, the educational revolution, if the attention it deserves is paid for, is to develop into three main directions: First it has to ensure the quickest possible spreading of basic education throughout the whole nation.

Secondly, it has to develop towards a systematic Africanisation of the syllabuses, particularly at secondary and university levels.

Africanisation does not mean merely adding to the syllabuses a few hours devoted to African traditions and folklore, but remoulding the whole course of studies according to the requirements of today's Africa.

Thirdly (and this point might also be described as a consequence of resulting from the second point) the whole course of studies has to be modernised, in compliance with the requirements of the twentieth century and after—man,—not necessarily identical with those of the first century latin scholar!

## RECRUITMENT OF TEACHERS

Regarding the extension aspect, it is obvious that it requires intensive building of new schools, intensive recruiting of new teachers. Actually, in many new African states, in spite of a huge percentage of budgetary funds allocated to education, progress has, so far, been much too slow in this respect, (and, at the same time relatively faster in the field of secondary education.

Generally, there is a common complaint about the shortage of available teachers; and this is a fact with which one has to reckon.

But, at the same time, African peasants and countrymen have demonstrated their willingness to build their own schools through self-help projects. And, although no shortway has yet been discovered to increase

overnight the production of teachers, it, however, seems possible to find for the meantime some ways to provide provisional part-time teachers.

In the actual situation, if one wants really to achieve revolutionary massive improvements in the field of basic education, then one has not to abide by academic and sophisticated standards; what is needed is to mobilize all the literate people available—who are still in that respect the privileged Africans—for this is more a political problem than a technical one.

It depends mainly on the political progressive education of the students, for example, to engage them in self-help projects—that is teaching the illiterate people during their holidays. The same thing must apply to the present primary school teachers. They must help by contributing, on a voluntary basis, extra hours to educate their countrymen.

## CUBAN COUNTERPARTS

If this and other solutions of that kind are not yet applied in Africa on the same scale which has helped countries like China, Vietnam and Cuba to almost liquidate illiteracy in a relatively short time, it doesn't mean that Africans are less enthusiastic and unwilling to do it as their Chinese or Cuban counterparts.

But such nation-wide effort has not only to be organised from the top, but also has to take place within the framework of a democratic and socialist political climate. Democracy in that field includes the voluntary participation and control of the masses, be they illiterate or literate, it makes no difference.

Here it must be stressed, against old prejudices and fears, that democratic life in that field includes the democratic organisation of the young pupils and students themselves, their active participation and co-operation in the daily life of each school.

## POLITICAL CONTEXT

This would be also a safeguard against the bureaucratic trends which unfortunately exist also inside the school staff. There is no logic in the view point sometimes expressed that we could draw a few "technical" lessons from, let us say, the Chinese experience, without having to pay attention to its political context. But this is basically erroneous, since the Chinese did not succeed because of their "technical" superiority, but they succeeded because of their general political line created by their people's enthusiasm.

Now, we have to face another and more serious

argument. Some African intellectuals express their fears about a lowering of the standard of education, if revolutionary mass education methods are enforced.

Their fears are understandable, but still they are concealing—perhaps to themselves—the very fact that high academic standards reserved to small "elite" cannot solve the urgent problems confronting the new African nations.

## TREMENDOUS DIFFUSION

At least, it cannot give an answer to the call for socialist advance. High academic standards are not to be altogether despised, and they remain the long-term target, but what is required now is first of all, a tremendous diffusion of culture throughout the African countries as a whole.

We must admit that one of the main reasons for the slow progress achieved so far in many African countries (particularly in former French territories) is the under-rating of mass basic education, and, linked with this or at the roots of this, an aristocratic, not democratic approach to the educational problem.

Thus, we have to admit that there is no possible success in that field without a clear-cut political insight applied to that problem. By itself, basic mass education implies the will of a democratic political line, and therefore it has to be achieved by democratic means as opposed to aristocratic, and also, to bureaucratic ones.

## POLITICAL EDUCATION

We may now come to a few particular aspects:

(a) It is already obvious from what has been stated before that even at the primary school level, political education has to be included in the syllabuses.

(b) Then arises the question of languages: one has to admit, that it is a must to start education in the mother tongue, in national African languages, coming later on to other languages used in Africa.

(c) Perhaps, it would be good to take this opportunity to introduce more professional (agricultural as well as handicraft or industrial) training at primary school level.

(d) Considering the status of the permanent primary school teachers, who are to play a significant part in the nation's progress, it must be realised that their salary scale

should be established according to their actual work and efficiency more than in compliance with the administrative and bureaucratic colonial regulations. But this is a delicate problem, to which no general and automatic answer could be given.

Regarding the Africanisation aspect of the educational reform, there is no need for us to restate here what has already been said in this paper by other contributors, especially on the teaching of African history. It is very important that African youths learn the history, the geography, the geology, the botanic of their own continent.

## SCIENTIFIC

Nobody would dare now to object to that fundamental principle. Nevertheless, two or three remarks on that matter might be of some interest; which remarks aim at stressing the necessity of avoiding the mere addition of two or three more subjects to already overloaded syllabuses.

Africa's History (and not African history) and other related subjects, like Africa's oral literature's history or Africa's Arts history are to be expounded in relation with the objective laws of mankind history, that is to say, analysed and explained, not merely narrated and described as a collection of facts and legends. Here, as in many not to say all-fields of knowledge, the correct use of marxist analysis could give a lead; this will provide the youths, from the very inception of their studies, with a scientific insight, without reducing, the time devoted to the study of Africa's past and present.

Starting from such an approach, it is easier to understand how necessary it is to allocate sufficient time to Africa's study—its right and significant—on the syllabuses (at primary as well as at secondary education level) without reducing actually the time allocated to the study of the world's culture.

The book entitled *West Africa History* published in Guinea in 1960 by D. T. Niane and J. Suret-Canale, is recommendable in this respect. Proper use of this book will help both teachers and pupils to acquire a fair knowledge of the history of mankind which will enable them to face the present problems of mankind.

## HISTORICAL CONNECTION

Thus, we should no longer have to study in detail only the history of Western Europe but African History as well, so that we may understand the real historical connections (or clashes) which occurred between the two

continents or in other words between Africa and the world as a whole.

Although we don't deny neither the fact of the urgent call for preparing new textbooks nor the fact that it will take some time to prepare them, we maintain that this obstacles is currently being overcome. For the time being, well elaborated syllabuses with the help and the enthusiasm of some teachers, can speed up the reform. But the new syllabuses have to be put into practice, and this has to be strictly controlled, it calls for a centralised national educational system. Another and more weighted, objection would be the problem, not yet fully solved, of Africanisation of the teaching staff itself.

It is true that, particularly at the level of secondary education, full Africanisation cannot be achieved immediately, and we have to foresee a delay of some years. Two additional factors are increasing the delay: first, the steadily increase in the schools population, secondary as soon as economic development starts, it requires priorities in ready to training of the youths, which priorities were not necessarily given to teachers training.

Therefore, we have to reckon with the regrettable fact that African independent states are still compelled to rely on expatriate teachers who in majority, are still western capitalist minded. But, in the face of this problem, it is necessary to maintain firmly that this is not a reason for giving up the reforms.

A truly independent state may be able to impose, even to expatriate teachers, the application of clear-cut, progressive syllabuses. It requires the will of all the African progressive elements at the top of and inside the educational system—these elements are already existent and willing to act, if sustained by the state.

It can now be seen that when we insist upon political education in the schools (at all levels), we mean that socialist spirit should pervade every subject taught (mainly, history, literature, philosophy, in last analysis, all of them). This is much more efficient than special courses—which, naturally, are not to be neglected, but can never be enough.

We know, of course, that some teachers, are ready to oppose us with the well-known argument of the holy objectivity. But we do not see any contradiction between a true objectivity and a politically remoulded education, since the latter is based precisely on objective and scientific concepts.

Now, regarding no longer the principles but the methods of teaching, we should add that, of course, the youths have to be presented with the various point of views already expressed, but also with the conclusions reached, and

Continued on page 5

# THE PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO

## Plenty talk — but little action from the Kennedys

**DR. Earl B. Smith, Chairman of the U.S. Urban League of Health Committee and Chairman for the study of discrimination of Medicine for the National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice, writing in the Afro-American journal—"Pittsburg Courier" of 27/4/63 revealed that an indigous danger threatens present and future generations of the United States burgeoning negro population" because medical segregation and discrimination are practised in all parts of America. He says infant and maternal mortality rates are very high among Afro-Americans. Negro doctors are not given equal opportunity to practice.**

This is very serious. It brings to the fore, a very serious aspect of the race problem of the United States. It demonstrates glaringly that as far as the negro is concerned in the U.S., no right of his is too sacred to be violated, the whiteman has no bounds of limitation that the law requires him to respect.

Snarling police dogs menacing negro demonstrators for equal rights; hundred of children thrown into overcrowded jails; Afro-American men, women and children hurled to the ground by high-pressure hoses, bombings and cross-burnings, shooting down of leaders are the lot of Negroes in America today.

### UPPITY NIGGER

Schools, drinking fountains, restaurants and toilets are segregated. Baseball teams have to be disbanded to prevent integrated teams. Opera houses are closing down because officials refuse to integrate the municipal auditorium. Parks in Alabama were shut down last year because officials would not integrate them after a court order.

Mrs. Willie Mac Mullory, a mother of two children languishes in a dismal jail in Cleveland, Ohio. Her great crime is that she is what the white supremacists call, an "uppity nigger", who supports the cause of human rights and human dignity for Afro-Americans.

On March 24th 1963, white terrorists in Greenwood, Mississippi, burnt offices of the Southern Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, the headquarters of the campaign to register

negro votes. Mr. William Moore, was murdered as he walked a Mississippi highway carrying an anti-segregation poster.

### DISTURBING THE PEACE

The American "Time" reported in its June 7, 1963 issue that in Jackson, Mississippi "a burly ex-cop dragged Negro Memphis Norman, 21 off his stool, (near a lunch counter) slugged him to the floor. As the negro lay there, the white man kicked him in the face, kicked him again and again and again. Later Norman was sent to hospital—and charged with disturbing the peace."

The Mayor of Jackson has ordered a hog-wire enclosure, able to handle 10,000 prisoners; set up on the state fairgrounds.

Afro-American High School children carrying American flags and demonstrating against racism were attacked by 60 cops. A cop smashed a negro above the knees with his night stick. And many demonstrators obediently climbed into trucks for the trip to the hog-pen prison.

President Kennedy and his brother, the Attorney General have been full of fine words and moral indignation. Last month President Kennedy sent a message to Congress on the subject of Civil rights. It stated:

"The Negro baby born in America today has about half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional

man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning 10,000 dollars a year; a life expectancy which is seven years less; the prospects of earning only half as much. The cruel disease of discrimination

knows no sectional boundaries." President Kennedy declared: "The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, north and south, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades and protests which

create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives." Immediate action, he said, was needed if the racial problems was to be moved "from the streets to the court."

Calling on "every American to stop and examine his conscience" on the racial issue, President Kennedy said when Americans were sent to serve in Vietnam or West Berlin, the Government did not ask for whites.

In the same way, he said, it ought to be possible for American students of any colour to attend any public institution without having to be backed up by troops—in reference to the troops sent to the campus of Alabama University.

The President also said that the rate of unemployment for Afro-Americans was two, or three times as high as for whites.

The President's address coincided with the admission of two Afro-American students to the University of Alabama in the face of protests from the State Governor, arch racist George Wallace.

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### EFFECTIVE ACTION

Unfortunately, the fine words of the Kennedy brothers are not matched by effective action. Just one day after President Kennedy's speech, Mr. Edgar Evers, the Afro-American integration leader was shot dead in Jackson, Mississippi. Allen Ellender, the Democrat Senator of Louisiana, is still inciting his fellow whites to use violence in Washington if President Kennedy tried to enforce his civil rights legislation.

Already, the Federal Civil Rights Commission has warned President Kennedy of the "dangers of a complete breakdown of law and order" in Mississippi and has asked him to "suppress existing lawlessness and provide federal protection to citizens in the exercise of their basic constitutional rights."

The six-man commission has unanimously declared that the President's assurances are not enough.

Despite nationwide protests at the terrorism in Birmingham, it was not until May 12th that President Kennedy sent troops trained in riot control, to two military bases in Alabama and took "preliminary steps to federalise the states na-

South Springs from respect for the Constitution. We are told that the Alabama authorities who turned hoses on children were breaking no laws.

We are told by legal "experts" that according to the letter of the law, President Kennedy can place federal troops on the alert, but he cannot use them unless all order has broken down. So the "Bull" Connor, the Birmingham police Commissioner, was able to say "I don't know a damn thing about Kennedy and his troops. Governor Wallace runs his state, and I run Birmingham."

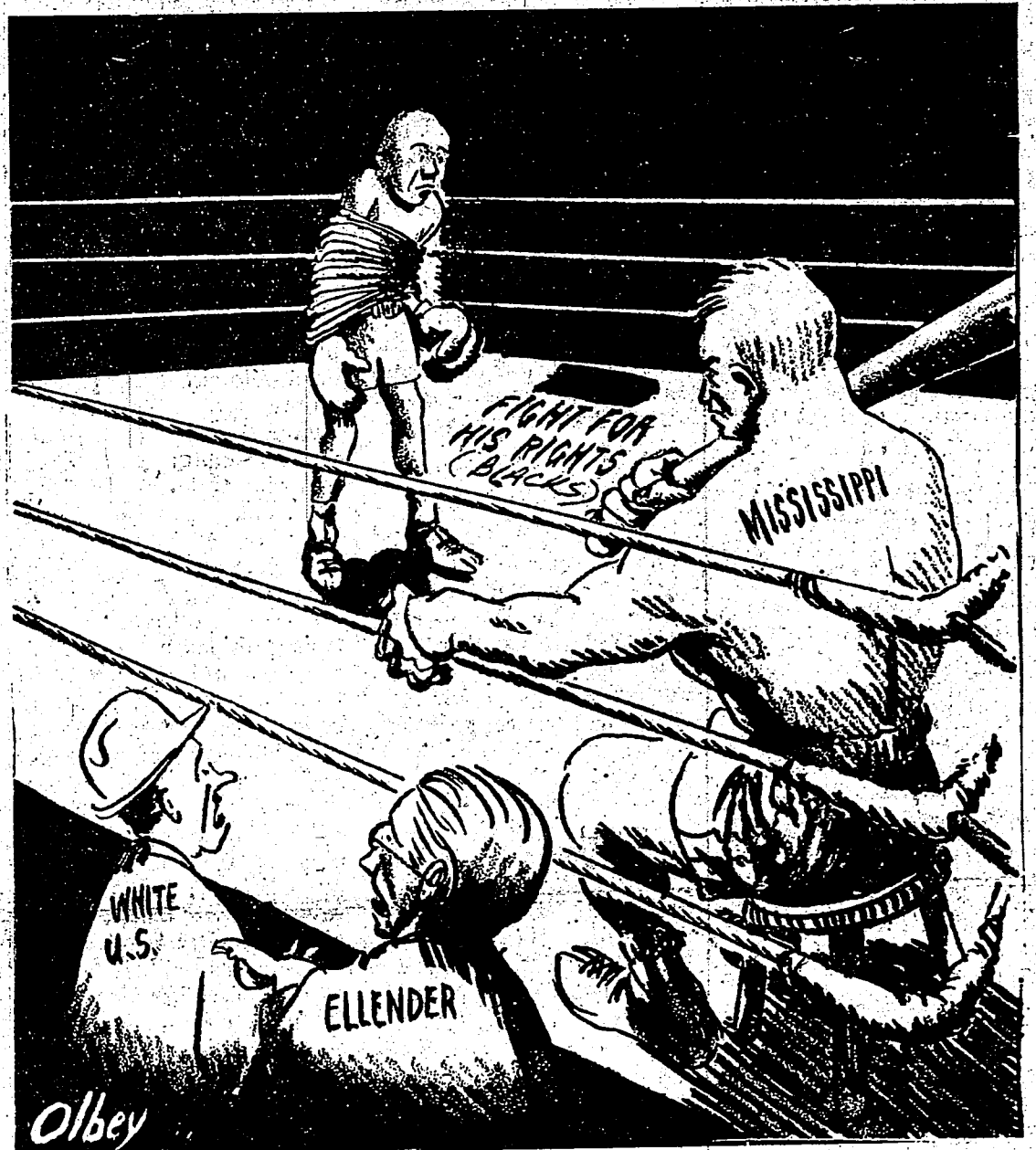
### KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

But we are told by Harvard Law School Dean, Erwin Griswold, a member

of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission that "it seems clear to me that he (President Kennedy) hasn't even started to use the powers that are available to him."

There is a strong suspicion that the Kennedy administration is in a cleft stick. It knows it can no longer dam the great surge of the American Negro toward equality, and, as more and more Negroes win voting rights, it wants to win their votes. But it, and the Big Business on which it is based, knows that freedom and equality for the American Negro means the unification of the American working class. It opens up the South to a great strengthening of trade unionism and makes it possible to eliminate the wage differential based on colour.

by Eses Kebi



## The African Revolution and Education

Continued from page 4

the reasons for such choices. Consideration of the methods will make obvious the hypocrisy of the so-called "liberal" approach to educational problem.

### ECONOMICS

Now, if we mean, as we do here, by Africanisation the remoulding of African educational system in compliance with contemporary independent Africa's needs, then some new subjects have to be introduced: for instance, Economics is a science which, in the mid-20th century, should be taught at least in secondary schools. In view of the requirements of a fast economic development, economics and technology should be more widely known, than western European education.

This last remark could have been included also under the headings: *Modernisation*. It seems clear enough that the academic

Western education is far from being up to date, and to satisfy the real needs of our century. Scientific teaching, particularly lags behind the real scientific achievements of today.

If this remark could be already form the point of view of the Western youth, it is all the more true for African youths engaged in a race to eradicate underdevelopment. This point don't call for much comment. Only, it might be of some interest to recall here what Lenin told the Soviet Working class on the first days of Soviet Revolution, that the proletariat had to master the whole cultural rule legacy inherited from the bourgeoisie period of course, not for saving bourgeois ideals, but in order to make full use of this cultural legacy for implement of its own objectives.

On the same line, we could say today that African youth has to master the whole treasure of world's

culture, as it stands nowadays. Again, for making full use of it in order to achieve its own objectives. That means ultimately that the colonial educational, of which too much remain even now, is to be changed with a view to widen the field of genuine knowledge, not all to limit it.

### POLITICAL PROBLEM

Perhaps, one will say that even if agreement is reached on the broad lines here defined, all practical steps still need carefully and detailed elaboration. That might be true but to overrate the technical problems to solve, might also lead to underestimate the decisive factor, which is the political decision to break with the colonial past in that field.

The break, once more, cannot be a revolutionary one if not directed by and towards genuine socialist spirit, and this, also, depends on political decision. And, finally, the success will be linked with the full development of democratic methods and democratic organisation—which, also, is a political problem.



Après Addis Abeba . . .

# DE GAULLE AURAIT-IL COMPRIS?

par un correspondant special

M. LEOPOLD Senghor, après un entretien avec le général de Gaulle sur les travaux de la conférence au sommet d'Addis Abeba, a déclaré ce qui suit : "Le général de Gaulle n'est pas opposé à l'Unité Africaine, bien au contraire, et il s'est réjoui pleinement de la réussite de la Conférence d'Addis Abeba." Et le journal LE MONDE d'ajouter: De sources officielles... il semble que le Général de Gaulle ait estimé que le travail accompli dans la capitale éthiopienne a été constructif. Mieux encore, ces mêmes sources auxquelles se réfère le quotidien français précisent que "tout en se refusant de se prononcer directement dans les affaires africaines, le président de de la République Française aurait jugé positive l'Organisation de l'Afrique telle qu'elle apparaît après la conférence d'Addis Abeba : un "fédéralisme" entre les divers ensembles régionaux africains".

Par ailleurs, dans un important article publié le 30 Mai et considéré comme le premier commentaire soviétique autorisé sur la conférence d'Addis Abeba, la PRAVDA indique que l'URSS apprécie de façon extrêmement positive les résultats de cette rencontre sans précédent qui a abouti, entre autres, à la création de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine. "Les Etats Africains Indépendants", écrit l'observateur de la PRAVDA, Maurice Maievski, ont déclaré qu'ils donnent pour fondement à leur unité une politique définie par l'anti-imperialisme, l'anti-colonialisme, la coexistence pacifique et la co-opération internationale: politique qu'avait déjà ratifiée la Conférence de Bandoung. Cette politique correspond aux intérêts vitaux des peuples en lutte pour la liberté, la paix et le progrès. L'Union Soviétique, conclut Maievski, soutient chaleureusement les efforts entrepris par les pays africains pour assurer leur unité et leur solidarité".

## MANQUE D'ENTHOUSIASME AUX U.S.A.

C'est donc la deux prises de position autorisées de deux grandes puissances internationales sur les décisions de la Conférence d'Addis Abeba. Si du côté socialiste, l'article de la PRAVDA peut être considéré comme une attitude conséquente de l'URSS qui avait envoyé un télégramme de soutien et de réussite aux Chefs d'Etat africains à Addis Abeba, l'on doit remarquer qu'en Occident, ce ne fut point le général de Gaulle qui envoya un message, mais le président Kennedy. Cela expliquerait-il que LE MONDE, tout en la trouvant un peu excessive, ait repris à son propre compte cette appréciation d'un journaliste: "Le vrai vainqueur de cette conférence, c'est le général de Gaulle"? Pour le moins, convenons en, le manque d'enthousiasme des déclarations de l'entourage du Président Kennedy depuis la fin des travaux d'Addis Abeba, dénote un certain embarras; car M. Mennen Williams nous avait habitués à plus de résonance dans les prises de position américaines sur les moindres événements de l'évolution africaine. Cet embarras serait-il dû au fait de la substitution du sigle O.U.A. (Organisation de l'Unité Africaine) à celui de O.A.S. (Organisation des Etats Africains) qui rappelle étrangement l'O.A.S. américaine? Quoi qu'il en soit, il semble que le général de Gaulle ait réellement fait preuve, en cette occasion, de statemanship en même temps que de grand stratège.

## LE STRATEGIE DE GAULLE

Stratège, de Gaulle en témoigne une remarquable envergure depuis la naissance de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine. En effet, il semble, selon les sources auxquelles s'est référé LE MONDE, que le Président de la République Française en serait arrivé à concevoir "un fédéralisme entre les ensembles régionaux africains", autrement dit, une sorte de fédération de micro-unions, ce qui diffère déjà de beaucoup de l'U.A.M., même élargie. Ce n'est pas hors de compréhension.

Un observateur averti pouvait percevoir, lors de la conférence de Ouagadougou,

l'ébranlement des fondements de l'Union Africaine et Malgache; ce que d'aucuns n'hésitent pas à attribuer à la ruée du cheval américain dans la zone d'influence française en Afrique. A cela, on se doit cependant d'ajouter les convulsions politiques et sociales (d'ailleurs communes à toute l'Afrique balkanisée) qui secouent les pays de l'U.A.M., bien que l'Organisation coûte cher au Général. Toutefois, l'U.A.M. a un mérite: celui d'avoir fait une expérience pour l'Afrique.

En effet, lorsque cette Union des Etats Africains et Malgache fut créée, son but clairement énoncé fut de développer les pays membres par la coopération économique technique et culturelle. L'appui financier et le soutien qui lui sont prodigués par la France constituaient aux yeux de ses promoteurs une garantie de succès. Et pourtant, après trois présidences, l'U.A.M. a démontré la précarité et la non-viabilité de la coopération, même au triple plan économique, technique et culturel. A la lumière du "fédéralisme" des ensembles régionaux africains attribués au Chef de l'Etat Français il semble qu'on ait peut-être réalisé à Paris l'inévitabilité et la nécessité de doter l'Afrique d'institutions politiques unitaires, ce qui justifierait l'emploi, par le Président de la République

Française dont on connaît la minutie à choisir son vocabulaire, du terme "fédéralisme".

## NKRUMAISME ANTI GAULLISME

Car, qui dit "fédéralisme" entend, à notre sens, un système politique, donc des institutions politiques, coiffant un ensemble fédéré à l'instar de Etats-Unis d'Amérique; et qui dit "fédéralisme" des divers ensembles régionaux africains, semble sous-entendre une confédération dotée d'institutions politiques, comme, peut-être, la Confédération Helvétique à son début. Il en découle logiquement, si nous comprenons le fond de la réflexion prêtée au général de Gaulle par les sources officielles françaises, — and we stand to be corrected — que le Président de la République Française concevrait l'Afrique, à cette étape de son évolution, dotée d'institutions politiques aussi bien régionales que continentales à la fois. S'il en est ainsi, paradoxalement, le Chef de l'Etat français ferait à l'Afrique un bond monumental vers le gouvernement continental proposé par Dr. Nkrumah, et du coup, la discussion ne concernerait plus la nature, nécessairement politique, des institutions dont il faut doter l'Afrique, mais la forme-même de ces institutions: Dr. Nkrumah affirmant la nécessité d'un

gouvernement continental à l'image de celui des Etats Unis d'Amérique, le général de Gaulle suggérant en quelque sorte, une "Confédération" dont on a peine, il faut le dire, à trouver un exemple dans le monde de nos jours. En tout cas, cette idée de "fédéralisme" dont on lui prête la paternité a d'ores et déjà le mérite énorme de révéler au grand jour que la solution des problèmes africains, impliquerait, même pour le Chef de l'Etat français, la dotation de l'Afrique d'institutions politiques, ce qui semble devoir rendre la tâche quelque peu malaisée pour ceux qui voudraient nier l'évidence, car s'en tenir strictement à une coopération inter-Etats contre l'Union politique équivaldrait alors à une position bien en deça de celle que peut avoir le Chef d'Etat d'une ex-puissance coloniale, de même que s'accrocher à l'idée d'union politique régionale reviendrait tout au plus à s'aligner sur la position de cette même ancienne puissance coloniale.

Bien sûr, il semble qu'à Paris l'on ait tenu compte de l'expérience de l'U.A.M., mais le "fédéralisme" des divers ensembles régionaux que l'on prête au général de Gaulle, procède moins de la conclusion logique à tirer de cette expérience, que d'une tentative de balkanisation au second degré qui pose une equation à deux inconnues: micro-Etat et micro-Union. Or, la

nature-même de toute balkanisation, quel qu'en soit le degré, est de favoriser les rivalités entre puissances étrangères et, partant, l'instabilité politique.

Etrange assez, comme on s'en aperçoit, le débat idéologique et politique né de la question du devenir immédiat de l'Afrique semble revenir à un affrontement entre gaullisme et nkrumaisme.

## LA LUTTE AFRICAINE

Mais l'intérêt de ce débat ne doit pas nous faire oublier que l'Afrique est encore dominée, agressive, et que cette domination et cette agression ressortent des décisions d'Addis Abeba avec une netteté plus grande, non seulement pour les peuples africains, mais aussi pour les puissances étrangères directement concernées dans la solution des problèmes pratiques que pose le présent immédiat. Et parmi ces puissances étrangères, la France occupe, pour le moins, une place importante.

A cet égard, devrions-nous voir un indice de bonne disposition et une preuve d'acceptation des implications, pour la France, des décisions d'Addis Abeba, lorsque l'on prête au général de Gaulle d'avoir manifesté de la satisfaction et de s'être "réjoui pleinement de la réussite de la Conférence"? Il est vrai que le 22 Mai, au moment-même où les ministres des affaires étrangères africains achevaient leurs

travaux et que les chefs d'Etat allaient commencer les leurs, le MONDE concluait un éditorial intitulé "L'Afrique du Sud au bord de la guerre", dans les termes suivants:

"A ces considérations stratégiques et politiques s'ajoutent de multiples liens économiques qui rendent les grandes nations occidentales plus qu'hésitantes devant les résolutions tendant à un boycottage général de l'Afrique du Sud présentées et adoptées aux Nations Unies.

"Il reste que ces mêmes nations n'accordant pas au régime de M. Verwoerd des chances de survie indéfinies, ne peuvent se désintéresser de ses éventuels successeurs sous peine d'y découvrir un jour des adversaires déclarés".

Rappelons également que lors du débat à l'O.N.U. sur le bombardement d'un village sénégalais par les forces armées portugaises, la France, certes avec quelque précaution oratoire, vota pour la résolution conjointement présentée par le Ghana et le Maroc.

## FIN DE L'OCCUPATION MILITAIRE

Cependant, il serait facheux que tout en faisant des efforts pour soutenir la lutte africaine contre le colonialisme portugais, la France tente de réduire la domination et l'agression que subit notre continent aux seules

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# De Gaulle aurait-il compris?

suite de la page 6.

proportions du Portugal. L'on a à cet égard quelque raison de s'inquiéter lorsque le journal LE MONDE, lié aux sources proches du Chef de l'Etat français, titre son premier commentaire des résultats de la Conférence d'Addis Abéba: "L'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine vise d'abord à la libération des colonies portugaises". Mais plus inquiétant encore, dans la colonne voisine où l'éditorialiste analyse ces mêmes résultats, on lit: "peut-être les nations africaines qui entretiennent des relations avec Lisbonne sont-elles maintenant disposées à les rompre, mais comment MM. Ben Bella, Senghor et Tsiranana, pour ne citer qu'eux, vont-ils s'accommoder de cette résolution préconisant "le retrait des bases étrangères?"

Que dit la résolution à laquelle se réfère cet éditorialiste? "The summit Conference of Independent African States... have agreed unanimously to concert and co-ordinate their efforts and action... and to this end have decided... to undertake, to bring about by means of negotiation, the end of military occupation in the African continent, the elimination of military bases and nuclear tests which constitute an essential element of African independence and unity".

De toute évidence, l'éditorialiste du MONDE semble n'avoir pas bien lu la résolution à laquelle il se réfère, et le moins qu'on puisse dire est que son interprétation à des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement africains aussi responsables que MM. Ben Bella, Senghor et Tsiranana ressort plutôt à un outrage à leur statemanship: et à l'Afrique entière. Au demeurant, il faut souligner à cet éditorialiste que ce n'est plus à MM. Ben Bella, Senghor et Tsiranana, ni à aucun autre de nos leaders, de s'accommoder, comme c'est écrit, de la résolution préconisant le "retrait des bases étrangères", mais aux puissances étrangères occupantes—la France par exemple—qui ont maintenant affaire non plus à tel ou tel chef d'Etat ou de gouvernement africain, mais aux peuples africains dans leur ensemble, solidement unis derrière leurs dirigeants lorsque ceux-ci ont décidé à Addis Abéba, unanimement, de se concerter et de coordonner leurs efforts et leur action pour "la fin de l'occupation militaires sur le continent africain, l'élimination des bases militaires et des essais nucléaires". Il est vrai que les dirigeants africains ont préconisé, à cette fin, la voie de la négociation, ce qui, peut-être, fait dire aux observateurs français qu'à Addis Abéba l'Afrique a atteint "une certaine maturité". Osons espérer que l'on pourra dire que les puissances étrangères occupantes ont aussi atteint "une certaine maturité".

L'on affirme dans certains milieux que l'idée de

décolonisation est inséparable de la personne du général de Gaulle, et l'on va même jusqu'à avancer que l'accession de l'Algérie à l'indépendance était déjà inscrite dans son programme d'action en Afrique, mais qu'il attendait tout simplement que le peuple algérien lui forçât la main. Ces milieux conviendront aisément avec nous qu'à cette étape-ci de l'évolution de l'Afrique, après la Conférence d'Addis Abéba dont le travail aurait été jugé "constructif" par le chef de l'Etat français, il serait bien fâcheux qu'on obligeât les peuples africains à brandir la hache de guerre afin de forcer la main du général pour obtenir la cessation des essais nucléaires au Sahara et l'évacuation des bases militaires françaises du sol africain. En tout cas, cela nuirait à cette "double sérénité" à partir de laquelle, de l'avis du journal LE MONDE, "peut s'ouvrir l'ère de la véritable coopération". Mais à la personne du général de Gaulle est également liée la légende de grand géant de l'Histoire qui sait saisir la maturité d'un problème et lui donner sa solution, de soi-même, en dehors de toute négociation. Espérons qu'en cette occasion si importante pour l'avenir de l'Afrique, le général se révélera à la hauteur de lui-même.

### ARMEE AFRICAINE

Mais pourrait-on objecter: passe encore pour la cessation des essais nucléaires! mais qu'advierait-il de la sécurité de l'Afrique si les puissances étrangères occupantes consen-

taient à s'abstenir de toute présence militaire sur le continent? Précisément, c'est cette présence militaire étrangère qui, pour l'instant en tout cas, menace la sécurité des Etats africains et celle de leurs chefs; et au surplus, l'on en conviendra avec nous, une Afrique Unie, forte de ses 250 millions d'âmes, sera en mesure de se doter, d'une armée de taille à assurer sa défense et sa sécurité.

Lequel alors, de la "Confédération" du général de Gaulle et du Gouvernement continental du Dr. Nkrumah, pourrait-on se demander, offrirait-il à cette Armée Africaine la meilleure structure susceptible de lui permettre, en toute circonstance et en tout lieu, de faire face à tout danger? Comme on le voit, ici également le débat continue entre gaullisme et nkrumahisme.

### ZONE MONETAIRE PAN-AFRICAINE

Un autre point où la France se trouve directement concernée par les décisions d'Addis Abéba et auquel l'on s'étonnera d'ailleurs que les commentateurs français n'aient fait aucune allusion, est celui où il est question du décrochage progressif des monnaies africaines des liens extérieurs non-techniques et de la constitution d'une zone monétaire panafricaine. Et pourtant il semble que la France pourrait ici apporter à l'Afrique un concours des plus utiles, non seulement du fait de la qualité de ses experts financiers, mais aussi et surtout en raison de l'importante expérience qu'elle a accumulée en cette matière

sur notre continent.

L'on sait en effet que la création de la monnaie tunisienne a posé aux experts français un cas, différent en soi du cas marocain, lui aussi différent du cas guinéen, lui-même différent du deuxième cas guinéen, enfin différent lui aussi du cas malien, et il y a en cours le cas algérien. Au total, 18 Etats indépendants africains—dont sept déjà groupés au sein de la Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Ouest Africain et disposant d'un signe monétaire commun—sont liés à la zone franc, soit qu'ils en sont membres, soit qu'ils aient d'étroits rapports avec elle.

D'autre part, dans le cadre de l'Union Ghana-Guinée-Mali, le chef de l'Etat ghanéen avait pris sur le plan monétaire des initiatives qu'il se propose d'exposer prochainement au parlement, tendant à faciliter "a common gold parity" entre les monnaies des trois pays. Si Nigéria, Sierra-Léone, Tanganyika et Ouganda, autres Etats indépendants africains membres de la zone sterling, rejoignent le Ghana dans ses initiatives, une situation nouvelle serait créée en Afrique pour "la constitution d'une zone monétaire panafricaine", puisqu'il ne resterait à résoudre que le cas de 9 Etats indépendants africains dont d'ailleurs trois, Congo-Léopoldville, Ruannda et Burundi, ont d'étroits rapports monétaires avec la Belgique, partenaire de la France au sein de la Communauté Economique Européenne.

Il va sans dire qu'une zone monétaire panafricaine implique des Autorités monétaires panafricaines devant garantir solidité et stabilité à la monnaie africaine, instrument du développement harmonieux même ou sur l'extérieur—

et autocentré du continent.

On ne saurait dire si dans le "fédéralisme" des ensembles régionaux prêté au Chef de l'Etat français, le général de Gaulle concevait le développement de l'Afrique centré sur elle-la Communauté Economi-

que Européenne, par exemple—, mais le Gouvernement continental proposé par Dr. Nkrumah pose sans équivoque la consolidation de l'indépendance du continent africain, et la prospérité de ses peuples par un

développement autocentré. S.E.M. le Président Fulbert Youlou a proposé à l'Afrique, de la tribune de la Conférence d'Addis Abéba, de s'inspirer de la doctrine Monroe. Eh bien oui! l'Afrique aux Africains!!

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# NKRUMAISM ON THE ASCENDANCY

Continued from page 1



**27 MAY:** SOUTH AFRICA: As a result of the Addis Ababa decisions against the apartheid, Mr. Eric Louw, Foreign Minister in Dr. Verwoerd's Nazi Government, has warned that South Africa will be ready to resist all forms of threat which Africa may organise against her.

Mr. J. Jacobus Fouché, Minister of Defence in the South African Government has announced a further reinforcement of the South African Army.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr Winston Field, Prime Minister of the White Settler Government of the Southern Rhodesia, arrives in London with several members of his cabinet to have discussions with Mr. Butler, British Minister responsible for the Central African Federation, about his demand for so-called independence of Southern Rhodesia.

**CONGO:** A Belgian citizen by name J. Cabbat, 40 years old, born in Brussels, has been found dead in Elisabethville, with a bullet in his neck.

**ALGERIA:** Several Europeans, especially French citizens, have been arrested by the Algerian authorities, for suspicious intentions to reconstitute the disbanded league of O.A.S.

A delegation of Algerian experts arrive in Paris to have economic and financial discussions with the French experts.

The Diplomatic Relations between Algeria and Tunisia have been resumed, the official announcement from the two countries states.

**SENEGAL:** Mr Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal, arrives in Paris after the Addis Ababa conference and has an interview with General de Gaulle. After the interview the Head of the Senegalese State announces that General de Gaulle is not hostile to the African Unity and that he is fully satisfied with the outcome of the Addis Ababa conference.

**MAY 28TH:** SOUTH AFRICA: Dr Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the apartheid government of South Africa, decides to spend his holidays in a seaside Villa at Betty's Bay, 60 kilometres from the Cape. No African will be allowed to go there, until the racist Prime Minister has left the place.

Several journalists have been arrested in Johannesburg while taking photographs during an Indian demonstration, demanding the release of imprisoned people.

**UNITED STATES:** The fight against the segregation continues in U.S.A. Pastor King declares that President Kennedy hasn't done enough in fighting against the racism in America.

**TOGO:** President Grunitzky receives the five former Ministers of the Olypmic Government, who have been set free from prison.

**U.A.R.:** Certain French and British properties confiscated by the U.A.R. authorities during the Suez crisis, will be restored, Middle East News Agency announces.

**ALGERIA:** The Franco-Algerian, economic and financial discussions have begun in Paris.

Colonel Boumediene, Vice-President of the Algerian Council, and Minister of Defence, inaugurates the first Algerian Military Pilot School. France returns twelve helicopters of American make to Algeria which receives six others from U.S.S.R.

The Algerian Radio announces the nomination of Mr. Abdel Aziz Zerdani, Member of Parliament for Bône, to be in charge of the Algerian news paper "Le Peuple" (the people), and Mr Mohamed Harbi, former General Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs of the C.P.R.A., to be in charge of the weekly paper "African Revolution" (Révolution Africaine) which is written by a committee of directors

composed of Mrs Zohra Drif, Djamilia, Bouhired, and Mr J. M. Verges.

**KENYA:** Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British Governor in Kenya, has officially asked Jomo Kenyatta to form a Government.

**CONGO:** The Congo Parliament decides to create a third province in Katanga.

**U.A.R.:** A joint communique signed by President Nasser and Mr. Ben Bella, Head of the Algerian Government, expressing their complete satisfaction of the results of the Addis Ababa Summit Conference has been released in Cairo.

**MAY 30TH:** ALGERIA: U.N.O. grants a loan of 1,244,500 dollars to Algeria to train civil electrical and mechanical engineers.

A group of 100 Algerian naval officer cadets leave Algeria for Moscow.

**U.A.R.:** A message from President Kennedy is delivered to President Nasser.

**GUINEA:** It is announced that President Sekou Toure will be visiting Congo Brazzaville.

**MAY 31st:** After the Addis Ababa conference many African Heads of State from former French colonies arrived in Paris. General de Gaulle receives successively Messrs: Leon M'Ba (Gabon), Diori Hamani (Niger), Francois Tombalbaye (Chad), Fulbert Youlou (Congo-Brazzaville), Mokhtar Ould Daddah (Mauritania), David Dacko (Central African Republic). He will entertain them to a dinner party.

**SENEGAL:** Mr Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal, declares in Paris: "My idea of the African unity is exactly what de Gaulle thinks of Europe—Africa must be made native-land."

**SOUTH AFRICA:** In Kwa-Mashu, four Africans have been wounded (two of them very seriously) when protest demonstrators attacked with stones and clubs the Nazi administrative buildings of Verwoerd.

**SWAZILAND:** A white paper published in London gives details of the new Swaziland constitution.

**KENYA:** Jomo Kenyatta decides to form a Government representing all the parties in Kenya in order to consolidate their territorial unity.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr Butler, the British Minister for the Central African Federation and Mr Winston Field, Prime Minister of the white settler Government in the Southern Rhodesia suspend their discussions because of disagreement.

**U.A.R.:** President Nasser's daughter welcomes Mr. Alexis Adjoubel, Chief Editor of "Izvestia", and his wife at the Cairo Airport soon after their arrival. They will be in the capital for four days.

**ALGERIA:** The Algerian Government takes steps to limit importations.

**1st. JUNE:** TOGO: President Grunitzky arrives in Paris to have some talks with General de Gaulle.

**CONGO:** M. J. Iléo announces the arrest of many Europeans in Elisabethville where Mr. Tshombe is absent.

**ALGERIA:** The Franco-Algerian economic and financial discussions have been suspended.

**PARIS:** General de Gaulle dines with the Heads of State of Senegal, Upper Volta, Gabon, Niger, Dahomey, Cameroun, Congo-Brazzaville, Tchad, Mauritania, Central African Republic.

**UNITED STATES:** 500 Negroes are arrested in Jackson in the State of Mississippi for demonstrating against the racial segregation.

of the institutions with which Africa should be provided (for these would be necessarily of a political kind) but upon the actual form of (such) institutions.

*Dr. Nkrumah, on the one hand, postulate the need for a continental government like that of the United States of America. General de Gaulle, on the other, is suggesting something in the nature of a Confederation for which (there is no point in hiding the fact) it is hard to find a parallel anywhere in the world.*

In any case, this "federalism of the various regional groupings" which is attributed to General de Gaulle, has this very great merit that it clearly reveals the fact that the solution to the problems of Africa implies, even as far as de Gaulle is concerned, creating for Africa common political institutions.

This fact does not make things any easier for those who would like to deny the existence of so imperative a necessity.

To hold strictly to co-operation among African states as opposed to full-blooded political unity would be taking up a position inferior to that adopted by a Head of State of a colonial power.

Similarly, holding fast to the idea of regional political unity and no more would still mean tackling up a position inferior to that of the Head of the colonial power just mentioned. Although it would seem that opinion in Paris has reckoned with the experience of the UAM yet the "federalism" attributed to General de Gaulle stems not so much from the logical inference to be drawn from that experience, as from an attempt at balkanisation in the second degree, when the micro-state gives place to a micro-union.

Actually the nature of (any kind of) balkanisation (whatever the degree) is that it promotes rivalries among foreign powers and, consequently, political instability.

Strange too, as will be observed, is the ideological and political debate stemming from the question of Africa's immediate future which seems to come back to a comparison between Gaullism and Nkrumaism.

## THE AFRICAN STRUGGLE

But interest in this ideological debate should not lead us to forgetting that Africa is still subject to domination and aggression; and that such domination and aggression stand and from the decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference in stark clarity, not only for the peoples of Africa but also for the foreign powers directly concerned in the solution of the prac-

tical problems raised by the immediate present. Among these powers France, at least, occupies an important place.

Should we regard it as a sign of good augury and a proof of the acceptance of the implications of the decisions reached at Addis Ababa, so far as France is concerned, that General de Gaulle has been credited with being pleased and fully satisfied with the success of the conference?

It is true that on the 22nd May, when the African Foreign Ministers finished their deliberations and the Heads of State were about to embark upon theirs, the newspaper "Le Monde" concluded an editorial entitled "South Africa on the brink of war" in the following terms:—

*"To these strategic and political considerations should be added several economic ties which make the great nations of the West more than a little hesitant in the face of the resolutions that call for a general boycott of South Africa, already moved at the United Nations and adopted by that body."*

*"There remains the fact that if these nations do not allow Verwoerd's regime the change of indefinite survival, they cannot be completely indifferent to his successors, else they may one day wake up to find that they are their own enemies."*

*It is worth recalling, too, that during the debate at the United Nations on the bombing of a Senegalese village by the Portuguese, France, albeit with some degree of verbal care, voted in favour of the African resolution jointly moved by Ghana and Morocco.*

## THE END OF MILITARY OCCUPATION

It would however be unfortunate if France, while trying to support the African struggle against Portuguese colonialism, were to try to whittle down the domination and aggression to which Africa is subjected to the proportions of Portugal alone. There is some reason to be disturbed about this when "Le Monde" which is connected with sources close to the Head of the French State captions its first comment on the results of the Addis Ababa Conference as follows:

*"The Organisation of African Unity points to the liberation of the Portuguese colonies as its first target." More disquieting still the next column, where the editorial writer analyses the results, contains this statement: Perhaps the African nations which have relations with Lisbon are now prepared to break them off, but how can Mr. Ben Bella, Mr. Senghor, Mr. Tsiranana, to mention only these, accommodate themselves to this resolution which recom-*

*mends the withdrawal of foreign bases"?*

What is actually contained in the resolution to which this editorial writer refers?

Clearly, the editorial writer of "Le Monde" seems not to have carefully read the resolution to which he refers, and the least that can be said of his question to African Heads of State and Government with so high a sense of responsibility as Mr. Ben Bella, Mr. Senghor and Mr. Tsiranana is that it is an insult to their statesmanship and to Africa as a whole.

Further, it must be pointed out to the editorial writer that it is not for Mr. Ben Bella, Mr. Senghor and Mr. Tsiranana any more than for any other African leader to accommodate themselves, as he points it, to the resolution recommending "the withdrawal of foreign military bases", but rather for the foreign occupying powers — France, for instance — who now have to deal no longer with this or that African Head of State or Government, but with the African peoples as a whole, solidly united behind their leaders who unanimously agreed at Addis Ababa to act in concert and co-ordinate their effort and activities "to end military occupation in the African continent and eliminate military bases and nuclear tests".

It is true that the African leaders recommended that this should be achieved by negotiation, which probably has led French observers to say that at Addis Ababa Africa reached "a certain degree of maturity". Let us be bold enough to hope that, in this matter, it may be said that the foreign occupying powers have also attained "a certain measure of maturity".

It is stated in certain circles that the idea of decolonisation cannot be divorced from the person of General de Gaulle. Some even assert that Algeria's attainment of independence was already implicit in the programme of activities he initiated in Africa, but that he was merely waiting for the people of Algeria "to force his hand."

Those who say so will readily agree with us that at this particular stage in Africa's evolution, after the Addis Ababa Conference whose achievement is said to have been regarded by the Head of the French state as constructive, it would be very unfortunate if the African peoples were to be forced to brandish the axe of war in order to force the general's hand, before he would agree to stop carrying out nuclear tests in the Sahara and remove French military bases from African soil.

In any case, this would injure the "dual serenity"

which must exist if, according to the writer in *Le Monde*, the era of true co-operation is to begin.

Coupled with the figure of General de Gaulle is also the legend of the great giant of history, who can seize upon a problem ripe for solution and stamp it with his own brand of solution, without regard for any negotiation. Let us hope that on this occasion, which is so important for the future of Africa, the General will rise to his full stature.

## AFRICAN ARMY

*But perhaps it may be argued that the cessation of nuclear testing may be all to the good. But what would become of Africa security if the foreign occupying powers were to agree to have no military presence in Africa? It is precisely this foreign military presence which, for the time being, threatens the security of the African States and that of their leaders. Further, we think no one will disagree with our view that a United Africa with 250,000,000 people will be in a position to furnish itself with an army capable of ensuring its defence and security.*

Which would offer such an African army the structure best suited to its ability to meet any menace, any time, anywhere—General de Gaulle's "confederation" or Dr. Nkrumah's continental government? As will be seen, here too the debate continues between Gaullism and Nkrumaism.

## PAN-AFRICAN MONETARY ZONE

Another point which directly concerns France in the decision taken at Addis Ababa about which, astonishingly enough, French commentators have not made a single comment, is the question of the "progressive freeing of national currencies from all non-technical external attachments and the establishment of Pan-African Monetary Zone."

And yet, it appears that France might in this matter afford Africa most useful assistance, not only because of the quality of her financial experts, but more particularly experience France has because of the important acquired in Africa in regard to his particular matter.

It is well known that the creation of a Tunisian currency set the French experts problem which was different from that of Guinea. Even in Guinea the first experiment in currency reform differed from the second which was in turn different from the case of Mali. And there is at present something in progress in Algeria. The sum total is 18 Independent African States, 7 of which are associated with the Central Bank of West

African States and have a common currency tied to the franc zone either because they are members of that zone or because of close relations with it.

On the other hand, within the framework of the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, the Head of the Republic of Ghana, so far as currency matters are concerned, had taken certain steps which he proposes to set out in the near future in Parliament.

The steps would tend to create a common gold parity between the currencies of the three states. If Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Uganda, other independent African states that belong to the sterling zone were to join with Ghana in this move, a new situation would exist in Africa for the establishment of a Pan-African monetary zone, because all that would remain to be solved would be the case of the nine Independent African States, three of which (the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi) have close currency relations with Belgium, France's partner in the European Economic Community.

*It goes without saying that a Pan-African Monetary Zone implies the existence of Pan-African monetary authorities who will ensure that the African currency is solid and stable and thus an instrument for the harmonious and self-induced development of Africa.*

One cannot say whether in that "federalism between the various African regional groupings," attributed to General de Gaulle, the Head of the French State thinks of Africa's development being self-induced or induced from dependence on external forces—the European Economic Community, for example.

What is certain is that the continental government suggested by Dr. Nkrumah poses, in no uncertain terms, the consolidation of Africa's independence, and the prosperity of its peoples through a process of unlimited and self-induced development.

His Excellency President Fullbert Youlou suggested from the rostrum at Addis Ababa Conference, that Africa should draw inspiration from the Monroe Doctrine.

Indeed Africa is for Africans!

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