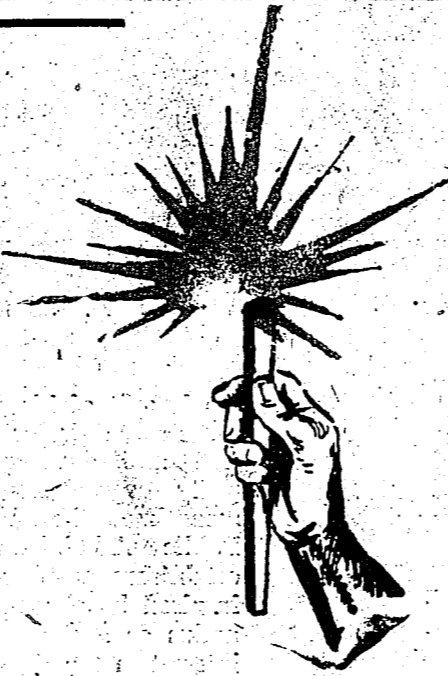


THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

No. 92

2d.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1964

KWAME NKRUMAH

MEMORABLE DATES



BORN: 21st September 1909.

1927: Entered Government Training College, Achimota, Accra.

1930: Completed Achimota.

1935: Left for U.S.A. for further studies.

1939: Graduated from Lincoln University with B.A.

1942: Graduated from Lincoln University with B.Th. Graduated from University of Pennsylvania with M.Sc.

1943: Graduated from University of Pennsylvania with M.A.

1945: Left New York for London. Enrolled at Gray's Inn and at London School of Economics. West African National Secretariat founded and Joint Secretary with late George Padmore. Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England.

1947: Wrote "Towards Colonial Freedom" but no publisher was willing to handle it. Arrived back in the Gold Coast and took up appointment as Secretary of United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC).

1948: The "Big Six" of the U.G.C.C. arrested and detained. Founded Accra Evening News.

1949: Convention People's Party founded after crisis in the leadership and strategy of U.G.C.C.

1950: Positive Action launched. Arrested and jailed.

1951: Released from prison to assume post of Leader of Government Business.

1953: "The Motion of Destiny"—Independence Motion tabled in the National Assembly.

1957: Ghana Independence. Published "Ghana", Autobiography, on Independence Day.

1958: First Conference of Independent African States in Accra. All African Peoples Conference in Accra.

1960: Became President of Ghana Republic. Published "I speak of Freedom", a collection of his speeches.

1961: Casablanca Charter and Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union.

1962: Kulungugu Bomb incident. Published "Towards Colonial Freedom".

1962: World without the Bomb Assembly in Accra. Won the Lenin Peace Prize. African Freedom Fighters Conference in Accra.

1963: Addis Ababa Summit Conference and birth of Charter of Organisation of African Unity. Published his book "Africa Must Unite".

1964: Escaped neo-colonialist agents' bullets unhurt. Published "Consciencism"—Philosophy and Ideology of decolonisation and development with particular reference to the African Revolution. Cairo Summit. Concrete proposals for Union Government of Africa.

"A MAN — IT SOUNDS SO PROUDLY" — GORKI.

What it means to work with Kwame Nkrumah

ON this 55th birthday of our President, Kwame Nkrumah, it is my singular honour and privilege to convey to him, on behalf of the Civil Service of Ghana, our heartfelt and sincerest congratulations, and our best wishes for his continued health, and well-being.

This year also marks the 17th anniversary of the return of Kwame Nkrumah to Ghana (the then Gold Coast), to lead the struggle for the liberation of the country from British rule. What exciting, but rewarding years they have been!

Speaking recently to the students of Achimota School at their last Prize Giving Day, I asked all Achimotans, past and present, to take inspiration from the fact that Kwame Nkrumah himself, an old Achimotan, has already carved a place for himself among the immortals, as one who by his vision, great courage and tenacity of purpose, was not only able to rescue his people from foreign domination, but

has also, almost single-handed, him. When one comes to think of it, it is certainly amazing, even to me, how he manages to find the time not only to govern the country as effectively and as efficiently as he does, to plan personally all the many projects which he has initiated in Ghana and after all that, to write a series of serious, scholarly books, the latest being "Consciencism" which in the space of a few months since its publication has already won such world wide acclaim.

THE CIVIL SERVANT

In "Africa Must Unite", Nkrumah has stated his views

By E. K. OKOH
Secretary to the Cabinet

secretaries and give them directions on the files and papers he has brought with him, and also on the new ideas which he wishes to be examined for implementation.

The most important and more personal letters he dictates himself; for the rest, he is content to provide the guide lines for drafting. He scrutinises each draft carefully before approving. He hates any form of bureaucracy and red tape. His favourite technique



can always throw it away." Kwame is always ready therefore to experiment with an idea and to be proved wrong. "Thought without practice is empty!"

In the Office, Kwame is as careful, methodical, efficient and hard working as any business man. I always tell my close friends that Kwame Nkrumah would have made a success of any profession he chose to adopt. His memory is prodigious. He never forgets a fact or a face. Of all the thousands of letters which reach him, he always knows what he has done with this one, to whom he has passed that one, and what action has been taken or should be taken on the others. The extent of his reading is naturally wide, but particularly eclectic and deep. The President can always be found reading a new book. His ability to extract the essence of whatever he reads, quickly and accurately put it to practical use is really outstanding.

HOT PACE

From what I have said, it can be appreciated that working for Nkrumah, is not only exhilarating and challenging; it can be gruelling, because the pace he sets for himself and his staff is indeed a hot one! Nkrumah believes that in a developing country like Ghana we cannot afford to base our standards on the "meandering methods of colonial administration."

The problems of reconstruction and development which face us are tremendous. We have centuries of damage and repression to repair. We must endeavour at the same time to catch up quickly with the industrialised countries, and the progress in science and technology.

In these circumstances, the Civil Servant must surely be an activist in administration; he must be intensely practical and must emphasise constantly the executive and management aspects of his work. This is the meaning of Nkrumah's call that "Civil Servants must use their own initiative to make the Civil Service an effective instrument in the rapid development of Ghana."

Kwame Nkrumah's constant advice to Heads of Departments and all who are in charge of State Enterprises would be that they should think bold and imaginative thoughts about how they can improve the work of their departments, and how they can plan and organise to achieve their objectives.

FLAIR

It is my hope that one day the President will write a book on administration in a developing country, and so give to us and to posterity

found the man for Ghana and for Africa.

He is already a world statesman, of eminence and stature. Even the B.B.C. has had to acknowledge that "the world has not heard the last of Kwame Nkrumah".

the cause of Ghana and Africa is intense, steadfast, and basic to all his work.

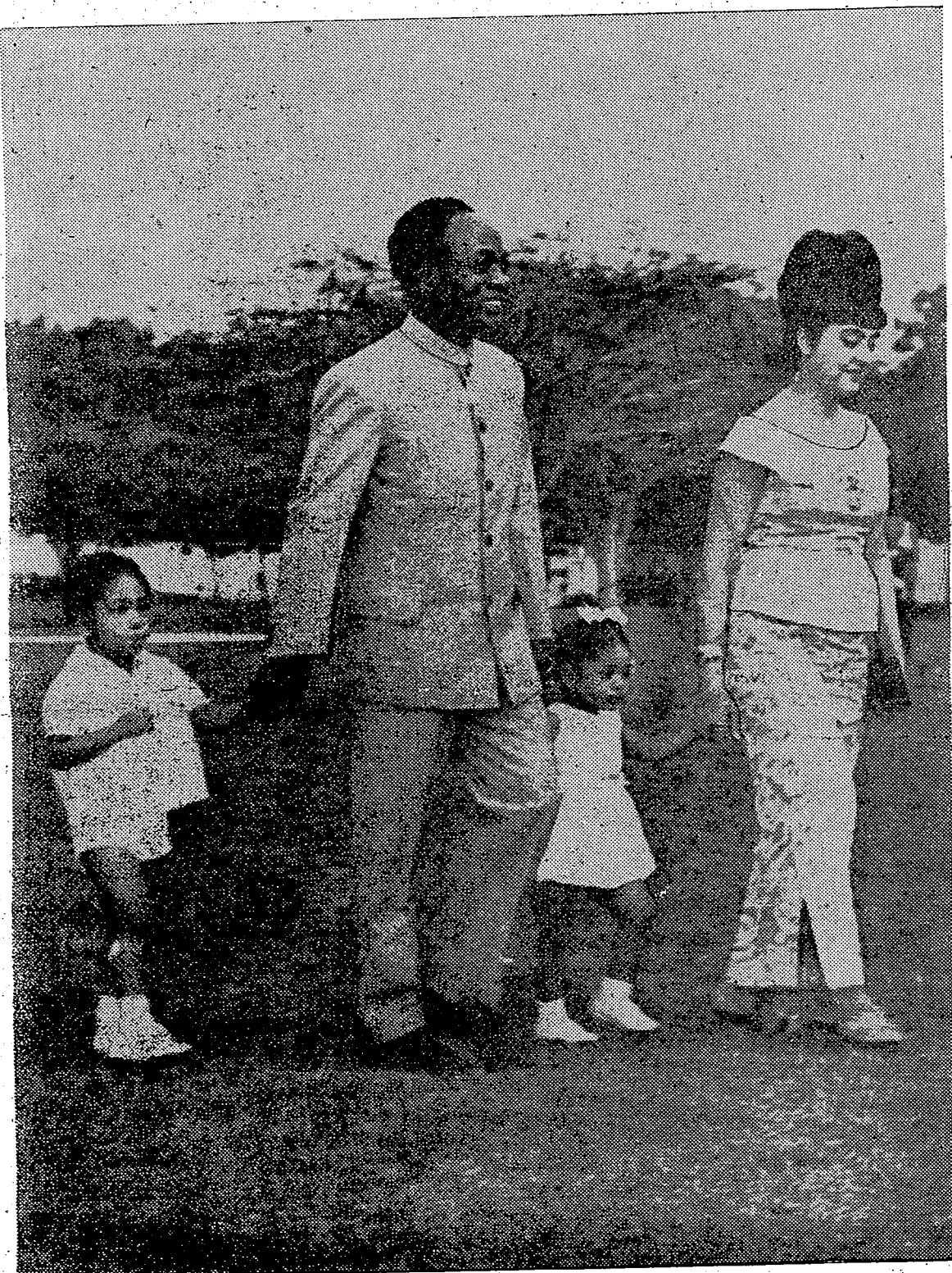
In spite of his sophistication and wide intellectual attainments, Nkrumah has never lost his childhood ability for free and uninhibited self expression, simplicity and the enjoyment of the simple things of life. This possibly accounts for his relaxed and patient manner even at the worst of times.

Kwame's charm of personality and sense of humour is proverbial. His deep sincerity of purpose and his loyalty to

It is my deep personal conviction, which grows stronger every day, that in Kwame Nkrumah the hour has indeed

We, who have the privilege of assisting in the administration of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana, wish to assure the President and the people of Ghana that we do so loyally and sincerely in the interest of our country and continent, and to the honour of our Leader.

We are therefore happy and proud to join all the people in wishing our President our heartiest congratulations on his 55th Birthday.



Gay At Home After A Day's Work ...

been able to chart a new course for Ghana and for Africa, leading to true political and economic emancipation and unity of thought and action.

REVERENCE

Whoever sets out, as I do now, to write about Kwame Nkrumah, must surely do so with a proper sense of reverence and acknowledgement of his temerity in the undertaking. This is because any attempt to make an assessment of Nkrumah, which would be in any sense complete, would defy any man. The narrative could fill volumes, and still remain wide off the mark. For as a personality, he is so complex, so varied and so prodigiously developed. It is indeed, an understatement to call him a genius!

I have been asked nevertheless, as one who has had the rare privilege to work close to and for our President, over a considerable length of time, to say something about the man Kwame Nkrumah, and what it is like to work for

on the functions of the good Civil Servant. "The good Civil Servant" he says, "must grapple with his work all the time, thinking twenty-four hours a day how best he can serve his country; he must be utterly devoted and dedicated to the ideal of re-constructing our country". This statement happens to be, in epitome, a truly accurate account of Nkrumah's own attitude towards his daily work and life.

NEW IDEAS

The President normally reaches his Office between eight o'clock and nine o'clock in the morning. Before that he has usually done four or five hours work at home. Before he comes to the Office, the President will have read all the morning papers, and studied all the files and letters left in his box the night before. Most important of all, he usually has made detailed notes of many new ideas which have come to him since the previous day. His first business on reaching the Office, is to call his

in dealing with any problem is to convene a meeting of those concerned with it, so that quick decisions can be made.

Kwame Nkrumah has a keen sense of vision, a highly trained imagination and great initiative; he employs all these talents twenty-four hours a day in the service of Ghana and Africa.

I have not known a single day when the President has not thrown out some new idea for examination. Some of these ideas are certainly revolutionary; but one by one they have come alive, and have become the prospering enterprises we see all around the country, and which collectively have made Ghana the dynamic and go-ahead country it is today.

Kwame Nkrumah, himself a thinker of great thought, is also most receptive to new ideas. He is a very good listener indeed! "There is no harm in listening," he is fond of saying, "if you do not like an idea after you heard it, you



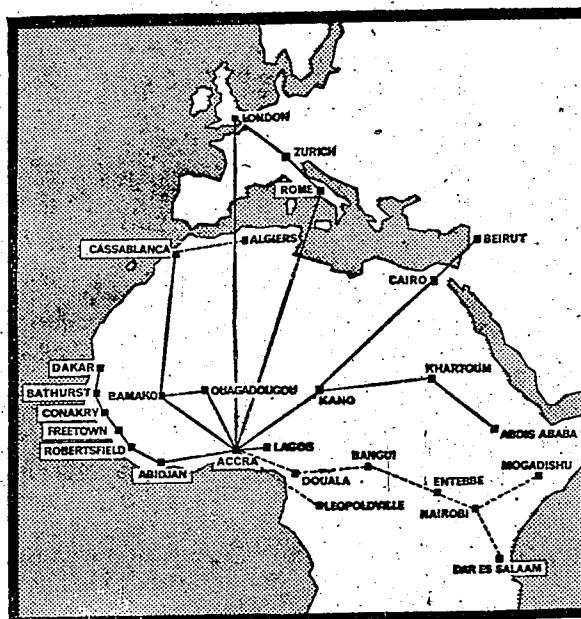
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HIS SCHOLARSHIP . . .

Kwame Nkrumah speaks . . .



universities have given their blessing, arranging and classifying them with the delicate care lavished on museum pieces. When once these systems were so handled, it was natural that they should be regarded as monuments of human intellect. And monuments, because they mark achievements at their particular point in history, soon become conservative in the impression which they make on posterity.

I was introduced to Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Marx and other immortals, to whom I should like to refer as the university philosophers. But these titans were expounded in such a way that a student from a colony could easily find his breast agitated by conflicting attitudes. These attitudes can have effects which spread out over a whole society, should such a student finally pursue a political life.

A colonial student does not by origin belong to the intellectual history in which the university philosophers are such impressive landmarks. The colonial student can be so seduced by these attempts to give a philosophical account of the universe, that he surrenders his whole personality to them. When he does this, he loses sight of the fundamental social fact that he is a colonial subject. In this way, he omits to draw from his education and from the concern displayed by the great philosophers for human problems, anything which he might relate to the very real problem of colonial domination, which, as it happens, conditions the immediate life of every colonized African.

With single-minded devotion, the colonial student meanders through the intricacies of the philosophical systems. And yet these systems did aim at providing a philosophical account of the world in the circumstances and conditions of their time. For even philosophical systems are facts of history. By the time, however, that they come to be accepted in the universities for exposition, they have lost the vital power which they had at their first statement; they have shed their dynamism and polemic reference. This is a result of the academic treatment which they are given. The academic treatment is the result of an attitude to philosophical systems as though there was nothing to them but statements standing in logical relation to one another.

DEFECTIVE APPROACH

This defective approach to scholarship was suffered by different categories of colonial student. Many of them had been hand-picked and, so to say, carried certificates of worthiness with them. These were considered fit to become enlightened servants of the colonial administration. The process by which this category of student became fit usually started at an early age, for not infrequently they had lost contact early in life with their traditional background. By reason of their

lack of contact with their own roots, they became prone to accept some theory of universalism, provided it was expressed in vague, mellifluous terms.

Armed with their universalism, they carried away from their university courses an attitude entirely at variance with the concrete reality of their people and their struggle. When they came across doctrines of a combative nature, like those of Marxism, they reduced them to arid abstractions, to common-room subtleties. In this way, through the good graces of their colonialist

patrons, these students, now competent in the art of forming not a concrete environmental view of social political problems, but an abstract, 'liberal' outlook, began to fulfil the hopes and expectations of their guides and guardians.

A few colonial students gained access to metropolitan universities almost as of right, on account of their social standing. Instead of considering culture as a gift and a pleasure, the intellectual who emerged therefrom now saw it as a personal distinction and privilege.

He might have suffered mild persecution at the hands of the colonialists, but hardly ever really in the flesh. From his wobbly pedestal, he indulged in the history and sociology of his country, and thereby managed to preserve some measure of positive involvement with the national processes. It must however be obvious that the degree of national consciousness attained by him was not of such an order as to permit his full grasp of the laws of historical development or of the thorough-going nature of the struggle to be waged, if na-

tional independence was to be won.

Finally, there were the vast numbers of ordinary Africans, who, animated by a lively national consciousness, sought knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity. This is not to say that these Africans overlooked the purely cultural value of their studies. But in order that their cultural acquisition should be valuable, they needed to be capable of appreciating it as free men.

I was one of this number.

—'Consciencism'

**KWAME NKRUMAH
—A Shaft of Light**

by M. Dei - Anang

In this little poem I have tried to draw a picture of old Africa—full of gloom and despair under political subjection—and the new Africa which, with the inspiration of one of Africa's greatest sons, saw a new light of day. It is really an understatement to say that Kwame Nkrumah, by his intervention in African affairs, has dispelled the clouds of darkness and gloom and ushered in a new ray of hope for all Africa. He has given, not only Ghana, but the whole of Africa the basis for self-discovery and a passionate awareness of the role of the African in world affairs.

Our life is full of pauses and periods,
It's a brief canvas of circumstance,
Full of comas, colons and dashes;
There are long periods of privation
And morbid moments when everything
Seems to spell doom and despair;
When ill-wishers jump for joy,
And even friends turn silently away—
Tense moments when we seem to stand
Alone on the delicate brink of Time,
And watch the waves of endurance
Flow ceaselessly into a proud and angry sea.

Such moments marked our past
When the slavers set warring tribes
Against their kingsfolk; when love
Of filthy gain chilled the hearts
Of conquering transmarine bands
Who ruled our shores,
And curbed our souls.
Those were years
Of many tears and doom;
Those were days when the rays
Of our sun were dulled with grief;

But then, thou God of our past
Didst send a mighty Force
Whose voice did steel our hearts,
And drove a shaft of light through the gloom
Of our life:
"Africa, awake; Africa, arise,
Stand firm and organise!
Awake, and be of good cheer;
Look above to your noon-day clear;
The rolling hills are yours again,
From land and main
All is yours again."

So our Leader spoke,
And all was bright again;
The joy of living is our treasure,
And service to our God and fellow-men
Is the measure
Of our love for all.
Africa will arise,
United and strong, and fall
No more.



KWAME NKRUMAH

by Kodwo Addison

KWAME Nkrumah is a man of great courage and wonderful talent. He rose from the ranks of the common people of this country to take up leadership for the bitter struggle against British imperialism and colonialism when Ghana (then Gold Coast) was under the jack-boot of a foreign power (Britain).

Why do I say Kwame Nkrumah is a man of great courage and wonderful talent. To elucidate on his courage I would like to reflect briefly on our colonial past. The state apparatus that existed for the persecution of innocent citizens of this country was so terribly designed as to create enmity among the people of this country with the result that our people were sharply divided to give the colonial power easy access to rule. Tribe was set

against tribe: the North against the South; Ashanti against the South or the North.

It was a matter of danger and woe if one dared to stand in a public place to address our people to get set for the total liberation of this our dear land. There were people here at home who felt that the colonial administration had created confusion amongst our people and that a serious blow had to be struck to shatter the fabric and the strangle-hold of British imperialism and colonialism in the then Gold Coast. But who was to bell the cat? Fear had crept into the hearts of those who wanted to lead the people of this country to the land of Freedom. The demand was for someone who would dare challenge the monstrous colonialists. This man Kwame Nkrumah came on his peoples invitation, prepared to stand and die for them and took up the challenge, in the face of

danger and disappointments. But he succeeded in bringing independence to the people of this country.

The history of our struggle need not be emphasised now; but here we are in Ghana.

Kwame Nkrumah has a wonderful talent because the masterly way in which he handled the affairs of our people and united us is remarkable. Kwame Nkrumah is a man who takes the other man's point of view seriously into account whenever he is about to take a decision on an issue. He sizes up all his lieutenants correctly and seriously and has the ability of mixing freely with people.

One significant aspect of Kwame Nkrumah is the masterly way in which he puts his point of view across. He possesses a good technique of doing so and he does it after he has processed his visionary ideas which belong to him as a genius. As a philosopher Kwame



Director, K.N.I.I., Member of Presidential Commission.

Nkrumah has presented Africa in particular and the world in general with a clearer understanding of his philosophical thought in his great work—PHILOSOPHICAL CONSCIENCISM which has contributed in no small measure to enrich world knowledge on philosophy.

I dare say that this man Kwame Nkrumah is a genius of this century.

THE Lines of the partition of Africa naturally affected the education of the colonized Africans. Students from English-speaking territories went to Britain as a matter of course, just as those from French-speaking territories went to France as a matter of course. In this way, the yearning for formal education, which African students could only satisfy at great cost of effort, will, and sacrifice, was hemmed in within the confines of the colonial system.

Recalling from this strait-jacketing, a number of us tried to study at centers outside the metropolis of our administering power. That is how America came to appeal to me as a Western country which stood refreshingly unimpaired by territorial colonialism in Africa. To America I therefore went; how and in what circumstances, I have already related in my autobiography, *Ghana*. I spent almost ten years in the United States of America, studying and working for a living; teaching and carrying out my own private researches.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONSCIENCE

The evaluation of one's own social circumstance is part of the analysis of facts and events, and this kind of evalua-

tion is, I feel, as good a starting point of the inquiry into the relations between philosophy and society as any other. Philosophy, in understanding human society, calls for an analysis of facts and events, and an attempt to see how they fit into human life, and so how they make up human experience. In this way, philosophy, like history, can come to enrich, indeed to define, the experience of man.

The ten years which I spent in the United States of America represents a crucial period in the development of my philosophical conscience. It was at the Universities of Lincoln and Pennsylvania that this conscience was first awakened. I was introduced to the great philosophical systems of the past to which the Western

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THE DIRECTOR

and

Members of Staff of Bureau of African Affairs

extend their warmest greetings

to

NKRUMAH, the President

on his

55th birthday

What People say of Kwame Nkrumah

A MAN OF DOGGED DETERMINATION

by K. G. KONUAH,
Member of the Presidential Commission,
Chairman of Civil Service Commission

I FIRST became acquainted with Kwame Nkrumah through an article he contributed to a magazine of the West African Students Union, in London, in the year 1946. Before then I had heard very little of this man who was of a humble parentage and was destined by the powers-that-be to be the future head of state and the first President of the Republic of Ghana.



The life history of this glamorous son of Africa and his meteoric rise from an unknown factor to the dazzling heights of great eminence is an epic story, ably told, with rich details, in his own autobiography. I venture to write about Kwame Nkrumah not as one of his intimate colleagues and associates, nor as one of his able lieutenants who ate and slept and suffered with him through the early days of his struggle, but as one who has been a distant admirer of this man who through the succeeding years has proved to be a veritable genius in this latter half of the twentieth century. As Thomas Edison once remarked: "Genius is 1 per cent of inspiration and 99 per cent perspiration". Kwame Nkrumah has had to toil through sweat and tears, through troubles and tribulations to become the refined gentleman he is to-day. To those who may be tempted to ask the biblical question, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth", yea Nkrumah? there is one simple answer. "Come and see".

It is not for nought that this man has become a lodestone gathering around him all the warring and conflicting elements of tribalism in Ghana, and like an alchemist has welded them together and

transformed them into a homogeneous nation. This man has certain qualities in him which draw his country-men to him. To the rank and file of the dynamic Convention People's Party, which he founded, he is known as Kwame 'Show Boy'. As a politician, however, he is indeed a consummate 'Show Man'.

Never in the history of colonial struggle has one man done so much for one's nation. One of his sterling qualities is his unflinching intrepidity. This spirit was best exhibited during the troublous days of 'Positive Action'. It happened that this architect of 'Positive Action' was arraigned by his prosecutors before a magistrate, in Accra, with some of his other colleagues. To the question whether he was guilty or not, he replied that he had no alternative, but to declare 'Positive Action'. He had no defence to make because he relied on the justness of his cause. He was of course, sent to prison; but time proved him right.

Kwame is a man of dogged determination. Once he is convinced of the justness of a cause, nothing can prevent or deter him from pursuing his

aim. In his student days, he had suffered enough of the evils of colonialism and its decadent effect on colonial people and he was determined, tooth and nail, to fight that evil to the bitterest end. He could not rest until he had helped his people to free themselves from colonial rule. In his own words on the day of Independence, he said, "Ghana is free for ever!"

Another striking characteristic of this man is his extreme affability; his magnetic aura is so strong and dynamic that it attracts both his friends and foes. Those who oppose him are apt to give him credit for his sincerity. The compelling force which draws the teeming crowds to surge around him is his childlike simplicity. Although Kwame Nkrumah has moved with "kings" he has lost none of the "common touch"; as Kipling says, "anyone who can do that will be a 'man'". On this score Kwame Nkrumah is not only a 'man' but an 'extraordinary man'.

Neither the splendour and glamour of Osu Castle, nor the beauty and romance of Flagstaff House has ever made him lose his head. To his kith and kin he is still, and always Kwame. One consuming passion of this man is his unflinching love for his country and Africa. In some respects he appears as a visionary, who is living far ahead of time. He sees vistas of the dim future which are not readily accessible to other men. When he talks of African Personality the language seems strange—but within a short time every independent African state begins to assert her African Personality. When he talks of a Union of African Governments the idea seems eerie, until an Organisation of African Unity emerges at Addis Ababa.

The last but not the least, Kwame Nkrumah is a God-fearing man. He knows that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom and with this divine intuition there is little wonder that as he has grown in years, so also has he grown in wisdom.

Long live Kwame Nkrumah! Long live Ghana!

THE AFRO-AMERICAN AND KWAME NKRUMAH

by JULIAN MAYFIELD

I HAVE not had the honour to know Kwame Nkrumah personally over a long period of time. But it has been my privilege to meet him, and live and work in a socialist Ghana which is surging forward under his leadership.

In my unhappy country, the United States, Kwame Nkrumah is a symbol of the heights to which black men and women can reach if they have the vision and commitment to an ideal which compels them to expand their mental and physical capacities to the utmost.

The President of Ghana is the constant target of the most vicious elements of the Western press. He is lied about and defamed; his actions are constantly and deliberately misinterpreted. All for reasons which are obvious: He will not involve his country in the Cold War and fights any effort to extend that conflict to Africa. He is the world's leading Pan-Africanist who understands that the continent will never stand on its own feet, reap the benefits of its enormous potential wealth, and be free of the scourge of imperialism, until there is a strong African government. More than a mere politician, he is a scientific socialist who has mastered the literature of philosophy and political science, and has made a distinctive contribution to himself in his recent book, "Consciencism." And the whole of his formidable intellect he has thrown into the struggle for the liberation of Africa in particular and mankind in general.

No wonder the lackeys of capitalism and colonialism hate him. No wonder they have unleashed against him in their communications media, a campaign of calumny unrivaled in recent times. He is the black threat *par excellence* to all their neo-colonialist ambitions.

But in North America the 22 million people of African descent have a guide rule by which they judge leaders and would-be leaders. We say, "If the white man hates him, he must be up to something good. If the white man pats him on the head, look out, brother!"

Thus the year of vilification against Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana has had on Afro-Americans exactly the opposite effect from that desired by its perpetrators. Despite all of the lies and distortions which becloud the atmosphere, despite the dreadful lack of communication between Africans at home and Africans in the West, they still look to

never been able to do it, but has history, with the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, the Union of African and Malagasy States and finally the Organisation of African Unity, not proved him right?

Some are delighted in saying that he does not accept democracy, that he was elected President for life, that his Party has no reason to be envious of that of Khrushchev. He removes magistrates, he passes many laws and makes many reforms to secure his regime. All this may have an appearance of truth when one judges and appreciates from certain given conditions and interests. What should be admitted, on the other hand, is that Gold Coast is no longer "The Coast of Gold" otherwise said, for the profit and super-profit of Her Britannic Majesty subserviently served by certain feudals and a bourgeoisie, devoid of all African sentiments and who today constitute the structure of the Ghanaian Opposition which has the privilege—rare in



Author and journalist

Ghana as the most progressive nation in this area of the world and to her leader Kwame Nkrumah as the kind of Leader they would most like to have in their own day-to-day death struggle with American racism. This is proved by the fact that nearly every Afro-American who manages to scrape up enough money for an African visit heads first for Ghana. And that ever-increasing number of young people who decide to quit the U.S. scene altogether never think of going to any other country.

For Ghana is to the black man in the United States a symbol of progress; and the life of Kwame Nkrumah is a source of inspiration to millions who have been taught that because they were black they should not aspire to become full men and women in a so-called free society.

I believe in scientific socialism, but I write here in racial terms, for I am first of all a black man who knows that within the framework of capitalism and imperialism racial doctrinarism has been the hammer used to destroy the black man's personality, his self-esteem, his image of himself. As much as any person alive, Kwame Nkrumah has helped to begin the reconstruction of that personality, has helped to restore the black man's self-confidence.

Indeed, today in Africa and in the Western world we are witnessing the emergence of a new black man, proud, daring and resourceful, standing firmly on his own feet, looking the whole world in the eye, with the certain knowledge that there is no mountain in the world he cannot scale, no obstacle he cannot overcome. Such a man is unconquerable and never really dies, for in him burns that brightest of all flames, the human spirit.

Kwame Nkrumah

The Ghanaian And Kwame Nkrumah

by H. M. BASNER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Volta River Project is now half a reality and half



Famous columnist of the "Ghanaian Times"

a promise. The promise is for the people of West Africa, and not any group of financiers either here or overseas.

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

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

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

FROM SENEGAL....

KWAME NKRUMAH AND THE AFRICAN MASSES

by LAT SAMBA, Editor "Monde Noir"

Recently an article entitled "Nkrumah the ill-loved" appeared in the "Le Monde Noir", a Senegalese paper.

IT WAS written to bring out the great qualities of Kwame Nkrumah as the Leader of Africa and the Man beloved by the masses of the African people, and to ridicule phantom heads of State who, without a struggle, got up one morning and were told that they were independent. The writer implies therefore, that independence to these heads of State is like casting pearls before swine.

Mr. Lat Samba, the writer, began by saying—

"In our times, among the sacred monsters" on the African scene e.g. Jomo Kenyatta, Ben Bella, Modibo Keita, Abdel Gamel Nasser and Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkrumah is outstanding. He continues—"He was the first to make his country breathe the air of liberty after numerous sacrifices which shall be printed in golden letters in his record as a fighter for the African cause."

He was not evasive, he has not duped, betrayed and offered in holocaust to the intransigent coloniser some of his companions in fight "too much inclined to the left-wing party". He was not given freedom after a long bargaining after the signing of agreements in an "atmosphere of cordiality, of frankness, of mutual and reciprocal comprehension". A whole nation went and brought him from the back of the prison to make him a guide and it is without contract, free of all engagements, that he hoisted the national flag."

Some of his colleagues, Heads of State, tolerate rather than support him. They say he is ambitious, he always wants to emerge above the lot and they also connect him with the troublesome and inadmissible Ghanaian leadership.

TOLERANCE

He puts forward the direct manner of the knight. He is honest, noble, penetrating into the heart and mind of the masses.

He has not made a periphrasis across the old African continent. He rarely moves about. To invite him and sign a communique with him is an unpardonable dangerous thing—and certain Heads of State, who continually exert themselves to contend with him for the principal role on the African political scene have not yet dared to receive him, to visit him or support any of his crashing declarations. He does not derive any benefit from the paternalism of the former coloniser who helps you to preserve power but demands much more advantages

and profits than ever before. No, there is nothing like Ghanaian leadership, there are African situations which frighten them, there is the Nkrumah complex from which certain Bullies will always suffer.

PROPHET — VISIONARY

All these qualifications have already been attributed to the Ghanaian leader. The two objectives fit him marvellously. He has until now sacrificed his very existence in the interest of the African cause of which he is the symbol. At the early hours, on the occasion of the first celebration of Independence of Ghana he did not only administer a true insult to Her very proud Britannic Majesty; by mounting the platform, he and his Ministers, in their prison uniform, but he also frightened the whole of imperialism by saying with all his might that he would continue the fight more fiercely than ever for an Africa free and independent from the Cape to Cairo and for the constitution of the United States of Africa.

When the first shudders of agony were over, the colonialists recovered and cried, Utopia! dream! Idle fancy!

"The United States of Africa are not for tomorrow," said those whom the neo-colonialists call "wise". At Addis Ababa, Nkrumah was still not on the same wave-length as his brothers, besides he has

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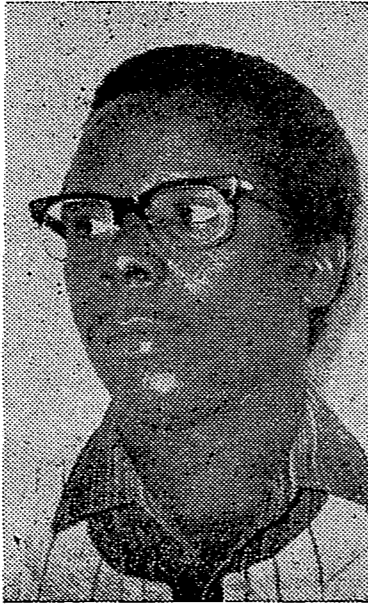
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Workers Pledge Loyalty to HE IS KNOWN BY EVERY SOVIET CITIZEN

by G. M. Rodionov

TODAY, the Ghana Trades Union Congress and the thousands of workers within its ranks greet the 55th anniversary of the birth of our Great Leader, Teacher, Inspirer and Founder of the Nation, Kwame Nkrumah.



K. Ampah, National Secretary of the Ghana T.U.C.

It is a fact that before Kwame Nkrumah returned from his search for the golden fleece in 1947, our nation was face to face with the greatest crisis in our history. We were in the full grips of colonialism.

The founding of our Great Party on 12th June, 1949 by Kwame Nkrumah, was therefore an event of the greatest historical significance in the life of the people of Ghana. Under his leadership, our people came to possess for the first time, a militant and revolutionary Party, powerful enough to wrestle freedom from the hands of British colonialism.

Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the guidance of our Great and revolutionary Convention People's Party, the people of Ghana for the past seven years, after the achievement of political independence, have launched a glorious battle for building a new society. So far we have achieved the greatest victories unparalleled in the history of our people.

In the course of this struggle, the Party has been strengthened and has grown into a mass political party, embracing in its ranks, militant cadres who are devoted and dedicated to the cause of

disciplined party, namely, a steel-like discipline, democratic centralism and complete unity of ideology and will. Our Party was victorious in these revolutionary and arduous struggles, thanks to the faithfulness, dedication and selflessness of Nkrumah to the cause of the fatherland and our people.

Today, thanks to the seasoned leadership of Nkrumah, our Party, overcoming every

difficulty and obstacle and rejecting the subversive manoeuvres of enemies within and without, is carrying through the speedy reconstruction and development of our national economy. Indeed great changes have taken place in our society under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party.

The celebration of the anniversary of the birth of such a great man must encourage and inspire all of us. The working people of this country know what Kwame Nkrumah means to them. That is why the defence of his person and office is a matter of life and death for us.

On this 55th anniversary, we all wish Kwame Nkrumah continued successes and even greater victories in the cause of the Party, the Nation and Africa.

The Ghana Trades Union Congress calls on all party members and our entire working people to go forward rallied steel-like behind the Leader, Kwame Nkrumah and the Party to gain yet greater victories and conquer yet greater



Comrade G. M. Rodionov USSR Ambassador in Ghana

books are in wide circulation and can be found on the shelves of all public libraries, reading rooms, as well as in many personal libraries of Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals.

I would like to conclude this short, but by no means comprehensive appreciation of Kwame Nkrumah's personality by quoting the following words by Nikita S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet people entertain feelings of deep respect and esteem for the people of the Republic of Ghana and other young independent African States. These feelings are the result of the education of the Soviet people in the spirit of internationalism and friendship with all peoples."

In an address to Kwame Nkrumah, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov wrote: "We wholeheartedly wish you good health and great success in your activities, and peace, progress and prosperity to the friendly people of Ghana. We are confident that Soviet-Ghana friendly relations and co-operation will go on successfully."



Let the Children come onto me for theirs is the new Africa.

the Party and our Nkrumaist revolution.

Our Party, the Convention People's Party, through the self-sacrificing of Kwame Nkrumah and the heroic struggle of our people, has become the vanguard force to which our entire nation can unhesitatingly entrust their destiny and future and has become the wisdom and glory of our entire people.

The path the Party has traversed is one of severe and fierce struggles against the enemies within and without the Party.

VICTORY

The more difficult the time was, the more attention Kwame Nkrumah paid to the strict observance of party directives and the requirements of a

difficult and obstacle and rejecting the subversive manoeuvres of enemies within and without, is carrying through the speedy reconstruction and development of our national economy. Indeed great changes have taken place in our society under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention

Congress, on this anniversary of Founder's Day, calls upon all branches and locals of our trade unions to strengthen further the organisational and political work for consolidating the Party and rallying more firmly, the broad revolutionary masses of our working people around the Party.

heights of the construction of socialism in our country.

Long live Kwame Nkrumah the Patron of the Ghana Trades Union Congress. Leader, Teacher and Inspirer and Founder of the Nation of Ghana, the Organiser and Inspirer of all victories of the entire masses of our people.

A Veritable Avis..

by Cecil Forde,

(Chairman of Ghana Radio & Television Corporation General-Secretary C.P.P 1954-57)

1909 will forever remain in the annals of Ghana as "Annus Mirabilis." In that year was born the most distinguished son of the soil, who by extraordinary endeavours surmounted the many difficulties encountered in his salad days and early life.

By subjecting himself to menial undertakings in a foreign land, by studiously and diligently pursuing the goals which were vital first requirements for embarking upon a decisive course of action for Ghana and Africa, and by brilliantly displaying a tenacious leadership and dogged determination Kwame Nkrumah has proved himself a veritable "rara avis".

Agona Swedru in the Central Region is one of the towns which were lucky to be visited by this intellectual giant almost immediately on his return from seeking the Golden Fleece.

LIBERATOR

After listening to him with rapt attention as he held his audience spellbound at what was a mere ramshackle cinema house that was crowded to the doors and extremely hot, not a few of us realised at the time the Leader, the Liberator, for whom many had been yearning and about whom there had been predictions by some patriots and sages, had, indeed, come.

When again a couple of days after the black-letter day of the shooting of unarmed

ex-servicemen at the Christianborg Cross Roads by a callous and dastardly British policeman, Superintendent Inray, Kwame Nkrumah passed through Agona Swedru and spoke about the matter, the conviction of the citizens in whom had already welled up a firm determination to support him was fully and convincingly established.

To a few of us who had gathered round the Leader's car, extremely anxious for every word that would drop from Nkrumah's lips, the Leader only gave a brief answer to our question. "Well Doctor, what do you say to this terrible thing that has happened in Accra?" Nkrumah's succinct reply was, "It is only a full-dress rehearsal." This statement was followed by a smile, and, indeed, it was sufficient to set us at ease and steel us all for the great task which we could visualise was ahead.

After Kwame Nkrumah's car had gone out of sight, the small group of patriots, among them Mr. S. Bus-Kwofie, a veteran school master and versatile writer in the then "Observer" of Cape Coast and other publications prayed for a Leader, honest, dedicated, and dynamic to lead Ghana to the haven of independence, nodded in approval that, in sooth, Ghana's Liberator had arrived.

It was not surprising that in not so many months after Nkrumah had really established his sterling qualities of leadership and had become, as it were, a magnet attracting to himself with lightning velocity the masses of our people who had had a surfeit of haphazard

leadership pegged on incoherent policies, and were really determined to be free, Mr. Bus-Kwofie wrote these pregnant lines:

"On the pedestal of liberty, fraternity and equality, We wave the torch of Africa's emancipation"

Such was the new spirit, the new dynamism, which Nkrumah had infused into the youth in all parts of the country.

NEW ATTITUDE

Right from the beginning of his Leadership he engendered a new attitude to the struggle, a business-like attitude. One would recall that his letters to Party officials written from his Headquarters at Saltpond as General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention, were always concluded with the significant statement, "Remember, there is no time to waste in Africa".

Indeed, there was no time to waste in the struggle for Ghana's independence as well as that of the rest of the African Continent, hence the magic and famous slogan "Self-Government Now", which acted like tonic, even on our colonial overlords.

Kwame Nkrumah's remarkable utterance in the first few minutes of Ghana's independence, to wit,

"To me the independence of Ghana is meaningless, unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African Continent"

was another unfoldment of his over-all strategic plan for the Continent of Africa. This

should explain his coherent advocacy for the independence and unity of Africa in all his speeches to the Party and the Nation since Ghana's independence, which have been solidly backed by his monumental works, notably, "AFRICA MUST UNITE" and "CONSCIENCISM". On the occasion of his 55th birthday Ghana, indeed all Africa, has very good reasons to rejoice and be proud. Kwame Nkrumah will forever live in the annals of Ghana and our great continent. He has carved a niche for himself which very few may ever attain to but none would excel.

It is a fact that Kwame Nkrumah has some political enemies and detractors. Those of this group who are white have cause to dread and hate him because they are rascally dangerous imperialists, cruel and rapacious colonialists, crafty and callous neo-colonialists.

Those of them who are black constitute an unfortunate lot, for they have either grown malignant in their gullibility or display simplicity and infantilism of such a nature that pricked Shakespeare into saying:

"What the great ones do, the less will prattle of".

Among the many resolutions we shall be making on this auspicious and mirthful occasion, it behoves us to try to study the simple, dedicated, courageous, purposeful, altruistic, and realistic life of Kwame Nkrumah, and to spare no efforts to let his life illumine our path.

Long live Kwame Nkrumah!



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Nkrumah The Man

By
Douglas Rogers
—A BRITISH
JOURNALIST

OF all the leaders of the new Africa the one who has suffered the most hostility and misrepresentation in the imperialist Press has been Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana.

There was a time when Nkrumah used to give Press conferences or meet newspapermen in private. He was glad, as he thought, to exchange ideas, to explain his policies and hopes for the African people. Ideas are the essential stuff of his life.

Yet, in the newspaper interviews or in the reports of his Press conferences, he was so consistently misrepresented, that several years ago, he decided not to meet the Press any more.

Imperialist newspapers were not interested in his ideas. They either did not understand them or, if they did, they so disliked them that they refused to report them.

Ideas are not what these papers regard as newsworthy. All they want from Nkrumah are pegs on which to hang criticisms and to try to stir up, by dirty innuendo, trouble between African leaders.

If you rely on newspaper reports you can know nothing about Nkrumah. To know what is in his mind you must either read his books and articles and, if you can, get hold of the full text of his formal speeches.

Few people do that. The result is that millions of people all over the western world and even in some parts of Africa where the means of mass communication are still in foreign hands, have been given a totally false picture of Nkrumah and his country Ghana.

They are told he is an arrogant dictator, that he is power-crazy, that he is psychologically unstable, that he is leading his country into chaos...

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Dictator? After independence Kwame Nkrumah leaned over backwards to try to make work the Westminster type Parliamentary system he inherited. It was sabotaged by people who wanted independence to fail. Nkrumah remoulded the political system to the practical conditions in the country and he is building in Ghana, a form of direct democracy, reaching down into the daily lives of the people, that enables everyone to participate personally in constructing the new nation.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADITION

This personal participation is what Africans understand. It is a development of traditional African society and it is the only way to harness the creative enthusiasm of ordinary people. It has a vitality that is impossible within the remote formality of the Western Parliamentary system.

Arrogant? Nkrumah's whole manner of living is the antithesis of arrogance. He is simple, kind, sensitive. A truly great man, he is too immersed in the things of the mind, in ideas and principles, and too dedicated to his political work, to be arrogant.

Arrogance belongs to those who are fundamentally unsure of themselves. Nkrumah knows exactly what he wants to do.

Power-crazy? He wields great authority. But it is the authority placed in him by those who have voluntarily accepted him as their leader. It is the authority of his immense intellect and his moral standing. He is utterly dedicated. And because of that he is able to accept great responsibilities and to see them through. Because of his personal qualities he exacts great loyalty from those with whom he works. Nkrumah is revered in Ghana—and among the ordinary people throughout Africa—because he has proven himself totally trustworthy and because it is inconceivable that he should ever betray his people.

Unstable? Nkrumah is the most consistent of living statesmen, perhaps the most consistent political leader of all time. If you read his writings—which begin in his student days—and his speeches you will understand that he has followed a consistent policy throughout his political life. He has set his course, stage by stage, and he has followed it through—successfully.

It is, indeed, Nkrumah's consistency of policy, incorruptibility of mind and, above all, success, which has made him the *bête noire* of the right-wing Press and all the reactionary forces outside and inside the African continent.

They resent his past success. They fear the success he may achieve in the future.

For Ghana was the first colony to win independence. It would not have done so without Nkrumah's leadership.

Even so, Nkrumah would have been forgiven if he had been satisfied with simple political independence for Ghana. He was not satisfied. He proclaimed that Ghana's freedom was meaningless while Africa as a whole remained unfree. He wrote his autobiography "Ghana", explaining the stages by which Ghana's struggle had been successful. He republished his earlier analytical work "Towards Colonial Freedom". They became standard reference books for African liberation.

Nkrumah's example and the slogans with which he had inspired his party, the C.P.P., were taken up all over Africa. He called Pan-African conferences—of the African liberation movements and of the Heads of Independent African countries—and with comrades from all over the continent helped plan the strategies whereby country after country won freedom.

WHY THEY CRITICISE

Unlike lesser men who have followed him in some of the independent African states he was unaffected by the blandishments of neo-colonialism. He understood that an African Government is no real substitute for a colonial government unless the economic foundations of colonialism are altered. This is why he was hated.

He said plainly that political freedom must be followed by economic liberation.

He proclaimed the policy of non-alignment, refusing to be drawn into either of the cold-war camps.

He launched a great campaign for an African Union Government and an African independent policy in the world.

Refusing to stand aside from the great world issues he called in Accra the international "World without the Bomb" conference.

He told his people at home: We have got to make our little country an example for the rest of Africa. We shall be judged by what we do, not by what we say.

For Ghana he set a series of development priorities: communications, electricity, piped water, education, health services and so on: the basic requirements for economic and social development. He has carried through step by step everything he set out to do.

He proclaimed his faith in socialism as the means of ensuring that independence would be of real benefit to the ordinary people. He wel-

comed overseas investment, but not at any price. It had to fit into the planned economy and help the general socialist direction; it had to be a means of indigenous development, not a pipeline for sucking the wealth out of the country. Foreign investors who accepted these general conditions have had a fair deal from Nkrumah.

PRACTICAL THINKING

He has often been attacked for his socialist ideas—sometimes called a communist—yet because he always says what he thinks and acts according to his principles, people know exactly where they stand with him.

He is a practical man. He has written: "All talk of socialism, of economic and so-

industry and water communication the whole length of the country, to set up a vast aluminium industry, electrify the whole of Ghana, open the way to widespread industrialisation, and, by irrigation projects, revolutionise agriculture.

The cost seemed fabulous. How could a little newly-independent country manage it?

Money had to be raised abroad. For years Nkrumah negotiated. When one hope disappeared, he started again. He refused to give up. Eventually he found interested partners; but the conditions were such that a vast burden had to be carried by Ghana itself.

FORCED IT THROUGH

Nkrumah squeezed the national budget. He started Tema Harbour. It is now finished and where, behind the

Ghana they do so either from ignorant prejudice which prevents them examining the facts or out of sheer wicked determination to mislead.

I was in Ghana from 1956 to 1958; for three months in 1960; and again on two short visits this year. Each time I went back I was astonished at the transformations which had taken place even though I had been keeping in touch with developments. Some things are obvious; the fine new roads and buildings; the schools and health centres; the new factories; the magnificent harbour; the exciting work at the Volta Dam.

But what is more important is to see the difference this is making in the lives of the people.

Nkrumah has told his people that they must not expect too much too soon because "the need to plough back capital achieved out of greater productivity is of paramount importance" in further economic development.

MORE AMENITIES

Even so, year by year, the ordinary people are better fed, better housed, better clothed, better educated. Nkrumah has introduced free education and free medical services, unparalleled in any other African country.

Seeing the country again after two years' absence, I noticed that men working on road construction wore decent trousers, shirts, shoes, when before they would have been in rags, half-naked, bare-footed.

When I first went to Ghana you could not get a decent home-produced egg; milk was imported in bottles by air at a fantastic price. Now locally-produced top-grade eggs are everywhere; milk is so plentiful that it is on sale at sixpence a carton at roadside kiosks; it is a popular mass drink. What were once expatriate luxuries have become daily habits.

Small examples, but the evidence of real progress.

What has all this to do with "Nkrumah the Man"? Everything. Because this work—these achievements—ARE Kwame Nkrumah. They are what he has lived for, what he still lives for...

Recently, a big business tycoon, Paul Getty, said to the world's richest man, published his life story. It is a record of absolute devotion to his work. 15 or 16 hours a day, a life conditioned to making money. Everything else in his life was secondary. He is a multi-millionaire. But when this capitalist "success" story is over you wonder: What a sterile achievement.

THE REAL NKURUMAH

In a sense, I suppose, Nkrumah has the same one-track obsession with work. But not for sterile personal gain. Where the financier makes money, Nkrumah makes happiness in the lives of the people who have given him political power. In the political and economic sphere he creates in the way that an artist creates and gets satisfaction out of the act of creation. Indeed, in temperament and way of life he is more like an artist than the traditional politician.

He has the directness of purpose of the artist. His art—the art of social creation—is the centre of his being. Other things are integrated with it. But also, like the artist, he has deep in the core of himself an area of loneliness, where a man must wrestle with his problems and seek the truth as it comes.

It is this lonely integrity at the heart of Nkrumah that cannot be understood by those who try to judge him by accepted political standards.

They try to measure him as a politician when they should see him as a creative artist. They try to unravel him as a complex character, full of concealed motives and cunning ulterior purposes, when they should accept him at his face value, a man of genius with the essential simplicity of nature that belongs to genius.

Nkrumah's "face value" might, indeed, be said to exist in his face quite literally. He has a great dome of a forehead and, in repose, his face has a sad, brooding quality, eyes heavy and far-away. Yet when he smiles, his face explodes into vivacity, eyes sparkling, face creased in good humour.

UTTERLY SINCERE

Nkrumah's face is, indeed, a window into his personality. He will brood for hours upon a problem, lost within himself, yet when he has decided to make or when he is explaining something to you, his face, his eyes, his hands, his whole body fills with vitality. The words pour out of him, chasing the ideas which are sparkling and gushing in his mind.

Sometimes he is at a loss for a word or phrase to express what he has to say and you sense the speed at which his mind works, so fast that the physical limitations of speech, the cumbersome act of talking, are an impediment to the purity of thought. When this happens he may fall back broodingly within himself.

Then he speaks with abruptness. He says only what is essential, the core of the ideas, and expects you to gather for yourself the background and the implications.

I cannot see how anyone who has met Nkrumah personally and talked with him can fail to accept his utter sincerity. There is a total absence of any affectation. There is just the person, the same right through. He has extraordinary natural charm. He is gentle and kind.

Erica Powell, who has been his personal secretary for ten years, told me when I asked her what she considered was his most striking quality: "His kindness."

"He is a very KIND man", she said. She thought a long time, struggling as it were to find something more expressive, then she repeated: "Yes, that is what he is. Kind, considerate."

And sincere. It is these qualities which make the misrepresentation about him so outrageous. He is kind and sincere, but very strong in following what he believes are the right political policies. He is dedicated to Ghana and the Ghanaian people and to Africa and the African people.

He has sometimes had to act with a firmness which is not easy to his nature. He has done so because his sense of duty is paramount. When efforts are made to sabotage all the patient work which has been done in Ghana he does not hesitate to crush the saboteurs.

MODEST FAMILY

He comes from the people, from a village in the West, and he knows how much the success of the Ghanaian revolution means to the ordinary folk. It is the ordinary people he is pledged to serve, not the politically ambitious.

His essential personality and his daily habits, have not really changed throughout his life. Through all the years, he has remained the same Kwame Nkrumah who came from Nkroful in the Nzima area.

He gets up in the morning around half-past four to five o'clock, before it gets light, as the village people do. He only needs five to six hours' sleep.

These early hours at the beginning of the day are very important to him. Then he can be alone to read, think and sort out his mind. He does some exercises and takes a walk in the grounds of Flagstaff House where he has his official residence.

He is a very fit man, looking at least ten years younger than his 55 years. There is not an ounce of superfluous fat on his body; his blood pressure, his doctor says, is that of a man in his twenties.

He takes his morning walk at a fast pace, measuring out a distance, and walking to and fro until he has covered what he regards as reasonable exercise for the day.

SIMPLE DIET. HE IS STILL RIGHT

Breakfast? He may take the yoke of an egg, or he may not bother to take anything at all. He is in his office by nine o'clock and works through until two or two-thirty. Then he takes a little light lunch and if he has no official duties, rests for an hour or two. He is usually at his office desk again by five o'clock; works again until about nine when he has dinner. He goes to bed between eleven and half-past.

He neither smokes, nor drinks alcohol. Not because of any great principle, but because they do not interest him. His beverage is water or some fruit drink. By normal standards he hardly eats, either. He takes a little of the traditional African food—such as *kenke*—and some meat, fish, fruit, but pre-occupation with eating does not seem important to him. His favourite dish—a fairly recently acquired taste—is pigeon, roast or grilled.

His frugal—personal habits are an inheritance from his student days in America when he worked his way through university and could afford only the barest meals to keep body and soul together. When he returned home to take part in the nationalist struggle frugality of living was still a necessity. He and his comrades in the C.P.P. were known as the "verandah boys" because they did not have even a permanent home and spent their nights sleeping under whatever verandah happened to be handy.

But his sense of personal discipline is also strong and he always inculcated this into his followers. Even in the most difficult days of struggle he always insisted that they should have a sense of personal pride. C.P.P. stalwarts would not dare go about their business unless they were properly shaven, bathed and cleanly dressed.

This insistence on a neat personal appearance was no eccentric fad. Nkrumah knew that if they were to win their struggle they had to have high personal standards.

He himself is always immaculate. Nowadays he frequently wears a simple tunic-type jackets and trousers. Or he may wear an open-necked tunic-shirt over trousers. For ceremonial occasions he is clad in the beautiful traditional kente cloth.

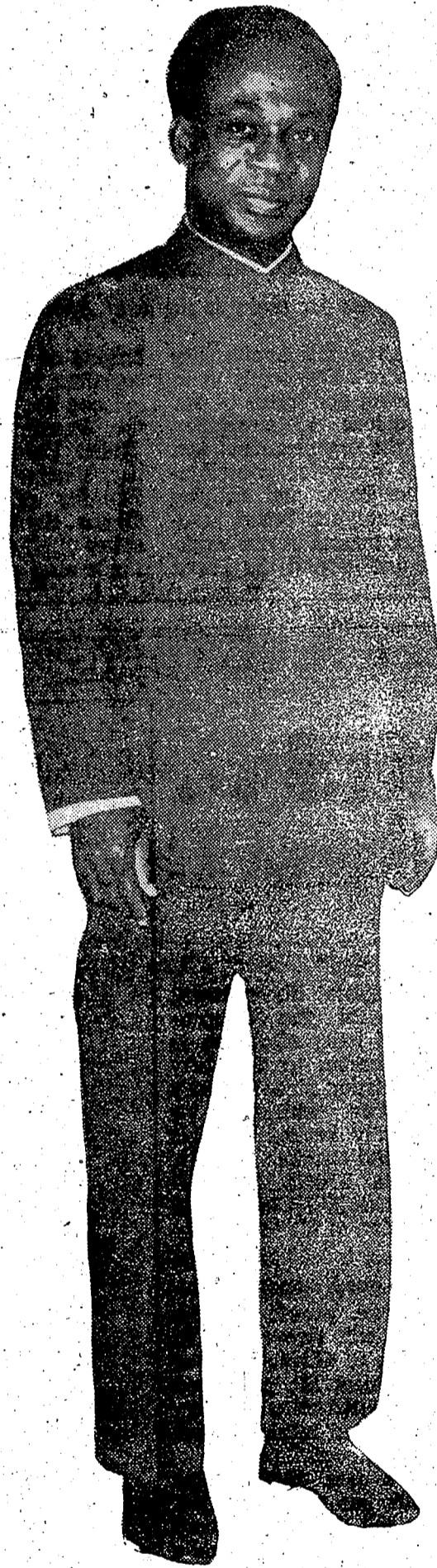
LEAVES HIM FREE

The simplicity of his personal life frees him for his work and also allows him time for intellectual meditation. How else could he handle all the affairs of state and still find time for thinking and for his books and the important speeches?

Nkrumah has a host of political associates, but few close personal friends. A few people from his home district—Nzima—and the members of his "philosophy club". This a small group of friends who meet with him on Sunday mornings to discuss philosophical problems. They sit

(Continued on page 7)

Kwame Nkrumah... a towering stature of Statesmanship, intellectualism and patriotism.



cial reconstruction, is just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of basic industrialisation and agricultural revolution, just as much as we must concentrate on socialist education." He has also written: "Energy is an indispensable element in industrialisation... Industrialisation presupposes electrification."

Nkrumah does not want to share out poverty. He wants an equalitarianism based on a high standard of living.

For years he nurtured the dream of the Volta River Project and the great new Tema harbour. V.R.P. is a great multi-purpose project to dam the Volta river, set up a hydro-electric plant, create the world's greatest man-made lake with an inland fishing

great harbour, was once arid plain, there is now a thriving expanding industrial estate and residential township.

Over on the Volta River the half-mile wide dam is two-thirds completed. Huge pylons begin to stride the countryside, ready to convey electricity into the towns and villages. This year, it was announced that the Volta River Project is one year ahead of schedule and work must be accelerated on the aluminium smelter at Tema.

None of this could have been achieved without Nkrumah's personal determination. A lesser man would not have conceived it possible in the first place, let alone pushed it through against all the obstacles.

When hostile foreign newspapers write disparagingly about

AFRICAN DIARY

9th SEPTEMBER, WEDNESDAY:

GHANA: A representative of the Ngwane Liberation Congress of Swaziland, Mr. Arthur R. Khoza, has called on Britain at a press conference in Accra to stop her "irresponsible hide and seek politics" and accede to the demands made by nationalist forces in Swaziland.

Mr. Khoza said despite numerous constitutional proposals submitted, Britain had neglected them and found justification in denying the nationalists a constitution which would yield real, peaceful independence.

TANGANYIKA: A Briton, Mr. James Sholto Douglas, a former Prison Farm Manager, who was found guilty by a Dar-es-Salaam magistrate court of stealing money he received from farm produce, was sentenced to 24 strokes of the cane and 33 months jail.

GONGO (Brazzaville): The Angolan Liberation Movement's periodical, "Victoria Morte", has accused Federal Germany of giving military assistance to the Portuguese colonialists.

The periodical reported that Federal Germany had built on Portuguese territory in Angola military depots and hospitals.

SOUTH AFRICA: Britain's eight-million strong Trades Union Congress has called for an international boycott of South African goods by organised workers because of the Pretoria regime's apartheid policy.

10th SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY:

ETHIOPIA: The Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity has approved an eight-point resolution to solve the Congo (Leopoldville) crisis.

One of the main decisions was to set up an *ad hoc* commission to help the Congo achieve national reconciliation and to bring about normal relations between the Congo and its neighbours, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi.

* Addressing a press conference at Addis Ababa after the Ministerial Council of the O.A.U., the Secretary-General, Mr. Diallo Telli said the results of the O.A.U. Foreign Ministers conference on the Congo were a miracle.

He said when they entered the conference hall, everyone was very worried, but when the conference dispersed the whole of Africa was united in purpose and determination to find a solution for an African problem within an African framework.

NIGERIA: The elections to the Nigerian Parliament due in next November may be delayed as a result of a court action being proposed by the three party United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

The alliance was formed by the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Action Group (AG) and the Northern Nigerian Progressive Front (NPF).

A spokesman of the UPGA has said that "certain irregularities" in the election arrangements by the Federal electoral commission may be referred to the high court.

GHANA: The Ghana delegates attending the general meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Tokyo, Japan, walked out when a South African delegate rose to address the meeting.

Commenting on the walkout, Mr. Amoako-Atta, Minister of Finance and leader of the six-man Ghanaian delegation to the meeting said: "Ghana has made her stand clear on the apartheid policy of

South Africa and as long as that country continues to discriminate against the indigenous Africans of the country, Ghana would have nothing to do with her."

MALAWI: Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, has appointed five new Ministers following Cabinet dismissals and resignations early this week.

The new Ministers include an European Mr. Brian Robert, Q.C. as Attorney General.

The Premier himself has taken over the Foreign Affairs portfolio.

11th SEPTEMBER, FRIDAY:

KENYA: Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Chief delegate to the O.A.U. Foreign Minister's Conference has said in Nairobi that the Organisation of African Unity Congo Conciliation Committee is to hold its first meeting in Kenya next Friday under the Chairmanship of Premier Jomo Kenyatta.

It is expected that Congo (Leopoldville) Premier Moise Tshombe and the Foreign Ministers of Burundi and the Congo (Brazzaville) would attend.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Premier Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia has written to British Premier Sir Alec Douglas-Home to help find a solution to the British South African Company's mineral rights problem in Northern Rhodesia before the country becomes independent next month.

GHANA: Ghana's Chief delegate at the U.N., Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, has denied a report that he has withdrawn his candidature for president of the next session of the General Assembly, due to open on November 10.

NIGERIA: Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Nigeria's Federal Minister of Finance has said he had presented on behalf of thirty four African nations a memorandum to Mr. George Woods, President of the World Bank, and Mr. Pierre-Paule Schweitzer, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, asking for more effective aid to the developing nations.

12th SEPTEMBER, SATURDAY:

MAURITANIA: African members of the United Nations have called on U Thant, the Secretary-General, to institute a full-scale United Nations inquiry into the recent assault on a Mauritanian diplomat in New York.

Six delegates nominated by the U.N. African group, lodged a protest with the Secretary-General about the attack and asked him to raise the matter with the United States delegation.

NIGERIA: Workers of the African Thread Company at Apapa have demanded in a written note to the Federal Minister of Internal Affairs, Ahaji Shehu Shagari, the deportation of their British manager because "his type is not wanted in Nigeria." The workers complained that the manager, Mr. Peter Thompson was unfit to enjoy Nigeria's hospitality and that they would revolt if he was allowed to stay on in the country.

The manager, was alleged to have injured a striking worker on the head.

14th SEPTEMBER, MONDAY:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of Southern Rhodesian People's Caretaker Council (under detention since April 16) in a letter to British Premier Sir Alec Douglas-Home said that the African people of the territory

do not want independence under the present constitution.

Mr. Nkomo stated in his letter that independence should be by consent and that it should be granted now.

ETHIOPIA: The Organisation of Afro-Americans has sent a letter to the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr. Diallo Telli, offering the services of Afro-American troops in the Congo.

In a press statement issued in Cairo, UAR, Mr. Malcolm X, leader of the organisation, launched an attack on the use of white mercenaries, declaring that thousands of black Americans were ready to fight and die for the genuine independence and freedom of the Congo.

MALAWI: Speaking at a rally held at Balombe, 70 miles east of Blantyre, Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Premier of Malawi, declared that he would Africanise the top post (demanded by the ex-Ministers) and allow the European expatriates to go home when he had Africans who could do a permanent secretary's job efficiently, but it would be criminal irresponsibility to Africanise prematurely, since he was not an irresponsible Prime Minister.

SOUTH AFRICA: A resolution calling for an economic boycott of South Africa has been approved by the International Commission of the Canadian Union of Students held in Toronto.

15th SEPTEMBER, TUESDAY: **KENYA:** Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Premier of Kenya and chairman of the Congo reconciliation commission appointed by the Organisation of African Unity, at a press conference held in Nairobi appealed to the Congolese to cease fighting at once and lay down their arms in the interest of African Unity.

ETHIOPIA: Mr. Robert Gardiner, Ghanaian Secretary-General of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), has said at Addis Ababa that the establishment of the African Development Bank has become a reality.

Nkrumah the Man What a Mother thinks of Kwame

Continued from page 6

under a tree in the grounds of Flagstaff House and talk. His last book *Consciencism* was a product of these Sunday morning discussions.

But the ordinary sort of "social life" which so many find imperative has no importance for Nkrumah. He likes to keep his personal life to himself; he resents any intrusion upon it.

The truth is that Nkrumah finds personal publicity intensely distasteful and embarrassing. The interest he feels people should take in him is in his ideas and policies.

Yet people do not separate political policies from the man who makes them. And to understand the simple, unassuming personal nature of Nkrumah is to understand better the political theories he propounds. For these theories are in essence as simple as the man: they are a means to an end, that of making life better for the ordinary folk from whom Nkrumah has never separated himself.

In essence his life is no more complicated than that of the simplest villager.

HIS PASTIMES

He has no sophisticated pastimes with which to entertain himself. Sometimes he listens to music or watches a film. If he has the mood for it he will play tennis or table-tennis. But for exercise he would just as soon walk in the garden. He reads to stimulate his mind and for knowledge, not for escapism.

He loves children and now he has three of his own. He has always had a deep affection for children; he is at ease with them, just as he is more at ease with the ordinary people than he is at some formal function.

His other love is of animals. He has had several dogs, but has always been unlucky with them. He established such a close relationship with them

that they sickened when he went away. His last dog, an Alsatian, died when he was in London at a Commonwealth Conference. Now he will keep dogs no more. He feels it is cruel to keep them unless he can devote full attention to them.

In the garden at Flagstaff House, however, he has built a private zoo. The collection is extraordinary: monkeys, baboons, lions, leopards, tortoises, owls, gazelles, antelopes, a hippo, ostriches, wallabies and kangeroos, a hyena, all manner of birds as well as big houses of rabbits, guinea pigs, grass-cutters, and a fish pond.

With the gifts which have been made to him from all over Africa and beyond the collection has grown and grown... But it is beautifully arranged and looked after.

These are the things that give him pleasure—apart from his work: ordinary simple people, children, animals. Clean simple things like the plain way of his life and the plain clean processes of his mind.

Kwame Nkrumah has achieved great things. He was in December 1947 that he returned to the Gold Coast from his studies abroad. Within ten years the Gold Coast had become independent Ghana and started a process of liberation that has revolutionised the whole of Africa.

When, in those days, Nkrumah called for immediate independence for the Gold Coast, the men with little minds called him a crackpot, an impractical visionary. "These things take years to achieve", they said.

Nowadays the same things are said about his campaign for the unification of Africa under a Union Government. But the fainthearts, the little men, will not deflect him from his purposes. He is as right about African Unity as he was about independence. His work has scarcely begun.

By Mrs. Margaret Martei

General Secretary, National Council of Ghana Women.



For the fifteen years that I have known the man, Kwame Nkrumah has not changed any of the primary qualities which add up to make him a singular personality. And with the passage of time, his determination to achieve good things for the benefit of all people has deepened and grown. His greatest ambition is to work for the good of mankind; and his deepest desire that all these are achieved in the proper way.

AURA OF ATTRACTION

During these fifteen years, I have watched with amazement, one particular aspect about him, which I, and many others, consider particularly outstanding. This is the aura of attraction and fascination about him that draws people to him everywhere and at all time. This same aura is so powerful that it can repel all evils.

In short, he has what can be aptly described as instantaneous personal magnetism. And this magnetism is founded on his inborn goodness. Indeed, you are sure to be grabbed by his far-reaching and penetrating thoughts which have a salutary effect on you whilst in his presence.

This and other factors springing from his inner recesses of honesty, sincerity, love and originality, have flowed abundantly in many of his activities in search of solutions to many human problems.

The man Kwame Nkrumah is a rare specimen of complex parts. Almost everything that he says and does has a meaning; and is related to the solution of a problem. He is a practical man, a deep thinker and possesses human affection in abundance.

Besides these qualities which make him an outstanding personality, and despite his heavy responsibilities, he has an exceptional good humour which marvels many people who come in contact with him.

One more significant thing. He believes in the sacredness of a promise. As such, his word is as good as his bond. He is a man with a very good retentive memory, besides. He is similarly a very generous person whose generosity is now a household word throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Socialism and Profits

WESTERN experts have made a sensational discovery! They tell us that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have at last "rejected" Marxist theory and admitted the superiority of the capitalist system.

The socialist countries, they say, now recognise:

- * The profit motive.
- * Personal material incentives as a stimulus for production and productivity.
- * That prices depend on the social cost of production and the law of supply and demand.
- * Efficiency of investments.
- * The need to improve well-being and observe the necessary proportional development.

If this is a retreat from Marxism, then logically it follows that Marxist theory demands unprofitability of production, a levelling out of wages irrespective of work done, arbitrary price-fixing, a reckless investment policy and disregard for the needs of the population and a refusal to improve living standards!

RESEARCH

In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, research aimed at improving methods of judging the effi-

ciency of the work of factories and other undertakings is under way.

In any social system, the economy must produce more than it uses on production. But is it possible or desirable to judge the work of an enterprise according to how much profit it yields, or its plan fulfilment figures according to economically well-grounded prices?

It must be confessed that some Soviet economists are not clear about this. No small part here was played by a theory advanced in Stalin's time, which considered it unimportant whether enterprises, taken individually, yielded a profit or loss.

In the early days of socialist industrialisation, when great factories were being built, they inevitably had to be subsidised for a time from the profits of other industrial enterprises.

But Stalin's theory raised this transitory phenomenon to the level of a universal law of Socialism.

It pushed executives on to the line of least resistance, of fulfilling their production targets at any price, disregarding economic indices.

UNTENABLE

This Party has denounced the practice and rejected the untenable theory which encouraged it.

Of course, the idea of profit as the aim of production, its main stimulus, is unthinkable under socialism, where the chief aim of production is satisfaction of the needs of society.

But profit as an indication of the effectiveness of a factory's work is another thing. The profits made by the factory show how it is operating, what contribution it is making to the public funds.

Our opponents' claim that in trying to raise living standards, we are copying capitalism, must seem a very bad joke to the victims of capitalist economics and the people in economically underdeveloped countries.

The main concern of the socialist state is, to improve well-being, but conditions for the solution of this task change as the socialist economy grows.

When the Soviet Union faced the urgent task of quickly overcoming age-old technical and economic backwardness, the people had to tighten their belts.

As the economy advanced, however, objective conditions for improving well-being appeared. This has been particularly so over the past ten years.

Accelerated improvement of living standards naturally calls for a change in the balance between branches of industry manufacturing the means of production and those which turn out consumer goods.

The rule that output of the means of production must develop faster than the consumer goods industries is

not an aim in itself for socialist society.

It is a way of ensuring ever-faster technological progress and expansion, vital both for growth in production and for improved well-being.

NOT CONSTANT

But while the "means of production" industries should grow faster, the ratio doesn't have to remain constant. From three to one it can go to five to four, for instance!

The rate of extended production is settled not by the degree to which one type of production outstrips the other, but by how fast the output of means of production grows.

Further, in present conditions, branches of industry which turn out both means of production and consumer goods are steadily growing.

The chemical industry is the main but not the only example of this.

Western propagandists claim that the socialist countries are now going through the process that took place in the West when it advanced from early to highly developed capitalism.

This theory, however, ignores the main difference: under capitalism, changes in the balance between types of production are dictated solely by consideration of profit.

In socialist countries, however, such changes result from a policy of improving living standards.

EDITORIAL

KWAME NKRUMAH

KWAME Nkrumah is 55. Nineteen of these years have been spent in the politics of African liberation, if we date his debut on the arena of African politics from the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England, in 1945. In nearly twenty years of turbulent but enviable public life Nkrumah has come to be generally regarded, by friends and foes alike, as the theoretician and strategist of the African Revolution. His public life—with its triumphs and tribulations, its successes and set-backs, its pageantry and pathos—when seen in historical perspective becomes a veritable chronicle of the new African nation, continental in scale and socialist in content, which is slowly but surely rising out of the smouldering ruins of colonialism and the crumbling ramparts of neo-colonialism.

The ideas of Nkrumah are now numbered among the treasures of the African Revolution. They have become the indelible guide lines of the new African nation.

These ideas are best reviewed under three categories—the struggle against colonialism in one country; the promotion of a continental revolution against imperialism using a few independent states; and the welding of a myriad of unviable and necessarily neo-colonialist states into one throbbing society as the condition for securing all round development within the context of national independence.

The ten years 1947-1957, from his return to the Gold Coast to the attainment of independence by Ghana, saw Nkrumah immersed in leading a colonial revolution in one country. His theory of the colonial revolution is embodied in "Towards Colonial Freedom", with valuable practical experience recorded in "Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah", in "I Speak of Freedom", and in numerous newspaper articles and public speeches.

The cardinal concept in this theory of colonial revolution is that the political weapon is the most effective against colonialism. For even though the motivation of colonialism is well and truly economic, colonialism itself is but the institution of political bonds fastening colonial territories to a colonial power. This concept is crystallised in the slogan "seek ye first the political kingdom and everything shall be added unto it".

This cardinal concept in the strategy of colonial revolutions reduces to five principles or rules of action. First, the colonial society must be objectively studied through "a statistical analysis of such facts

as production, distribution, income etc." in order to discover those forces that lend themselves to change as well as those other forces that are opposed to change. The forces of change are revolutionary and are classified as positive action. The forces opposed to change are reactionary and are designated negative action.

Secondly, positive action has to be mobilised through organisation and through the development of its political consciousness. The vehicle for this is a mass political party armed with its educational programme which is based on a socialist ideology. The tasks of the mass political party are to organise the people, to raise their political consciousness through education, and to lead them into battle against colonialism and its henchmen.

The third principle is to seek an alignment of all the forces of progress within the colonial territory. This is undertaken on the eve of the final battle with colonialism and its sole objective is to defeat colonialism. However, while forging this alliance of the forces of progress care must be taken to guard against inner contradictions in the anti-imperialist camp. These contradictions ripen when imperialism, hard pressed by the awakened masses, tries to save itself by seeking to hand over political power to the upper strata in the colonial territory. In the final analysis, the only sure remedy here for the liberation movement is a peoples programme animated by a people's ideology and for which the people are ready to fight because they see their well-being boldly written into it.

The fourth principle is a positive struggle against colonialism. Imperialism will be destroyed only through revolutionary struggle in which the people play the dominant and decisive role. Any other approach leads to compromises and hence to the survival of imperialism in some new forms.

The fifth principle of Nkrumah's theory of colonial revolution is absolute reliance on the common people. While other economic classes and social strata in a colonial society are either reactionary or conditionally revolutionary, the masses (the common people) are the only absolutely revolutionary force within the society. Their best interests are secured only when the revolt against colonial oppression and exploitation is carried to its logical climax.

The attainment of political independence is not the end of the road. Political independence in one African country merely ushers in a new phase in the struggle of the African

peoples for complete emancipation.

Two principal tasks now come to the fore. In the first place, political independence must be used to achieve national independence. This involves the consolidation of national sovereignty on the basis of peoples political power. It involves making the peoples political power the main force behind nation building.

This has to be the case because the new phase demands something more than a mere reaction against a policy of domination. Independence is of the people; it is won by the people for the people. Hence after independence has been won, "positive action requires a new orientation away from the sheer destruction of colonialism and towards national reconstruction" ("Consciencism" p. 105).

This is the internal aspect of the problems of independence. The struggle here is conducted under the slogan: "The people are the inheritors of sovereignty".

The other aspect of the problem of independence is external. It seeks a link-up of the newly won political independence in one African country with the colonial revolution everywhere on the African continent. Its goal is the emancipation of all Africa from colonial rule and imperialist exploitation.

This external aspect of the post-independence struggle is conducted under the slogan: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless until it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa."

Both the internal and external aspects of the post-independence phase of the African revolution are organically linked. The consolidation of peoples political power in one country enables more impetus to be given to all the liberation movements on the African continent; and the deepening of the anti-colonial struggles everywhere on the African continent brings greater security and prestige to peoples political power in the independent African country.

The problems of the post-independence phase are exhaustively examined in Nkrumah's "Africa Must Unite".

The consolidation of peoples political power is based on seven principles as follows:—

1. the forging of national unity through the elimination of all sectionalist forces and fissiparous tendencies;
2. a fundamental re-cast of the constitution of independence which was given by the colonial power;
3. the re-shaping of the administrative arm of government (the public service) by changing it

Genius of the African Revolution

from an agency of colonial rule to an instrument of peoples political power;

4. the establishment of a peoples parliamentary democracy based on a one-party system directed towards building a socialist society;
5. the untying of all links that subordinate the economy of the liberated territory to that of the ousted rulers;
6. a step-up in the political mobilisation of the people through improved party organisation and the widespread diffusion of ideological education;
7. a resolute and systematic destruction of imperialist influences in all walks of life.

The solution of the external problems of the post-independence phase is also guided by clear-cut principles.

Firstly, and in order to reinvigorate the anti-colonial revolutions everywhere on the African continent, it is necessary to establish an organisational link between the newly independent state and all liberation movements in the colonial territories of Africa.

Secondly, all independent African states should co-ordinate their international diplomacy with a view to securing the most favourable international climate for the stabilisation of the newly independent states themselves and for an upsurge in the colonial revolutions everywhere on the African continent. In pursuit of this goal, all independent African states should co-ordinate their activity at the United Nations, disengage themselves from military and economic pacts with the imperialist powers and make positive neutrality the guiding principle of their foreign policies.

This strategy has scored signal victories in Africa. Since its formulation, in 1958, at two historic conferences held in Accra on the initiative of Kwame Nkrumah (the first ever Conference of Independent African States—April 1958; and the All-African Peoples Conference—December 1958), the political face of Africa has changed profoundly. The number of politically independent states has risen from eight to thirty-four.

However, it must be noted here that this positive change is not without its negative aspects. In very many of these newly independent African states, colonialism has been defeated but imperialism remains. All that has happened is a change in form. Imperialism has changed from colonialism into neo-colonialism.

The emergence of a large number of politically independent African states some of which are neo-colonialist in character has brought the African Revolution to yet another phase. The majority of our peoples now live under politically sovereign regimes. But many of these regimes are still economically and militarily dependent on the former colonial powers and on U.S. imperialism. And to this extent their national independence is not complete.

The problem now poses itself: how can newly independent African states move on to rapid all-round development for the benefit of their own peoples?

While some African leaders advocate dependence on the old and new imperial masters, Kwame Nkrumah has evolved a new and refreshing approach to this key problem.

The bedrock of his view is that development must be rapid and must be achieved within the context of national independence. Accordingly, he develops three principles, viz. self-reliance; a socialist path of development; a continental approach to the problems of economic development, defence and diplomacy. These principles taken together issue in the doctrine of continental political union.

It is useful to add here that along any other road "a liberated territory will welcome with open arms the very foe which it has sought to destroy at cost of terrible suffering" of course for the masses.

To round off Nkrumah's theory of the African Revolution, it is important to draw attention to his view that Africa is part of a bigger entity—the world; and that our epoch, the twentieth century, is "a century of continuing revolution". The African Revolution is thus an integral part of the world revolution against imperialism.

Flowing from this, the African Revolution must seek certain external conditions favourable for its development and final victory.

Nkrumah's teachings in this regard point to three such conditions:—

1. the solidarity of the African peoples with the anti-imperialist forces in other parts of the world;
2. world peace; and
3. an international morality founded upon respect of the rights of all peoples to self-determination.

The bedrock of Nkrumah's theory of the African Revolution, be it at the stage of fighting colonialism in a single country or during the post-independ-

dence period of consolidation at home and assistance to liberation movements abroad, is an unbounded faith in the ability of the ordinary man. In his early writings and in his speeches, Nkrumah leaves no doubt about the necessity of making the common man the primary motive force in all anti-imperialist revolutions.

This belief is given a philosophical statement in his latest book, "Consciencism". After referring to the people as "the body and soul of the nation" and as "the final sanction of political decisions", Nkrumah states: "The people are the backbone of positive action. It is by the people's effort that colonialism is routed, it is by

the sweat of the people's brow that nations are built. The people are the reality of national greatness" (p. 103).

The application, in the past, of the principles outlined above has brought outstanding victories to the people of Africa in our just struggle against foreign domination and imperialist exploitation. The faithful application of these same principles, in the future, will usher in the new African nation, the climax of the conscious and determined struggle of the African peoples.

Long live the revolutionary ideology of Nkrumahism!
Long live the African Revolution!

A Banner For The Revolution

This is my hand
for the revolution. . . .

that night there will be thousands of torches
from the hospitals the lame will come
the mad will be sane again
for the revolution
those who cannot read
will learn to read
for the revolution —
those who despair not
will be glad
for the revolution —
those who are eager to be men
will be glad
for the revolution —
I myself shall be so fiercely happy
that I will make my shirt
a banner
for the revolution —

MARTIN CARTER

TO SOUTH AFRICAN FIGHTERS

Forever Freedom

Is there not some universal
Law accepted and in force,
Over-riding laws of nations
And enshrined in common source?

Wherefore did United Nations
Pledge themselves to Human Rights
If they will not move to action
When they see the warning lights?

When resurgent African Nations
Flaunt their freedom dearly won,
In the darkest South the whiteman
Does not think his task is done.

Still he bears his precious burden
Holds the best and richest land,
Robs the native of his birthright,
Rules him with an iron hand.

Now the war drums have been sounded
Coloured hosts in battle dress
For their country and their freedom
Cry for justice and redress.

But the tyrants drunk with power
Blinded by their hate and greed
Launch anew a reign of terror
Against the Black man and his breed.

But the gallant freedom fighters
Recking not for limb or life,
From the dank and dreary dungeons
Carry on with their dying strife.

Brave Mandela and his octet
Rescued from the jaws of death,
Mini and his condemned quartet
Fight on with their dying breath.

To the rescue freedom lovers
From the corners of the world
Storm the pinnacles of power
Till the tyrants have been hurled.

—MERVYN CASIE CHETTY
a poet from Ceylon.