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EDITORIAL ALGERIAN WEEKLY WRITES ON

THE MARCH TOWARDS PRETORIA

THE British Government has refused to stop the shipment of arms to South Africa. And now Sir Patrick Dean, the United Kingdom representative at the UNO, says Britain is opposed to any sanctions against South Africa; that Britain will oppose any move against South Africa at the next Security Council meeting.

We know why. We are not surprised.

The British Government even acquiesced in the expulsion of Verwoerd's South Africa from the Commonwealth. But because of its £1,000 million investment in South Africa British imperialism has a vital stake in the maintenance of apartheid and of white domination in that country.

Sir Patrick Dean's statement illustrates an important point in Britain's stand over South Africa. She is ready to join in verbal strictures against Verwoerd's regime but is opposed to any real solution of the South African problem. Sir Patrick provides us with yet another evidence of the double-dealing which characterises the actions of British imperialism in Africa.

Since British investors in South Africa, who are the legitimate wards of the British Government, thrive upon the cheap African labour inherent in the system of white domination and apartheid, the only choice open to the morally degenerate Government of Britain is to support Verwoerd.

As far as the British Government is concerned, damn the repressive policies of the South African government, damn the Paarl, Queens-town and Qamata riots and the Bashee killings, damn Sharpeville and Langa. Gold comes first. If a British mining company operating in South Africa, the Consolidated Goldfields, earns a record profit of £7,029,829 in one year it is fair enough. Damn whatever anybody says.

But what the British Government must know is that the African lays

GHANA—A PIONEER IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM

GHANA'S foreign policy bristles at every turn with striking instances of action directed against neo-colonialism in the interests of peace. A ruling principle behind this policy is to be found in the statement that "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African Continent."

Ghana is, in fact, a pioneer of Pan-Africanism. Only a few months after independence, Ghana organised the first Conference of Independent African States, which was followed shortly after by the first All-African Peoples' Conference. In the same spirit, the Trade Union leaders in Ghana have played a primary role in the establishment of All-African Trade Union Federation.

It was also Ghana which organised a special conference on peace in Accra, to protest against nuclear tests in the Sahara. Ghana also fought to make Africa a nuclear-free zone and at the United Nations and later at the Conference of non-aligned States in Belgrade she took up a clear position in regard to the Berlin problem and the question of disarmament.

Its government and leaders were among the first to oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism.

They strove hard to open the eyes of millions of Africans to the tricks practised by the neo-colonialists. They exposed the activities of the CIA, put a damper on the manoeuvres of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and pin-pointed the neo-colonialist ends the European Common Market is designed to serve.

President Nkrumah's denunciation of that form of "collective colonialism" and the analysis he made of it, went a long way towards educating public opinion and spreading information about it.

Ghana's foreign policy has made a resolute effort to concern itself with forging more links politically,

an unconditional claim to every inch of this vast continent as his own heritage. What is happening in South Africa today is only the lull before the storm. The teeming multitudes of Africa will not allow British imperialism, that most savage supporter of white predatoriness in South Africa, to go once more unpunished.

The horizon of Africa, heavy with the huge billowing clouds of oncoming prodigious hurricanes, is resounding with ever-more-violent muttering, the echoes that the struggle is joined. No power on earth can ever halt the triumphant march of the progressive forces of liberation in South Africa. We are fast approaching Pretoria.

economically, diplomatically and culturally with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries. In this way Ghana has strengthened her policy of non-alignment, her activities directed against "the cold war", and her contribution to peaceful co-existence between States operating under different social systems.

It is easy to imagine that

establishment of a prosperous society and a happy life for all. Socialism implies the public ownership of the means of production—the soil with its resources—and the use of these means of production to promote the well-being of the people."

Having stated these general principles, he went on to examine the specific steps necessary to achieve this aim:

"All expressions about socialism and economic reconstruction are meaningless, if we do not seriously apply ourselves to the basic question of industrialisation, agricultural production and socialist training."

mic and social structure, and assets that Africa's history and traditions are incomparable with scientific socialism.

"The reasons for such attitudes are not far to seek. The first factor is the absence of a labouring proletariat, followed by the influence exerted by the European socialists with reformist tendencies and often by anti-communist propaganda.

"These attitudes are, however, only temporary. The idea of scientific socialism will win the assent of the minds and hearts of militant Africans and their progressive leaders."

On the 12. April, 1963,

"African Revolution" is a progressive Algerian weekly which discusses the problems of the African revolution. It gives the correct picture of the great advantages of socialism and it is making its contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa.

In this article, "African Revolution" discusses in detail the pioneering role of Ghana in the anti-neo-colonialist struggle in Africa. It explains why the imperialists are using corrupt or benighted persons within the country to put back the clock of Ghana history. "African Revolution" demands that "stringent measure must be taken against the conspirators." It has called on the workers and peasants of Ghana to remain vigilant in order to expel the enemies of Ghana.

We recommend the article to our readers.

—EDITOR

such a foreign policy is not calculated to please the imperialist forces.

NKRUMAISM

The imperialists are particularly hostile to Dr. Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, because of their determination to build up a socialist society in Ghana which is the main objective of the CPP and the Seven-Year Development Plan now being carried out.

Speaking on the 22nd April, 1961, to the Party's Study Committee, President Nkrumah defined socialism as follows:

"Socialist production is the production of produce and advantages necessary to meet the needs of the people. It is not production designed for individual or private profit. Socialism can best secure the speedy esta-

President Nkrumah invariably weighs his political concepts against the realities of life in Ghana, constantly emphasising the fact that "Ghana is not yet a Socialist State." More recently, he stated in an interview with "Pravda" that "Ghana has chosen the path of scientific socialism."

At a time when in Africa so many forms of "socialism" are being improvised (some of them from "socialists" of very doubtful standing), it is important to note that Ghana is adopting the right type of socialism.

A recent article published in "The Spark" (a Ghanaian weekly, on the 5th April, 1963, made certain very significant remarks in this connection. It criticised "those who are influenced by deceptive theories of socialism. These theories exaggerate the peculiarities of Africa's present econo-

the same newspaper soundly a warning against any attempt to "revise or even deny certain basic propositions of socialism, under the pretext of producing an African type of "socialism."

The newspaper insisted on the need for an "implacable war against the idea that Africa is a classless society," adding that "to deny the existence of classes in African society is like denying the need for socialism in Africa."

IMPERIALIST TARGET

When one considers what Ghana has achieved, the steps she has taken to strengthen national unity, weaken the bonds of tribalism and feudalism, rid the State machinery—the cadres inherited from the imperialists and their African stooges, in order to reconvert Ghana's economy

through a process of nationalisation, economic planning, taking charge of certain foreign firms and encouraging the co-operative movement, promoting health and education, maintaining a foreign policy directed against colonialism

and it is important to react firmly in order to defend and protect the new State.

This is a law common to all revolutionary States, since Cromwell's time when an English monarch was executed, or the French revolution of 1789,

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He leads Ghana to prosperity. . . .

and neo-colonialism and supporting peace, establishing normal relations with the socialist countries and backing up the theory of peaceful co-existence between States operating under different social systems, and popularising the idea of socialism, is it at all surprising that Ghana should become the target for the shaft of imperialist attack, and that the imperialists should endeavour to make use of corrupt or benighted persons within the country?

The "liberal" critics of Ghana would like to shut their eyes to the fact that there are classes in our society and criticise the Government's stern handling of the opposition. But the people of Ghana won their independence after years of hard struggle. They are now facing the imperialists and the neo-colonialists who are trying to put back the clock of history,

the Russian revolution of October 1917, the Chinese revolution of 1949 or the Cuban revolution of 1959.

PLOTS WITH MOTIVE BEHIND THEM

All great revolutions, all national liberation movements, in the morning glow of victory, have to face constant reaction in the form of counter-revolution, conspiracy and assassinations engineered by the forces of retrogression.

Was Abraham Lincoln not assassinated after he had put an end to slavery? Was an attempt not made on Lenin's life? Were not Ghandi in India and Bandaranaike in Ceylon assassinated at the very moment when their victory saw its dawn? Have there not been repeated attempts upon the

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The Teachings of Kwame Nkrumah (4)

ON AFRICAN UNITY

by Julius Sago



Kwame Nkrumah

TO Kwame Nkrumah, African unity is a consuming passion. It is at the same time a potent and rational formula for solving the intricate and urgent problems facing Africa and the world. African unity sets the horizon and provides the moving spirit in the teachings of Nkrumah. In it, his entire philosophy lives, and moves and has its being.

It is significant that while in Britain (1945-47) Nkrumah, though in close touch with many African students' organisations, did most of his work with the Pan-African Congress. The resolution written by him and adopted by the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England, October 1945, was captioned "Declaration of the Colonial Peoples of the World". And while other African Nationalists after the World War II concentrated on political programmes for their respective countries, Nkrumah's book "Towards Colonial Freedom" written in 1947 studies the problem of winning freedom for all African colonies. Its battle cry is "Colonial and Subject Peoples of the World—Unite".

HIS PLAN FOR AFRICA

The concrete facts of African political life at the time Nkrumah completed his studies overseas and was ready to return to Africa, compelled him to go back to the then Gold Coast, his native country. And for ten years Nkrumah grappled with the problem of leading the national liberation movement in one country. But, as events have since proved, Nkrumah, far from abandoning his African perspective, was merely creating a base on African soil for the more energetic pursuit of his plan for all Africa. Testimony of this was given on March 6, 1957 when addressing a vast crowd in Accra on the occasion of the attainment of independence he said: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless until it is linked with the total liberation of Africa."

Barely a year after Ghana's independence, in April 1958, the first ever conference of independent African States was held in Accra, on the initiative of Nkrumah. The conference endorsed the concept of African Unity. Specifically, it accepted the following principles:—

1. a common foreign policy based on non-alignment and positive neutrality, pursued through co-ordinated action at the United Nations, and directed towards African freedom and world peace;
2. co-ordinated economic development geared to "the establishment of equitable social and economic policies which will provide national prosperity and social security for all citizens";
3. joint action by independent African states for the liberation of all African territories still under colonial rule;
4. joint action by independent African states against social discrimination and apartheid.

And by December 1958, again at Accra and on the initiative of Nkrumah, the All-African Peoples' Conference linking political parties and movements in all African countries was convened. It set up a machinery for giving effective aid from independent African states to national liberation movements throughout Africa. It characterised neo-colonialism as an even more insidious form of imperialism.

In this way, African unity, after 10 years in search of a base on African soil, re-emerged as a dynamic concept. It has ever since been the bugbear of imperialism in Africa. In a very real sense, it can be said that African politics since 1958 has been the demands of African unity and the reactions of imperialists and their African allies to these demands.

To Nkrumah, African unity is not just an end in itself. It is the means to an end "in which freedom and unity can flourish amidst plenty". It is "an inescapable desideratum... for creating a modern society which will give our people the opportunity to enjoy a full and satisfying life" ("Africa Must Unite" p.221).

SOCIALIST ORIENTATIONS

Here, Nkrumah differs fundamentally from other great men of history who have advocated unity in their respective areas. Men like Napoleon of France, Garibaldi of Italy and Camel Artaturk of Turkey sought unity because of the state power and military grandeur it conferred. Nkrumah, on the other hand, seeks African unity for the benefits it would confer on the African peoples and on mankind as a whole. This socialist orientation is the bedrock of his teachings on African unity.

Nkrumah sees African unity as the most effective weapon for attaining three principal objectives:—

1. total liberation of Africa from colonial rule;
 2. fighting neo-colonialism in the independent African states;
 3. creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind.
- We shall examine these three objectives in turn. Nkrumah teaches that unity among independent African states is the most powerful lever for hastening the end of colonial rule everywhere in Africa. He bases this view on two principles both embodied in the "Resolution on the Future of Dependent Territories in Africa" adopted at the 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States.
- The first principle is that "the existence of colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independence of the African states and to world peace".

The second principle flows logically from the first. It is that "the problems and the future of dependent territories in Africa are not the exclusive concern of the Colonial powers but the responsibility of all members of the United Nations and in particular of the Independent African States."

DIPLOMATIC ACTION

The tactics advocated by Nkrumah in the pursuit of the objective of freeing Africa from colonial rule consists of diplomatic action at the U.N., "all possible assistance" to the national liberation movements, and the offer of facilities for training and educating people of the colonial territories. While the first tactic is pursued by independent African states at the U.N. acting in concert, the other two tactics are carried out through the All-African Peoples' Conference which links independent African states with the national liberation movements in the colonial territories.

Secondly, fighting neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism manifests itself in military pacts, military bases on African soil, unfair economic agreements, domination of African public services by non-African personnel and one-sided trade arrangements. Nkrumah's view is that the unity of independent African states will create an African state big enough and powerful enough to eliminate all these handicaps. It will also remove frontier disputes which provide a convenient cover for imperialist manoeuvres directed against the sovereignty and security of independent African states. It will either provide Africa with the necessary capital resources out of its own domestic sources or will enable foreign capital to be attracted on terms more advantageous to Africa than at present. Hence, African unity aims at complete independence for the sovereign African states.

Thirdly, the creation of world conditions favourable to Africa's independence security and to the progress of mankind. This is achieved by a united Africa teaming up with other nations to expand the area of non-alignment in the world. For, "the more unaligned nations there are, the wider the non-committed area of the world, the better the chances of human survival" ("Africa Must Unite" p. 199-200).

TWO POWER BLOCS

World peace, Nkrumah teaches, is the condition for rapid and independent development in Africa and also for human survival and progress. And the most effective way to achieve world peace, considering the existence of two powerful armed blocs, is to create a zone of uncommitted nations and steadily to expand this zone. Neutrality, therefore, is positive not negative. It is active not passive. It reaches out to create conditions favourable for our needs. It is not isolationist and introspective. Writing about war which can destroy both the participants and non-participants alike, Nkrumah asserts that "negative neutrality is no shield at all. It is completely impotent and even dangerous" ("Africa Must Unite" p.200).

Nkrumah's approach to world peace is not pacifist. He maintains that the only road to lasting peace is the elimination of the causes of war. He brings out this view clearly in 'Africa Must Unite' where he asserts that "world peace is not possible without the complete liquidation of colonialism and the total liberation of peoples everywhere". (p.203). And while advocating "peaceful co-existence" because of the "balance of forces in the world today", Nkrumah maintains that "until colonialism and imperialism in all their various forms and manifestations have been completely eradicated from Africa, it would be inconsistent for the African Revolution to co-exist with imperialism" (p. 204).

HIS CONCEPT OF AFRICAN UNITY

What is the content of Nkrumah's concept of African Unity? We know the objectives of African unity both on the African continent and at the world at large. But what principles make up his concept of African unity?

These are three—overall economic planning, unified military and defence strategy, and unified foreign po-

licy and diplomacy. Overall economic planning on a continental basis would increase the industrial and economic power of Africa. The resources of Africa would be used to the best advantage. And an all-African central bank of issue will be a most effective instrument "to re-orientate the economy of Africa and place it beyond the reach of foreign control" (p.219). Thus over-all economic planning will give Africa the much needed economic independence in a very short time.

ECONOMIC APPENDAGE OF EUROPE

This view of economic development rejects the traditional concept of dependence on foreign powers especially on the former colonial powers. It makes Africans responsible for Africa's economy and completely rejects the notion of Africa being an economic appendage of Europe or America. In Nkrumah's own words: "We in Africa have looked outwards too long for the development of our economy... Let us begin to look inwards into the African continent for all aspects of its development" (p.219). A unified military and

defence strategy is demanded in Africa today because no single African state can protect its sovereignty against an imperialist aggressor, because apartheid is arming for future attempt to crush African nationalism by force, because military expenditure is too heavy a burden for Africa's young nation faced with pressing problems of development.

The only alternative to unified defence and strategy is the conclusion of military pacts with foreign powers. And these military pacts provide the conditions for continued interference of non-African powers in African life and development. Nkrumah warns: "If we do not unite and combine our military resources for common defence, the individual states, out of a sense of insecurity, may be drawn into making defence pacts with foreign powers which may endanger the security of us all" (p. 220).

POLITICAL DIRECTIONS

And a unified foreign policy and diplomacy follows logically on the first two types of joint action because it is necessary "to give political direction to

our joint efforts for the protection and economic development of our continent" (p. 220). Here it must be emphasised that all talk of effective and large-scale joint action between African states is wishful thinking if there is no agreement on political issues. The reasoning here is self-evident. For all actions in the fields of the economy and defence are guided by political decisions.

This raises a vital issue in the big debate on African unity. Which should come first—political unity or co-operation in limited spheres? It is obvious that co-operation in limited spheres must be based on political decisions. Otherwise, it cannot go beyond the level of normal intercourse between sovereign states. The wisdom of Nkrumah's line of going straight for political unity is becoming increasingly clear and compelling.

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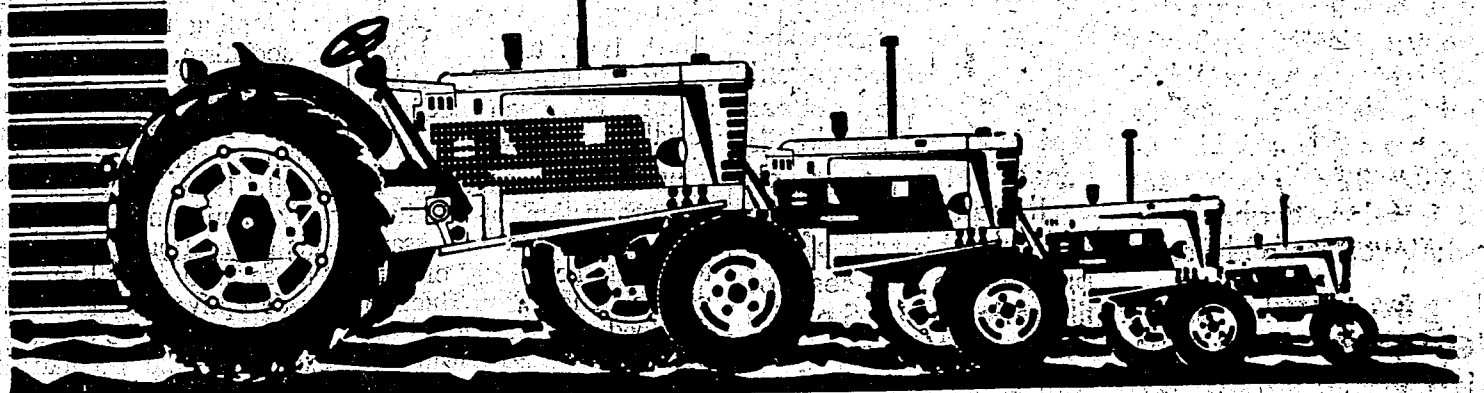
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LE GHANA, PIONNIER DE LA LUTTE CONTRE LE NEOCOLONIALISME

LA politique étrangère du gouvernement ghanéen fut jalonnée d'initiatives importantes en faveur du combat anticolonialiste et pour la paix; un principe constant de cette politique affirmait que l'indépendance du Ghana ne serait pas complète tant que l'Afrique toute entière ne serait pas libérée des contraintes coloniales. Le Ghana fut un pionnier du pan-africanisme; après quelques mois seulement d'indépendance, il organisa la Conférence des Etats africains indépendants, puis, peu après, le premier Congrès des Peuples Africains, qui fut un tournant dans la destinée de l'Afrique moderne. Dans le même ordre d'idée, les leaders des syndicats du Ghana ont joué un rôle primordial dans la formation de la Fédération des Syndicats Pan-africains.

C'est encore le Ghana qui a organisé une assemblée spéciale pour la paix à Accra, qui protesta contre les essais nucléaires au Sahara qui milita pour faire de l'Afrique une zone hors de la compétition nucléaire, qui prit à l'O.N.U., puis à la Conférence des pays non-alignés à Belgrade, des positions sans équivoque sur les problèmes de Berlin et du désarmement.

Le gouvernement et ses dirigeants ont été parmi les premiers opposants au colonialisme et au néocolonialisme.

Ils se sont efforcés d'ouvrir les yeux des millions d'Africains sur les ruses néocolonialistes. Ils ont révélé les activités de l'Agence Centrale Américaine d'Information (C.I.A.), freiné les manoeuvres de la Confédération internationale des Syndicats Libres (C.I.S.L.). Ils mirent en évidence la fonction néocolonialiste du Marché Commun Européen. La ferme dénonciation par N'Krumah de ce "colonialisme collectif" et l'analyse qu'il en a faite ont joué un grand rôle d'éducation et d'information.

La politique étrangère du Ghana s'est résolument tournée vers la multiplication des liens politiques, économiques, diplomatiques et culturels avec l'Union soviétique, la Chine et les autres pays du camp socialiste. Ainsi s'est renforcé sa politique de non-alignement, son action contre la "guerre froide", sa contribution à la coexistence pacifique entre des Etats de systèmes sociaux différents.

On devine aisément que cette politique extérieure n'a pas été appréciée par les forces impérialistes.

L'hostilité des impérialistes envers N'Krumah et le *Convention People's Party* s'exerce surtout contre cette détermination à édifier un Ghana socialiste, principal objectif du C.P.P. et du plan septennal en voie de réalisation.

S'adressant, le 22 avril 1961 à un Comité d'Etudes du parti, le président définissait ainsi le socialisme :

"La production socialiste est la production des produits et des avantages nécessaires aux besoins du peuple. Ce n'est pas une production destinée au profit individuel et privé...Le

socialisme peut permettre d'édifier au plus vite une société et une vie heureuses pour tous. Le socialisme suppose la propriété publique des moyens de production—la terre et ses ressources—et l'utilisation de ces moyens de production pour apporter le bien-être au peuple."

Après avoir établi ces principes généraux, il continua en insistant sur les mesures spécifiques nécessaires à l'accomplissement de cet objectif :

"Toutes les phrases sur le socialisme et sur la reconstruction économique sont vides de sens si nous ne nous attelons pas sérieusement tout à la fois à l'industrialisation de base, à la production agricole et à l'éducation socialiste."

La président N'Krumah confronte sans arrêt ses conceptions politiques avec la réalité ghanéenne; il ne cesse d'insister sur le fait que *"le Ghana n'est pas encore un Etat socialiste"*. Plus récemment, il déclara dans une interview, à *"La Pravda"* : *"Le Ghana a pris le chemin du socialisme scientifique"*

A l'heure où l'on improvise en Afrique tant de "socialismes" (certains venant de "socialistes" plutôt douteux) il est important de voir le Ghana adopter un socialisme scientifique. Un récent article publié dans *"Le Spark"* (hebdomadaire ghanéen) du 5 avril 1963, est à cet égard particulièrement significatif. Il critique *"ceux qui sont influencés par la théorie trompeuse d'un "socialisme" africain" ou "panafricain"*. Cette théorie, exagérant les particularités de la structure économique et sociale de l'Afrique actuelle, affirme que l'histoire et les traditions de l'Afrique sont incompatibles avec un socialisme scientifique. Les

causes de telles prises de position sont faciles à trouver. Le premier facteur est l'inexistence d'un prolétariat ouvrier : il y a ensuite l'influence des socialistes réformistes européens et souvent de la propagande anticommuniste. Mais ce sont des positions provisoires. L'idée d'un socialisme scientifique gagnera l'esprit et le coeur des militants africains et de leurs dirigeants progressistes.

...Le 12 avril 1963, le même journal lance un aver-

l'idée de non existence de classes en Afrique" ajoutant que la négation de l'existence de classe dans la société africaine correspond

Etat, pour reconstruire l'économie du Ghana par les nationalisations, la planification économique, la prise en charge de certai-

Par
Revolution Africaine

à la négation de la nécessité du socialisme en Afrique".
A la lumière des réalisa-

nes firmes étrangères et l'encouragement aux coopératives, faire progresser la santé et l'enseigne-



tissement contre tout essai de révision ou même de négation de certains fondements du socialisme sous le prétexte de socialisme africain". Ce journal insiste sur le besoin d'une "guerre inexorable contre

tions du Ghana, des mesures prises pour renforcer l'unité nationale, affaiblir le tribalisme et le féodalisme, éliminer les cadres hérités de l'impérialisme et leurs marionnettes africaines hors de l'appareil d'

ment, maintenir une politique étrangère luttant contre le colonialisme et le néocolonialisme, soutenant la paix, établissant des relations normales avec les pays socialistes, et soutenant la coexistence pacifi-

que des Etats de systèmes sociaux différents et pour populariser les idées d'un socialisme scientifique, est-il si surprenant que ce pays puisse devenir la cible des attaques impérialistes, et que l'impérialisme essaie d'utiliser les éléments internes corrompus ou aveugles ?

Les censeurs "libéraux" du Ghana veulent ignorer les réalités de classes et murmurent contre la sévérité du gouvernement à l'égard de l'opposition. Mais le peuple du Ghana a gagné son indépendance après des années de luttes difficiles, il affronte maintenant l'impérialisme et le néocolonialisme qui essaient de renverser l'évolution de l'histoire; il importe de réagir avec force pour défendre son nouvel Etat.

C'est une loi commune à tous les Etats révolutionnaires, depuis la révolution de Cromwell qui exécuta un monarque anglais, la révolution française de 1789, la révolution russe d'octobre 1917, la révolution chinoise de 1949, la révolution cubaine en 1959.

Toutes les grandes révolutions, tous les mouvements de libération nationale ont dû affronter, au matin de leur victoire, une réaction incessante de la contre-révolution, la conspiration, les assassinats venant des forces réactionnaires, Abraham Lincoln n'a-t-il pas été assassiné après avoir supprimé l'esclavage des Noirs? N'a-t-on pas attenté à la vie de Lenine? Gandhi aux Indes et Bandaranaike à Ceylon n'ont-ils pas été assassinés à l'aube de leur victoire? N'y a-t-il pas eu plusieurs attentats contre Soekarno, Sekou Touré et d'autres dirigeants nationaux d'Afri-

que et d'Asie? Le patriote Prince Louis Rwagasore du Burundi ne fut-il pas fusillé moins de deux mois après que son Parti "Uprona" ait emporté le scrutin? Et plus tard, n'avons-nous pas eu l'expérience du gouvernement démocratique du Guatemala l'attaque contre Cuba parainée par les Etats-Unis, le Congo martyr et son grand chef Lumumba assassiné dès les premiers mois d'une indépendance purement formelle ?

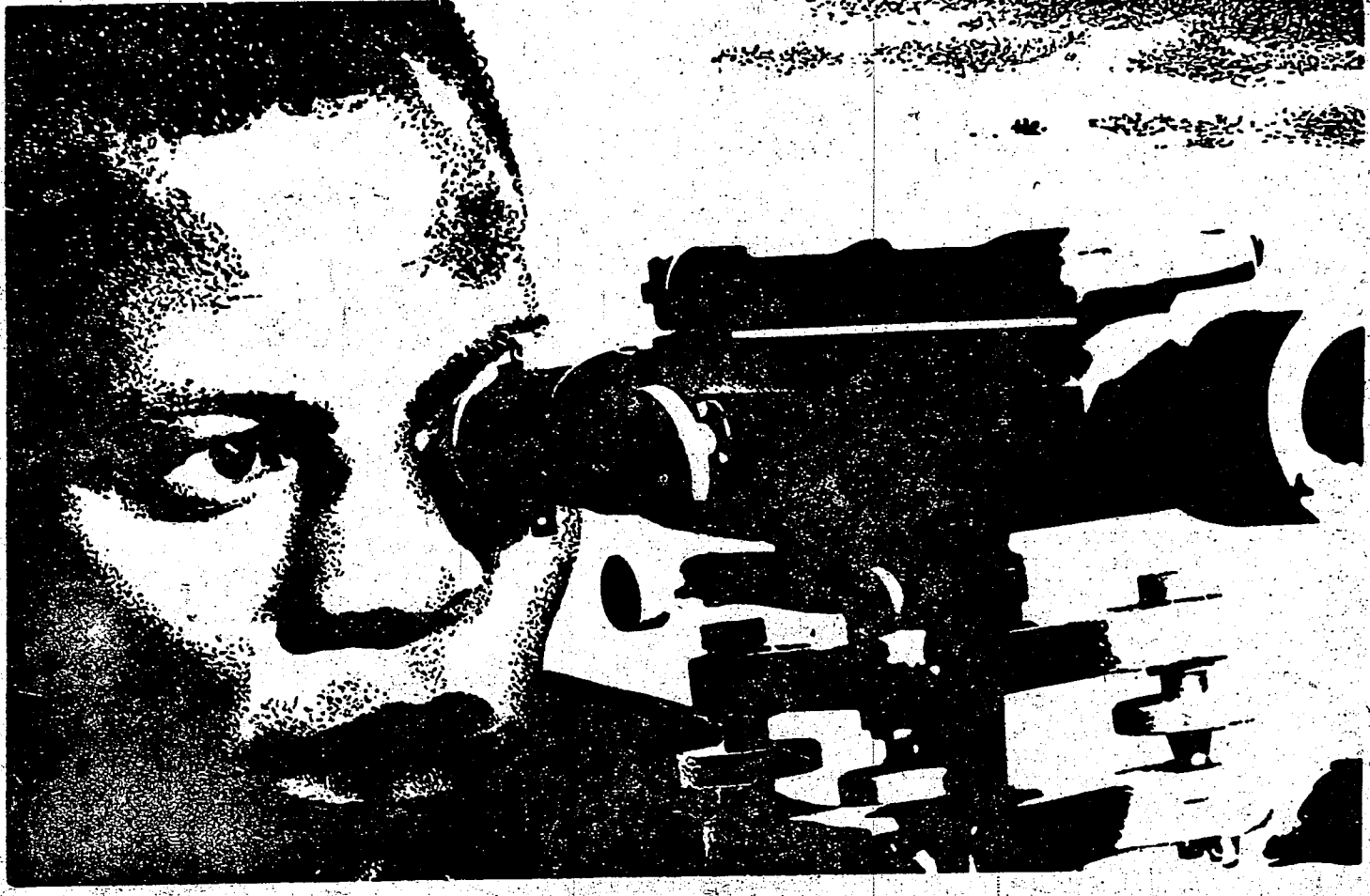
Les mêmes dangers, on peut en être certain ont menacé le Ghana, les mêmes forces contre-révolutionnaires ont comploté contre le gouvernement et ont essayé d'attenter à la vie du président. L'opposition au Ghana représente les forces du passé, alliées aux politiciens capitalistes, aux réactionnaires gardiens du tribalisme, et aux officiers ambitieux, agents de l'impérialisme.

Le Livre Blanc du gouvernement ghanéen sur les événements de 1961 (*Déclarations du gouvernement sur le dernier complot*: Accra 11 décembre 1961) explique :

"Le colonialisme a produit une petite "élite" réactionnaire au Ghana née au sein des classes libérales, des agents et employés supérieurs de grosses maisons de commerce, et dressée à considérer les problèmes sociaux sous l'angle colonialiste. Cette "élite" comptait sur l'indépendance pour prendre la place toute chaude des anciens gouvernants colonialistes; ils n'avaient aucunement l'intention de changer un système social dont ils se voyaient déjà les héritiers. Ces gens, explique le Livre Blanc, exploitaient au Ghana les particularismes tribaux qu'avaient volontairement exacerbés les forces colonialistes. Ce furent eux qui lancèrent une attaque contre le gouvernement à la fin de 1961, pour renverser et livrer ainsi le pays à l'impérialisme. Leur échec désespéra l'opposition" et ils se lancèrent dans des opérations encore plus effrontées, pour renverser le gouvernement ghanéen."

Une dépêche provenant suite à la page 4

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GHANA GOVERNMENT ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA

NEARLY a fortnight ago, the Victoria Falls Conference under the chairmanship of the British Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, fixed December 31st this year as the date for the legal wind-up of the Central African Federation embracing Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

the danger. It is timely for it brings home the point of view of African nationalism six months before the Central African Federation is legally wound-up and thus gives the U.K. Government plenty of time within which to adjust itself to Africa's standpoint.

democratically elected.

The Ghana Government's Note makes it crystal clear that full responsibility now devolves on Britain because an Act of Parliament is required for the conferment of the powers of the dissolved Federation on each of the component territories. And the U.K. Gov-

ernment is being called upon to make the conferment of these powers conditional on the prior adoption of a democratic constitution for Southern Rhodesia.

By X-ray

This is the crucial moment when Britain must live up to the expectations of the entire world at large as brought-out in U.N. resolutions Nos. 1747, 1755



and 1760 on Southern Rhodesia. She can now lean on the side of African national-

to legislate Southern Rhodesia.

The key to an equitable solution of the problem is a new democratic constitution for Southern Rhodesia in which the principle of "one man one vote" is upheld.

Ghana's initiative in sending the Note to the U.K. Government ought to be quickly followed up by other African Governments, particularly the members of the British Commonwealth. This is the time for Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Tanganyika to evolve a common standpoint on the basis of the Ghana Note.

With such a united front of the African members of the Commonwealth, it will be easy to get all African states to take a positive line in the furtherance of the African revolution in Southern Rhodesia.

TWO ALTERNATIVES

Last Wednesday, the U.K. Government introduced a Bill into the British House of Commons seeking powers to return to the Southern Rhodesian Government control over central banking, roads, railways, shippings, harbours, external affairs, defence and direct and indirect taxation.

THE GREAT SITUATION

Early this week, here in Accra, the Ghana Government released the text of a Note it sent to the U.K. Government on the 4th warning of "the grave situation likely to arise" if more powers are conferred on the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia.

The Note of the Ghana Government is important and timely. It is important because it exposes Britain's apparent decision to swim against the tide of world

The end of the Central African Federation poses the problem of what to do with the powers of the Central Government. There are two alternatives open to Britain. The U.K. Government could directly exercise those powers in regard to the three territories thus creating a situation in which each territory is internally self-governing. Alternatively, Britain could confer these powers on the three territories, thus making each politically independent.

All African nationalists will opt for the second alternative in respect of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland because these territories have governments which are elected by the people at large.

A difficulty arises in the case of Southern Rhodesia. And here we hold the view that the grant of full political independence is undesirable because the Winston Field Government is not

LE GHANA, PIONNIER DE LA LUTTE CONTRE LE COLONIALISME

suite de la page 3

d'Hella Pick ("The Guardian" 1 février 1962) insiste sur ce fait.

"Loin de se cacher, par crainte du long bras vengeur de M. N'Krumah, le Dr. Kofi Busia, dirigeant de l'opposition exilée du Ghana, fut remaqué aujourd'hui dans un hôtel de Lagos. Il est très occupé par ses voyages et par l'organisation de groupes d'opposition au Togo et en Côte d'Ivoire, il a maintenant un agent qui collecte des fonds et toutes formes

d'aide aux Etats-Unis. Il apparaît clairement que le Dr. Busia est en relations avec M. Gbedemah, ancien ministre des Finances du Ghana... Il est clair que des complots se trament.

(QUI EST L'ENNEMI?)

Ces complots prévoyaient le renversement, avec l'aide étrangère, du Gouvernement démocratique du Ghana. Les actes de terrorisme des 12 derniers mois et les attentats contre le président Nkrumah sont liés à ces complots.

Et pourtant, quand le

gouvernement prend les mesures nécessaires pour supprimer tout ce qui menace les options démocratiques du peuple, la presse capitaliste de l'ouest, avec des libéraux avengles et stupides, hurle de rage, non pas contre les agents du néo-colonialisme qui menacent la démocratie et l'indépendance, mais contre un gouvernement élu démocratiquement.

Il est incontestable que les énormes pouvoirs dont dispose le gouvernement et l'Etat, et qui ont été utilisés pour écraser cette

conspiration antigouvernementale, pourraient être utilisés contre les masses populaires; les ouvriers et paysans ghanés doivent évidemment rester vigilants pour empêcher une telle issue. Mais les actions actuelles du gouvernement ne sont pas dirigées contre le peuple travailleur, elles sont dirigées contre les marnettes internes de l'impérialisme. Tous ceux qui aident la cause de l'indépendance africaine se rejoindront de l'écarter du complot contre N'Krumah et soutiendront les sévères

mesures de justice prises par les tribunaux contre les conspirateurs.

Personne, et surtout pas les chefs actuels du Ghana, ne prétendrait que tout est parfait au Ghana, que tous les problèmes ont été résolus, qu'il n'y a pas de difficultés et qu'il n'a pas été fait d'erreurs. Mais qui conque examine objectivement les actes, la politique et les réalisations du président N'Krumah et du C.P.P. durant 6 années d'indépendance conclura nécessairement que le Ghana progresse dans le combat contre l'impérialisme, le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme.

Dans son discours au Congrès des Combattants pour la Liberté de l'Afrique à Accra en juin 1962, Kwame N'Krumah posa la question: (Qui est l'ennemi?) et donna la réponse (L'ennemi est l'impérialisme, dont les armes sont le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme).

Ce jugement sert d'assise à la politique du gouvernement ghanéen, une politique qui doit être soutenue par tous ceux dont les objectifs sont similaires.

The Teachings of Kwame Nkrumah

Continued from Page 2

But, apart from imperialist intrigues to resist African political union which is a threat to the whole position of imperialism on the African continent, some African states are reluctant to part with their newly-won sovereignty.

Nevertheless, Nkrumah has an answer even to this problem. He calls for an African Parliament (Upper House with equal representation of all states and a Lower House with representation according to population) with clearly defined powers. All other powers are reserved to the member states in the exercise of which each state is sovereign. Economic planning, defence and foreign affairs he allocates to the African Government leaving all other powers to individual African states which will continue to have their national flag, national anthem, national coat of arms and all the other paraphernalia of an independent sovereign state.

CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

Nkrumah's formula is explained by him in the following words: "I am confident that it should be possible to devise a consti-

tutional structure applicable to our special conditions in Africa...which will enable us to serve the objectives I have defined (over-all economic planning, unified military and defence strategy, unified foreign policy and diplomacy—Ed.) and yet preserve to some extent the sovereignty of each state within a union of African states" ("Africa Must Unite" p.220)

Nkrumah is a socialist. World experience has shown how difficult it is to build socialism in a country surrounded by hostile capitalist states. This task is almost impossible in a small underdeveloped country enveloped in a big land mass firmly held by imperialism either in the form of colonialism or neo-colonialism.

African unity, according to Nkrumah, will create some of the necessary objective conditions for the rapid advance towards socialism not only in a single African state but throughout the African continent. Here the struggle for African Unity becomes in reality another form of the battle between socialism and imperialism on the African continent.

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After Addis Ababa...

THE WAY AHEAD OF AATUF

by G. NUGOLAB

THE search for continental trade union unity led to the Casablanca Conference in 1961 at which the All-African Trade Union Federation was launched. There was disagreement, however, on the fundamental principle upon which such a unity should be based. International affiliation vis-a-vis membership of the AATUF was the outstanding cause of disagreement.

After the first All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra in 1958 at which the trade unions agreed on the necessity of achieving continental unity, some national centres continued to express divergence points of view on the essential aspect of the agreement. The metropolitan internationals were determined to continue to map out the course of trade union evolution in Africa.

VANGUARD OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

At the opening of the Preparatory Committee of the All-African Trade Union Federation in Accra in November, 1959, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had this to say to the delegates:

"The trade union organisations of the African countries who have found themselves always in the vanguard of the national movement, can no longer keep themselves aloof from this upsurge which is permeating the whole of the African continent. That is why we in Ghana welcome with satisfaction the unanimous declaration of the African trade unionists who attended the All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra last December calling for the formation of an All-African Trade Union Federation. We understand and support the desire of the African workers to be on their own. It is my hope that the world will understand your aspirations. (Italics mine.) We see in an All-African Trade Union Federation an independent and united African organisation not affiliated to either the World Federation of Trade Unions, or to the International organisations but holding allegiance to none except to mother Africa."

But did the world really understand the aspirations of the African workers and their trade unions?

The Preparatory Committee Meeting of the All-African Trade Union Federation held in Accra in November 1959, was preceded by a regroupment, sponsored by the ICFTU, of their African affiliates in Lagos to forestall the effectiveness of the outcome of the Preparatory Committee meeting.

SPLINTER GROUPS

It is not unnatural that some African trade unionists who owed their financial existence to the ICFTU attended the conference because of the fear of suppression if they failed to identify themselves with the ICFTU. Their peculiar condition under colonialism accounts for this. By the end of 1960, a number of splinter groups sprang up in the African Trade Union movement.

By and large, the differences in doctrine and orientation of trade union leadership in Africa reflect the outlook of these internationalists in their various spheres of influence in Africa. Albeit there was also those whose experience with metropolitan internationalists had led them to abandon affiliation and ad-

vocate an independent line which amounted to co-operation on equal basis.

The 3rd All-African Peoples' Conference in Cairo in March, 1961 noted that imperialism and colonialism have devised new methods, that is new colonialist methods to intensify their efforts on all fronts in order to maintain their wicked domination of the peoples of the continent. The Conference drew the attention of the African peoples to the manifestations of neo-colonialism through the balkanisation of newly-independent States or the systematic division of the political or trade union forces in order to prevent African States from directing their political, social and economic policies towards the exploitation of their natural wealth for the benefit of their peoples.

The Conference exposed the active agents of neo-colonialism as including "the representatives from imperialist and colonial countries under the cover of religion, Moral Re-armament, Cultural and Trade Unions and Youth or Philanthropic Organisations" and the Conference called for "the immediate launching of the All-African Trade Union Federation as an effective means of counteracting neo-colonialism."

The conference stated emphatically that: "It is the duty of popular, political, syndical (trade union) youth and women organisations, not only to inspire and to wage the struggle against neo-colonialism but also and above all to be vigilant to control the correct application of the general outline and to denounce all those who attempt to deviate it from its real objective."

THE CHARTER OF A.A.T.U.F.

The Secretariat of the All-African Trade Union Federation proceeded to finalise arrangements for the convocation of the inaugural conference. It took place in Casablanca in May 1961. Not less than 38 national trade union centres in Africa took part. The conference adopted a Charter to which all participants subscribed and which stipulated inter alia, that:

"The unity of African workers is incompatible with trade union pluralism which saps this unity and shatters all militant actions.

"In other words, African trade unions could not collaborate with the workers' organisations which constitute communicating vessels for foreign directives or foreign influence.

"Those who persist in wanting to create an indifferent African trade union organisation as an instrument with which to serve foreign interests, must be unmasked and denounced as traitors to the African cause."

The conference agreed to grant a period of ten months for national trade union centres to disaffiliate from all international trade union organisations in order to join the AATUF.

From the conference two opposing camps emerged. Those who believed that an authentic African trade union international should and must be independent of all the internationalists, that is, the ICFTU, the WFTU and the IFCTU, and those who felt that membership of the internationalists should be consistent with membership of the AATUF.

Those who were not satisfied with the decisions of Casablanca formed a new regroupment at Dakar in January, 1962 and launched an African Trade Union Confederation.

Much has been stated on either side to justify the correctness of the position of each of these groupings. But one fact is clear; the division does not serve the interests of the African working masses. The division serves the interests of neo-colonialism.

TRADE UNION AND AFRICAN REVOLUTION

In the face of the combined power of finance capital and sometimes State intervention to back the exercise of such power, the obstacles facing African trade unionism in its search for unity become enormous. Clearly, the growing importance of the tasks of the trade union in this period of the African revolution and the apparent impotence of the means to achieve these ends, make the division unnecessary.

Here, let us consider some of the basic problems. The problem of finance becomes more acute in those areas where trade unions are not self-supporting because of weak organisational structures. The weakness in structures, inherited from colonialism and lack of funds make trade unions basically susceptible to receiving financial assistance for organisational and other purposes from anyone of the already existing international trade union organisations.

For example, "the Brussels-based ICFTU maintains six full-time roving representatives in Africa, poured in 432,000 dollars in hard cash last year (1960). The money goes for union buildings, instruction in collective bargaining and education of union officials..." This amount excludes the considerable sums of money of its own poured into Africa by the AFL-CIO, who in 1960, put up 54,000 dollars toward a new Nairobi Headquarters building for Kenya Federation of Labour, subsidised Harvard scholarships for African students and recently allocated 33,000 dollars to help African Labour Unions". ("Time Magazine"—June 9, 1961.)

THE CAPITALIST TYCOONS

Here a condition is created which tantamounts to moral bribery which ultimately leads to the integration of African trade unions with Foreign trade union internationalists.

In other areas where the trade unions are self-supporting and have achieved an appreciable degree of efficiency in organisation and administration, inde-

pendence of action is more secure. The trade unions are thus placed in a better position to struggle for concrete and specific objectives. Consequently, they are able to integrate their forces with those of others in the general struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the total liberation and complete unity of the African continent.

Metropolitan countries which were former colonisers desire—in the overall interests of their capitalist tycoons—to maintain their African connections. This is important for them. Since they can no longer withstand the political onslaught of African liberation movements they desire to maintain their domination through other non-political means.

Consequently, African trade unions are subjected to all forms of influences in

an effort to divert their attention from their historical mission.

IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE

The interplay of financial assistance to African trade unions is intended to serve a dual purpose. Firstly, to foster ideological warfare among them on the concepts of trade unionism and the role it should play in national and international affairs.

Secondly, to import pro-type structures which minimise the effects of its action so as to encourage division thus enabling the exploitation of these contradictions by those responsible for their creation. By this method, they intend to check the pace of rapid development thereby making the newly independent countries subservient to continental economic dependence.

The achievement of national unity demands the overhaul of the structures inherited from colonialism and the installation of new ones reflecting the needs and aspirations of the broad mass of the African peoples. African Governments must assist the trade unions to achieve stability by creating an atmosphere conducive to trade union development.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

The collection of trade union dues through the check-off system should be an important feature of labour legislation. There should be no fetters placed on the independence and character of African trade union movements.

It is only under such conditions of security that responsible trade unionism can contribute decisively to the great tasks of economic reconstruction. Under such conditions the trade unions must remain the authentic expression of the aspirations of the working people, and where the government represents the in-

terests of the working class their role must be consistent with the economic development of their countries.

Trade union unity on the continental level presupposes the realisation of the historical role of the working masses of our continent in the fight against old and new colonialism and imperialism for total independence and complete unity. There is no doubt that the problems confronting African trade unions can be overcome if resources are pulled together in the supreme interest of the salvation of the African masses.

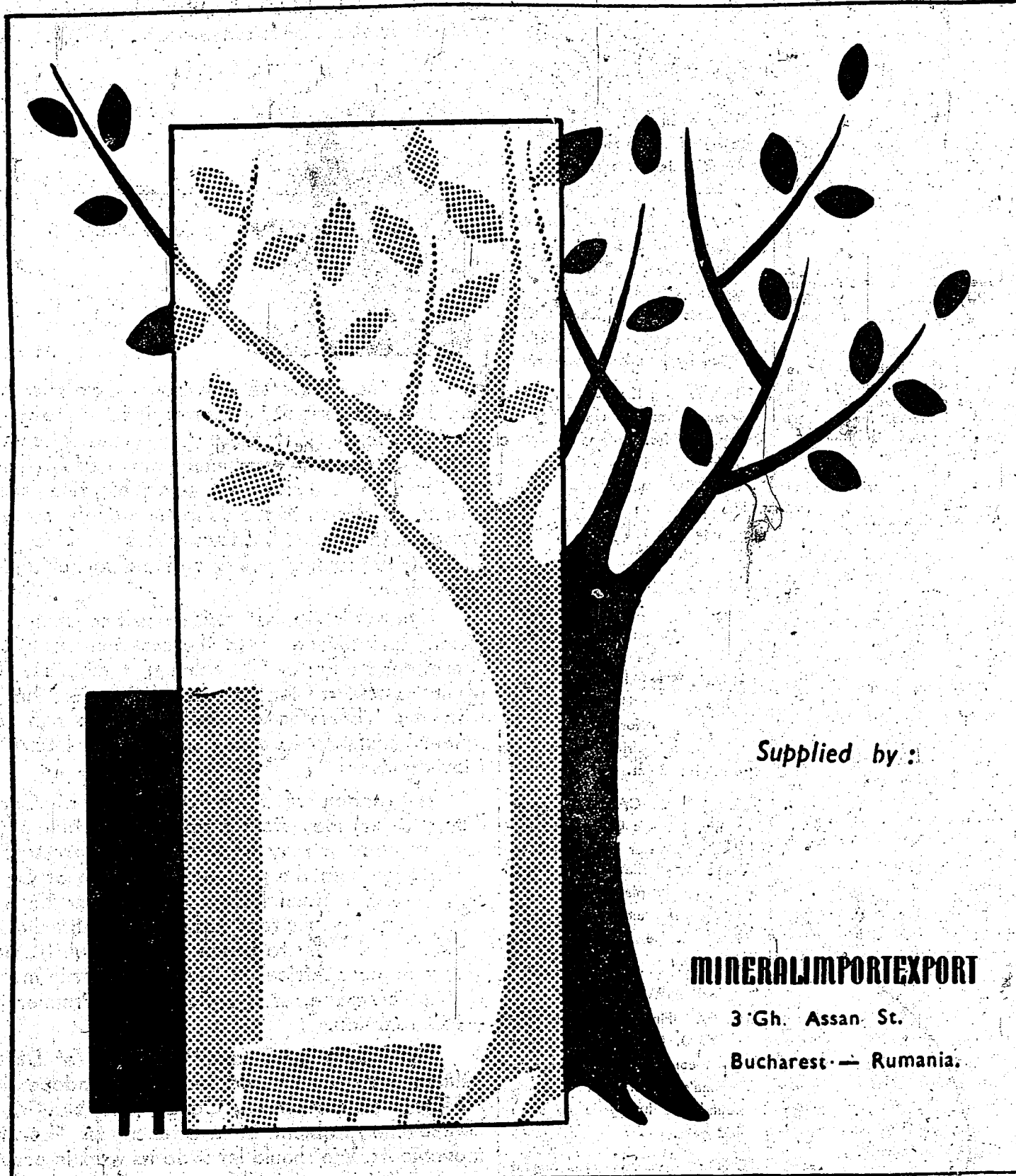
"African trade unions must now come together in a spirit of brotherhood. The Addis Ababa summit conference of African Heads of State agreed on 'affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.' (Article III (7) of the Charter).

Since this decision amounts to a solution of the point of disagreement, the question is, will African Labour accept this verdict? Surely, there is no other choice.

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AFRICAN DIARY

GHANA — A PIONEER IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM

Continued from Page 1

lives of Sukarno, Sekou Toure and other national leaders in Africa and Asia? Was not Burundi's nationalist prince, Louis Rwagasore, shot dead less than two months after his party "Uprona", won the elections? And more recently, have we not had the examples of overthrowing of the democratic government of Guatemala, the attack against Cuba sponsored by the United States, the martyred Congo and its great leader Lumumba murdered in the first few

months of a purely formal type of independence granted to the Congo?

We can be quite sure that the same type of danger has threatened Ghana, the same counter-revolutionary forces, have plotted against the government and tried to make attempts upon the life of its President. The Ghana opposition is a representative of the forces of the past, in league with the capitalist politicians, the reactionaries who keep tribalism alive, and ambitious officers who act as agents of imperialism. The Ghana Government's

White Paper on the events of 1961 (GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON THE RECENT PLOT: ACCRA 11th DECEMBER, 1961) states:

"Colonialism was responsible for producing a small reactionary Ghanaian 'elite' drawn from the professional classes and the agents and senior employees of the great merchant houses and educated to look at every social problem from an essentially colonial standpoint. They hoped on Independence to step into the shoes of the former colonial rulers but they had no intention of altering the social system which they hoped to inherit"

"The Convention People's Party, on the contrary, looked on political independence not as an end in itself but as a means of ending colonialism in all its aspects and, in particular, as a means of preventing neo-colonialism being substituted for colonialism once independence was secured. The 'elite' were opposed to the existence of a party political system, an idea incompatible with the colonial type of Government which they wished to continue.

"They had no policy other than the substitution of themselves for the former colonial officials. Such support as they could secure sprang from another defect caused by colonialism. Since African colonies were allocated during the 19th century to suit the convenience of the great powers their frontiers were drawn so as to fit in with agreements which had nothing to do with the well-being of the African Continent and were fixed without regard to historical, ethnic or economic conditions. It was therefore always possible for the 'elite' to exploit tribal differences and to base themselves, as had the colonial power, upon antagonisms which might exist between peoples of different races."

A despatch from Hella Pick ("The Guardian", 1st February, 1962), insists upon this fact:

"Far from hiding away for the fear of Dr. Nkrumah's long arm of vengeance, Dr. Kofi Busia, leader of the exiled opposition in Ghana was seen today in a Lagos hotel. He is very busy with travelling and organising opposition groups in Togo and the Ivory Coast. He now has an agent collecting funds and all kinds of assistance in the United States. It appears clearly that Dr. Busia is in touch with Mr. Gbedemah, Ghana's ex-Minister of Finance. It is clear that plots are being hatched..."

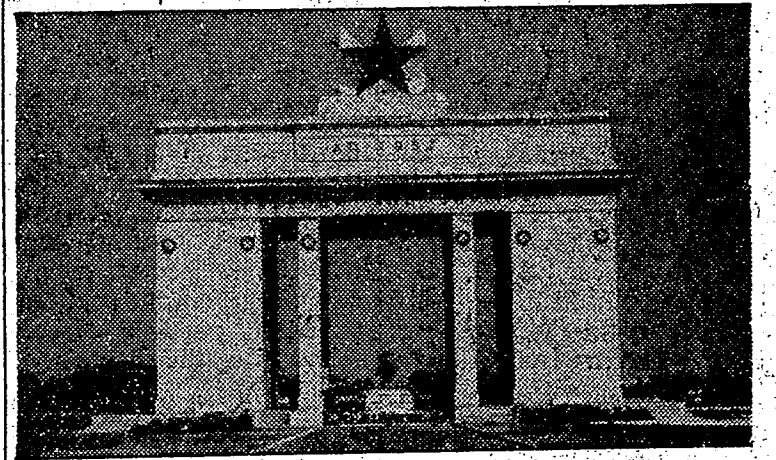
WHO IS THE ENEMY?

These plots, with the help of foreigners, are aimed at overthrowing the democratically elected Government of Ghana. The acts of terrorism committed in the last twelve months and the attempts against the life of President Nkrumah are associated with these plots. And yet, when the Government takes the necessary steps to put an end to anything that threatens the

democratic choice the people have made, the capitalist press in the West, with the help of blind, inept "liberals" vents its spleen not against the agents of neo-colonialism who threaten democracy and independence, but against a Government elected by the process of democratic procedure.

There is no doubt that powers given to Governments and States (and these powers have been used to crush this anti-Government conspiracy) might be used against

No one, and particularly the present rulers of Ghana, would claim that all its problems have been solved, that there are no difficulties any more and that errors have not been committed. However, anyone making an objective examination of the action taken, the policy and achievements of President Nkrumah and the CPP during six years of independence, will of necessity come to the conclusion that Ghana is making headway in the struggle against im-



The Lodestar—symbol of the inevitable triumph of the African revolution.

the people. Hence the need for the workers and peasants to remain vigilant, in order to prevent such a thing from happening. But the present action taken by the Ghana Government is not directed against the workers. It is aimed at the stooges of the imperialists within the country. All who help the cause of African independence will rejoice in the fact that the plot against Dr. Nkrumah has failed, and will support the stringent measures to meet out justice, taken by the law courts against the conspirators.

peralism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In his speech to the African Freedom Fighters Conference in Accra in June 1962, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah asked this question: "Who is the enemy?" and he gave this reply: "The enemy is imperialism, whose weapons are colonialism and neo-colonialism." This judgment is the opinion upon which rests the policy of President Nkrumah's Ghana Government, a policy which deserves to be supported by all who subscribe to similar objectives.

Directive No. 5

WE must drive out all selfish motives from our hearts and cultivate a sense of patriotism and true brotherhood.

I have noticed an unfortunate tendency amongst some of us towards an intensified self-interest. We must root out this corrupting influence from our society before it becomes so engrained as to develop into a major impediment in our forward march to national progress.

Too many people are concerned with pushing their own desires and ambitions. Frequently they use their offices, both in the Party and the Government and its institutions for their selfish purposes, even though this militates against the national interests and retards our Party's programme of Work and Happiness.

There are also some individuals who refused to work honestly and devotedly at their given jobs, and when they are re-proved or punished regard themselves rather an injured parties than wrongdoers. They then turn about and become virulent critics and opponents of the Party and the Government.

Some others carry a grudge because they fail to secure jobs on which they have set their hearts, even though they may not have the necessary qualifications to fill them satisfactorily.

There are also others in position and influence who seek to provide jobs for their relatives and friends even though they know that such persons have not got the ability or qualifications for the posts.

All these are manifestations of careerism, nepotism, personal ambition and selfishness which are all detrimental to our national well-being.

—KWAME NKRUMAH.

THE ANGOLAN STRUGGLE

LAST week-end, the Government of the Congo (Leopoldville) announced its recognition of Mr. Holden Roberto's Provisional Angolan Government in exile. And early this week Premier Ben Bella of Algeria announced his disagreement with any Government that recognises Mr. Holden Roberto's Provisional Angolan Government. This incident, which seems to have passed unnoticed, is of vital significance to the liberation movements in those parts of Africa still under colonial rule.

The timing of the recognition of Roberto's Provisional Government gives cause for concern. It took place soon after the arrival in Leopoldville of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. G. Mennen-Williams. Again, it was made when the nine-nation Liberation Committee set up at Addis Ababa—and on which Congo (Leopoldville) has a seat—was assembled at Dar-es-Salaam.

The whole matter of giving assistance to liberation movements must be carefully handled, for a misdirection of such assistance could easily lead to the replacement of direct colonial rule with a regime of neo-colonialism.

Angola has two rival organisations both fighting against Portuguese colonialism. Mr. Holden Roberto leads the Union Populaire Angolen (UPA) while Mr. Mario Andriade leads the Movement Populaire Liberation Angolen (MPLA). And



Mr. Mario Andriade, Leader of the MPLA.

now that the issue of a Provisional Government in exile is being seriously explored, it is of the greatest importance that these two organisations be unified or at least reconciled and made to work together. To take sides between these two organisations could lead to the deepening of the struggle between them; and African states could end up in the embarrassing position of aiding Portuguese colonialism.

The Addis Ababa decision setting up a Liberation Committee urged the creation of national liberation fronts in all colonial territories. The whole question of Angola should therefore be left with this Liberation Committee which can then render assistance to a unified Angolan Liberation Movement.

The action of the Government of Congo (Leopoldville) may stem from one or other of several reasons. It may be due to U.S. pressure. It might flow from the personal friendship of Cyrille Adoula and Holden Roberto. Whatever the reason, it must be fully recognised that such unilateral action is not likely to prove very helpful. It might even endanger Africa's united action set in motion by Addis Ababa, as is indicated by Premier Ben Bella's reaction.

The Liberation Committee based at Dar-es-Salaam has been mandated by all independent African states, including Congo (Leopoldville), to handle the problem of assistance to liberation movements. We should let it do its work in accordance with its mandate. It would be wrong to try to bulldoze the committee by facing it with fait accompli of the kind announced last week by the Congo Government

13th JUNE, THURSDAY: UGANDA: Mr. Milton Oboto, Prime Minister of Uganda, who is on private visit to United States to receive an honorary degree, lunches with Ghana's Permanent Representative at United Nations, Mr. Quaison-Sackey.

ALGERIA: Mr. Ben Bella, Algeria's Prime Minister, receives Mr. Robert Gardiner, Ghanaian Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in Algiers. Mr. Gardiner declares later that Premier Ben Bella has given his unqualified support to the commission's projects.

NIGERIA: Nigeria's Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaja Wachuku, in his address to Institute of International Affairs says that Africa is on the threshold of becoming a force to reckon with in International Affairs.

SIERRA LEONE: Sierra Leone Government has given de jure recognition to the Togo Government headed by Mr. Nicolas Grunitzky.

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe, says in New York, U.S. that African Heads of State have to meet before there can be any drastic action against Verwoerd Regime in South Africa and Portuguese Colonialism in Africa.

14th JUNE, FRIDAY: NIGERIA: In a communique released in Lagos, states that Nigeria and Guinea have given de jure recognition to Mr. Nicolas Grunitzky's Togo Government in the interest of African Unity.

GHANA: Lieutenant R. C. K. Hewlett, Secretary of the Preparatory Committee of A.A.V.F. announces in Accra that the formation of a new All-African Veterans' Federation to embrace all member states of the Organisation of African Unity will be disclosed when A.A.V.F. meets in Cairo (Egypt) in November this year.

Osegyefe Dr. Nkrumah approves of the grant of financial assistance to about 800 Ghanaian private students in U.K. to enable them complete their various courses.

15th JUNE, SATURDAY: SOUTH AFRICA: South African Congress of Trades Union calls for the withdrawal of British troops from Swaziland.

SWAZILAND: Police Baton charge breaks up new demonstrations in Swaziland in a protest against the arrival of more British troops in the country.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Joshua Nkomo, Nationalist Leader and President of the banned Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) returns home after touring other African countries.

NIGERIA: Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe Governor-General of Nigeria presides over graduation ceremonies at Nsukka for the first students' pass out at the University of Nigeria.

It has been reported in Ibadan that one man has been shot dead, five seriously wounded and two others missing in disturbances between two sections of Ogunmdein village near Ibadan.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, Northern Rhodesia's Minister of African Agriculture tries to settle a vendetta between UNIP local members and Lumpas—followers of prophetess, Alice Lenshina, which has already resulted in arson and fighting.

16th JUNE, SUNDAY: SIERRA LEONE: The employees of Elder Dempster Lines go on two-day sit-down strike, demanding the withdrawal of the Company's Agent and immediate Africanisation of the Company.

TUNISIA: It is announced in Tunis that the Senegal Justice Minister, Mr. Andre Guillaibert, will visit Tunisia from 25-29 July, 1963 for talks about judiciary co-operation between Tunisia and Senegal.

GUINEA: Mr. Mohammed Yala, first Algerian Ambassador to Guinea, presents his credentials to President Sekou Touré

in Conakry. In his speech the Algerian Ambassador recalls the part Guinea played in Algerian struggle for independence and says it can never be forgotten by the Algerians.

NIGERIA: The Acting Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria, Alhaji Muhammadu Ribadu, announces that the Nigerian Government intends establishing new military and air bases at strategic points in the country.

TANGANYIKA: The South African Pan-Africanist Congress office in Dar-es-Salaam calls upon the African delegations at the 108 nation ILO Conference in Geneva to press for the total expulsion of South Africa from the Organisation.

17th JUNE, MONDAY:

UGANDA: Two opposition members of the Uganda Parliament, Mr. Yovan Chemonges, Opposition Chief Whip and Mr. Stephen Juduku have crossed the floor to the Government side.

SENEGAL: A delegation of the Alliance of Young Angolans for Freedom (AJEUNAL) arrives in Dakar to meet President Senghor for talks on the setting up of a National Angolan Congress.

NIGERIA: Hearing of charges against seven officers of the Kano People's Party who were arrested after the installation of a new Emir last Friday is adjourned until next Friday. A miracle spring claimed to cure all incurable diseases discovered in Zamba Village in the Fika Emirate of Borno Province in Northern Nigeria.

CONGO (Leopoldville): South Katanga Cabinet Ministers' meeting to examine the situation caused by the departure of Moise Tshombe is postponed until next Wednesday.

U.A.R.: It is officially announced in Cairo that all Pharmaceutical firms in the United Arab Republic have been nationalised.

18th JUNE, TUESDAY:

UPPER VOLTA: President Yaméogo describes the signing of the African Unity Charter as "one of the most sublime moments in the history of Africa."

SUDAN: Sudanese Cabinet makes two laws to boycott South Africa and Portugal economically. The Cabinet also approves the African Unity Charter signed on behalf of Sudan by President Abboud.

GHANA: Mr. Krabbe, a West German Press correspondent is deported from Ghana for publishing a series of articles in a West German Press to tarnish the reputation of Ghana. A release from the President's Office states.

SOUTH AFRICA: African delegates to the International Labour Organisation Conference in Geneva launch a strongest appeal to all member nations of United Nations Organisation for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

CENTRAL AFRICA: Mr. Richard Butler, Britain's Central African Affairs Minister is expected to make a Parliamentary statement on the plans to hold conference this month on dissolution of the Central African Federation.

19th JUNE, WEDNESDAY:

GHANA: Finance Minister, Mr. F. K. D. Goka, declares at a press conference in Accra that Ghana's foreign reserve is sound and has gone up since last year.

TOGO: Canadian Government recognises Togolese Government of President Grunitzky, it is announced by the Canadian High Commission in Accra.