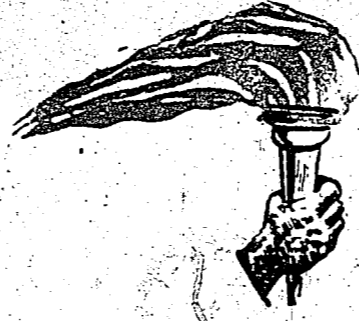


THE SPARK



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FRIDAY, AUGUST 2, 1963

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper)

EDITORIAL Julius Sago on...

THE DANGERS OF THE I.C.F.T.U.

ONE of the many forces militating against the struggle for African Unity is the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.).

Through many subtle ways, this scab international, backed by the monopoly sharks of the Western world, has been undermining working class unity in Africa. By refusing to pack out of Africa to enable an independent African labour front, unbridled by the requirements of the cold war, to grow, the I.C.F.T.U. has set itself against the African Revolution.

Immediately after the November 1959 Preparatory Committee meeting of the All African Trade Unions Federation (AATUF) in Accra, the I.C.F.T.U. organised another conference in Lagos in an effort to dissuade African trade union centres from joining the AATUF. Immediately after the launching of the AATUF at Casablanca, the I.C.F.T.U. sponsored a splinter 'regroupment' in Dakar. It spends 430,000 dollars a year on six travelling agents in Africa.

The I.C.F.T.U. has set itself permanently against the struggle of African working class. It did not say a word about the treatment meted out to the workers in Northern Rhodesia during the copper-belt strike and it kept silent when British troops tear-gassed and arrested hundreds of Swazi workers to break the biggest strike in the history of Swaziland.

Where the I.C.F.T.U. finds it difficult to infiltrate into a country, it uses agents to foment disorders in that country. Recently there was a meeting between the I.C.F.T.U. and what it describes as "anti-communist" labour leaders in British Guiana at Hotel Commodore in New York. The purpose of the meeting was to plan the end of Dr. Jagan's government. After the

THE ANATOMY OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

KULUNGUGU IS THE CENTRE PIECE IN AN UNFOLDING PROCESS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GHANA. THE ACTORS IN THIS DRAMA INCLUDE THE FORCES OF SECTIONALISM, OF REACTION AND OF OPPORTUNISM.

BUT, IN TRUTH, THESE ARE MERELY THE MARIONETTES WHO ARE TUGGED ACROSS THE STAGE BY THE UNSEEN HANDS OF LOCAL BUSINESS INTERESTS WORKING IN CONCERT WITH THEIR FOREIGN COUNTERPARTS. IN OTHER WORDS, EVEN THOUGH WE SEE ON THE STAGE UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS, ARMY OFFICERS, CABINET MINISTERS, TRADE UNIONISTS, PARTY FUNCTIONARIES AND DEAD-END KIDS, THE DIRECTORS OF THE SHOW ARE LOCAL AND FOREIGN CAPITALISTS.

The local bourgeoisie and the imperialist circles of the West constitute the socio-economic basis of counter-revolution in Ghana. And their common aim is to arrest the march of the Revolution set in motion with the formation of the Convention People's Party in 1949. It is to replace a peoples democracy, advancing towards socialism with a bourgeois democracy founded on neo-colonialism.

Kulungugu took place 1st August 1962. Yet it represents a process which dates back to 1956.

In 1956, the main political battle raged around the constitution for self-governing Ghana (then Gold Coast). It took the form of a struggle between a unitary and a federal constitution. In the end, British imperialism imposed a constitution meant to promote sectionalism and retard the nation's rate of progress as a condition for the grant of independence.

THE POPULAR FORCES

The first objective was secured through constitutional provisions for regional assemblies, while the second was secured through 'entrenched clauses' protecting chieftaincies and insulating the civil service from the peoples power. All this was meant to strengthen the hands of the conservative forces in Ghana vis-a-vis the popular forces led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Writing in *Africa Must Unite* Dr. Nkrumah generalises this strategy of imperialism as follows:

"As the nationalist struggle deepens in the colonial territories and independence appears on the horizon the imperialist powers, fishing in the muddy waters of communalism, tribalism and sectional interests, endeavour to create fissions

in the nationalist front, in order to achieve fragmentation" (p.173).

These "fissions in the nationalist front" are not haphazard. They are based on the trends within the national liberation movement. "In the dynamics of national revolution there are usually two local elements: the moderates of the professional and 'aristocratic' class and the so-called extremists of the mass movement. The moderates would like some share in their government but are afraid of immediate responsibility because they lack experience and skill. They are prepared to leave the main areas of sovereignty to the colonial power, in return for a promise of economic aid.

The so-called extremists are men who do not necessarily believe in violence but who demand immediate self-government and complete independence" (*Africa Must Unite* pp.179-180). Party.

THE IMPERIALIST DESIGN

The imperialists work with the first element of "moderates" and this association or alliance is the socio-economic foundation of neo-colonialism. And so it has been in Ghana where the "moderates" have assumed different names from time to time culminating with the label "United Party".

The imperialist design, when the constitution for

independence was being drawn up in 1956-1957, was to create conditions that will hamstring the drive to complete independence and socialism should

a hard fight in which the imperialists threw in their full weight on the side of the Opposition parties.

After independence the period 1957-60 was spent in devising a peoples constitution to replace the imperialist constitution. Sectionalism was checked through the Avoidance of Discrimination Act. The 'entrenched clauses' in the constitution were removed

joy the blessing of the people. However, this line of thinking was demolished by the plebiscite and Presidential elections in 1960.

BUSINESSMEN AND INTELLECTUALS

It is of great significance that the CPP won these elections in 101 out of 104 constituencies. Comparison with the pre-independence election results is very educative. At that election the CPP won 72 out of the 104 constituencies. The overwhelming popularity both of the CPP and of the constitutional changes was clear for all to see. Peoples power had been established and the Opposition Parties could not hope to upset it through a free verdict of the people themselves.

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drawn from two sources—the reactionary business and intellectual elements grouped around the United Party under the leadership of Dr. K. A. Busia and imperialist circles.

Not long after, a third source emerged. This is the group of businessmen inside the CPP. Their spokesmen were a few backbenchers in the National Assembly who, as events have later proved, were acting in concert with some ministers. This third prop of counter-revolution came into public view after the historic "Dawn Broadcast" April 1961.



Osagyefo visits a bomb victim at the Military Ho spinal. Behind him is Dr. Inkumsah, Minister of Health.

the C.P.P. remain in power and facilitate the creation of a regime of neo-colonialism should the National Liberation Movement come into power. Once this was done, it was only necessary to insist on a general election before independence.

The CPP won the pre-independence elections after

and the new state had effective power over the civil service. Peoples power was no longer a slogan or catchphrase. It had assumed constitutional reality.

But there was still a loophole left for the Opposition to exploit. It could argue that the constitutional amendments did not en-

force counter-revolution.

By mid-1960, with the introduction of a republican constitution, the forces of counter revolution were

It was determined to fight the CPP's drive to limit property acquisition by public men. The Dawn Broadcast was a broadside

Continued on page 3

NKRUMAISM

We published in Nos. 27, 28, 29, 31 and 32 issues of the SPARK, series on the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah.

We believe, we have embraced every aspect of the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah as far as the African revolution is concerned. We intend publishing the series into a pamphlet in order to stimulate discussion on what, to our mind, is Nkrumaism.

We appeal to our readers and all who are interested in the subject to send their views to us. The pages of "The Spark" are open to all contributors on this subject.

—EDITOR

meeting API News Agency announced that "anti-communist labour leaders vowed today to continue their general strike until it topples the government of Marxist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan."

In May this year, George Meany, the American labour boss who controls the I.C.F.T.U. boasted that 23 per cent of the A.F.

CIO's annual income was being spent abroad "on the front lines of the cold war". It is clear now that Meany considers Africa on the "front line".

The role of the I.C.F.T.U. in Africa has to be viewed with apprehension, especially in the context of the new strategy of the imperialists. While directing its main opposition to the I.C.F.

T.U. and the reactionary trade union centres in Africa, the AATUF must also expose the influence of imperialism and big business behind the I.C.F.T.U.

United labour action in Africa is as yet small in scale and often transient. As the imperialist offensive unfolds, so the opportunities will increase for united action on a wider scale and of

a more informed and permanent character. The united efforts of all African trade unions leaders are needed to develop and strengthen united action of the African working masses in defence of their interests, and to ensure that out of the experiences of action there will emerge a strong and veritable Pan-African trade unions movement.

BLACK ORPHEUS (I)

(Translated by G. L. Patterson from the original by Jean-Paul Sartre)

WHAT did you think would happen when you removed the gag that silenced the tongues of the Negroes? That they would sing your praises? When once those heads our ancestors had forced down to the very dust were raised, did you hope to read adoration in their eyes? Here now in these pages are Negroes standing upright on their feet, looking straight into our eyes, and I should like you to experience as I do, the rude shock of being seen. For three thousand years the whites have enjoyed the privilege of knowing what it is like to see and not be seen.

Their vision was purity itself. The light of their eyes drew all things from their primeval gloom, and the whiteness of their skin was but another aspect of vision, a light condensed. The man of the white race, white because he was a man, white as day, white as truth and virtue, lit up the world like a torch, revealing the innate, hidden whiteness of all things.

TORCHES OF EBONY

But now these black men turn their gaze upon us; and our own gaze is driven back. The scene has shifted. At present the world is lit by torches of ebony, and our white heads are like tiny lanterns swaying in the breeze. Without a care for us, a Negro poet sings softly to his love:

"Nude woman, black woman,
Clothed in your pigment which is life...
Nude woman, dark woman,
Fruit ripe for plucking, with flesh firm
And strong,
Dark ecstasies of darkened wine."

At once our whiteness appears to us like some strange, pale veneer cluttering up the pores of our skin, or like a white undergarment worn out at the elbows and knees. We have a shrewd suspicion that if we could but shed it, we would find real human flesh, the colour of dark wine. We fondly thought the world would perish if we left it, as harvests fail for lack of sunshine, or tides wait on the moon. We realise now that we are mere beasts in Nature's woodlands. Much less, in fact.

"Those city gentlemen,
So dapper, so correct,
Lost to the dance by moonlight,
Lost to the treat of naked feet,
Lost to the tale
Told in the watches of the night..."

EUROPE'S REMORSE

Even when we were Europeans by divine right, we began to feel our dignity waning at a glance from Americans or nationals of the Soviet Union. Already Europe had become an accident of geography, a peninsula driven by Asia out into the Atlantic. We thought we could at least retrieve a small portion of our greatness in the servile eyes of the African people. But servile eyes exist no more. Only fierce glances ranging freely over our world in judgment. Here, for instance, is a Negro strolling

"up to the very tip of their endless avenues studded with cops."

Another cries aloud to his brothers:

"Alas! Alas! The spider Europe stirs
Her fingers and her phalanges of ships."

A third speaks of "the stealthy silence of a Europe wrapped in gloom... where 'nought there is but time dishonours.'"

A Negro writes: "Hontparnasse and Paria, Europe with its endless torments, will be haunted by us, now as memories, now as anguished thoughts."

VANGUISHED CONQUERORS

And suddenly France strikes us as something exotic. It is a memory, nothing more, an anguished thought, a whiff of white fog clouding radiant souls, a tortured backwoods where life's not worth a moment's purchase.

She has drifted northwards and settled near Kamtchatka, but will surely need the sun, the tropical sun and the "isle-proliferating" sea, the roses of Imangué, the lilies of Jarive, the volcanoes of Martinique.

Being is blackness and the glow of fire. We are mere accidents of the beaten track, having to justify our customs and techniques, our sallow complexions, our verdigris vegetation. Those quiet withering glances eat into our very bones.

"Pray listen to the world of the white man,
Sore tried and weary of its mighty strain,
Reluctant limbs nigh broken 'neath th'impenetrable stars,
Hear how its stiffened girders of blue steel
Pierce through the mystic flesh,
And its great triumphs that portended gain,
Make woeeful moan.
Pray listen to its proud and fulsome pleas
That tell of mean and trembling fear,
Then pity those who vanquished us,
Conquerors they were, omniscient yet naive."

The game is up. Our victors are like vanquished soldiers lying on their backs, with entrails ripped and bowels open to the air. Between us, we have lost the fight. If we would break the chains that bind us in this prison of decrepitude, we can no longer count upon the privileges of our race, our colour or our skills.

If we would be received back into the fold of human kind whence we have been evicted by the glances of black folk, we must perforce discard our white undergarments, and try to be just men.

UNIVERSAL POEMS

And yet, if these poems fill us with shame, the result was unpremeditated. They were not written for us. All who dip into these pages, whether settlers or accomplices, will feel that they are reading over someone else's shoulder what was not meant for them.

The Negro poets in this collection address themselves to their Negro brothers and sisters, and speak of Negro folk. Their poems are not poems of satire, or imprecation. They are meant to awaken the consciousness of their readers.

"Well then", you will say, "what interest can they have for us, beyond a documentary interest? We cannot enter into their spirit". I should like to point the way into this world of black men, and show that this poetry which at first sight seems racial in character, is in actual fact a universal poem meant for all.

In short, I am now speaking to the men and women of the white race, and should like to explain to them what in fact is already common knowledge to black men; namely, why in his present situation the Negro is compelled to resort to poetry, first to express his consciousness of himself and conversely in the second place, why poetry as written in French by Negro poets, is today the only

vinced that only thus can he attain to freedom. He knows that if he hopes some day to manage a business, he will fulfil his dreams only when he acquires the necessary professional, economic and scientific skills.

He has practical knowledge of what poets call Nature, in abundant measure, but such knowledge has been gained by skill of hand rather than of eye. As far as he is concerned, Nature is Matter, a blind substance that resists, a stubborn, inert, inscrutable mass that must be moulded and fashioned by the instruments of his craft.

Matter is not imbued with the voice of song. At the same time the present phase of his struggle requires that he should act constantly in a positive manner. He must plan politically, make accurate forecasts, discipline and organise the masses.

POSITIVISM AND EFFICIENCY

In such a context it were treason to dream. The great themes that have daily to be wrestled with, such as rationalism, materialism and positivism, are hardly calculated to lead to the spontaneous creation of poetic fancies.

The latest of those incredible fancies, last night's "big show", has melted like snow before the imperious necessities of the daily round. He must attend to what is most urgent, take up

in relation to their Party obligations. The very language they use knows none of those light twists and turns, the ever-present, light-hearted unconventionality, and the play of fancy that make for poetry.

In their world of industry, they use technical terms with precise connotations. Parain has shown that the language of revolutionary parties is pragmatic in character. Its aim is to convey orders, words of command or information. Any dilution spells defeat for the Party. This tends in practice to an ever-increasing degree of insistence upon the elimination of the subject, while in point of fact poetry must in some sense be subjective.

The white workers have thus been deprived of a type of poetry that was at once social in content and subjective in origin, its social content stemming directly from its subjectivity, a form of poetry based upon an obvious inadequacy of language, yet not without the excitement and easy intelligibility typical of the clearest words of command, or the motto couched in these words: "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE", which you can see written over the city gates of Soviet Russia.

Consequently: the poetry of the revolution of the

The Negro is a victim of oppression, because he is black; a colonised native or a transplanted African. It is precisely because he suffers oppression as a member of a particular race that the first thing he becomes conscious of is his race. It could not be otherwise.

He must compel those who have vainly endeavoured for centuries to reduce him to the level of the beast merely because he is black, to acknowledge him as a human being. In this there is no possible escape, no subterfuge, nor any stunt such as "crossing the line" to which he can have recourse.

A Jew is a white person among other whites, and may deny his Jewish origin claiming to be just a man among many. The Negro cannot deny the fact that he is a Negro, nor claim for himself, this abstract colourless form of humanity. He is a black man.

Consequently, he is driven with his back to the wall, up against the stubborn fact. Insulted and enslaved, he pulls himself up, seizes upon the word "Negro" which has been hurled at him like a stone, and standing face to face with the white man, prides himself on being black.

UNITY OF THE OPPRESSED?

The ultimate unity that will bring all the oppressed together in a common struggle, must be preceded in the colonies by what I shall call the moment of separation or negativity. This type of anti-racial racialism is the only course that can demolish differences of race. It could not be otherwise.

Can the Negroes count on help from white workers who are, such a long way off, and at the same time preoccupied with their own struggle, before coming together and organising on their own soil?

Besides, there is a great deal of analysis to be done to discover the fundamental identity of interests beneath an obvious difference of conditions; for it is true that in spite of himself, the white worker stands to gain somewhat by colonisation.

Without it his standard of living, however low it may be, would be lower still. In any case he is not exploited with the same degree of cynical indifference as the wage-earner in Paris or Saint Louis.

Further, the degree of technical equipment and industrialisation available in European countries makes it possible to envisage the immediate implementation of socialist theory. Viewed from the Senegal or the Congo, socialism looks very much like a magnificent dream.

If the black peasants are to see it as the inevitable fulfilment of their immediate local claims, they must first learn to formulate these claims with a common voice. In other words, they must think of themselves as Negroes.

NEGITUDE

Actually, this awakening of consciousness differs in character from the attempt made by Marxist theorists to do the same thing for the white worker. The class consciousness of the Euro-

pean worker stems from the nature of profit and surplus profits, the present conditions governing the ownership of the means of production. In a word, the objective features of the working class position.

However, since the motivated contempt the whites exhibit towards the blacks, (an attitude not displayed by the bourgeoisie towards the working class), is meant to strike deep into their hearts, the Negroes must counter with a more accurate picture of their own subjective thinking. And so racial consciousness stems first from the Negro soul or -rather, to use a term that frequently occurs in this anthology, from a specific quality of thought and behaviour shared by all Negroes, that goes by the name of negritude.

Now, there are only two ways of proceeding where the formulation of racial concepts is concerned. You either treat subjective features objectively, or interpret in terms of the inner self, qualities that can be objectively observed.

Consequently, the Negro, vindicating the claims of negritude in a revolutionary movement, immediately adopts an attitude of reflection, whether he attempts to discover within himself a set of characteristics that have been objectively recorded in African civilisations, or extract from the most secret depths of his own being, the essence of the Negro soul.

POETRY AND SUBJECTIVITY

Thus we come back once more to subjectivity, the relationship of a person with himself, the source of all poetry, from which the white worker has had to cut adrift. The Negro, sounding a call to his coloured brothers to become conscious of themselves, will endeavour to give them a model picture of their negritude, and peer into the recesses of his soul to find it.

He would fain be at once a beacon and a mirror. The first revolutionary will be the harbinger of the Negro soul, the herald tearing negritude out of his own bosom to give it to the world, half prophet, half partisan, in short a poet in the precise connotation of the term "vates". Indeed Negro poetry has nothing in common with the effusions of the heart.

It is functional, designed to meet a need which accurately defines it. Turn over the pages of any contemporary anthology of poems written by white authors. You will find in them countless themes according to the poet's individual whims and fancies, his walk of life or country of origin.

In the type of poetry I am introducing, there is one sole recurrent theme, treated with varying degrees of success. From Haiti to Cayenne, one idea predominates: the revelation of the Negro soul. Negro poetry is evangelical. It proclaims the glad tidings of great joy that Negritude is rediscovered.

IN the early fifties there were two intellectual age-groups in the French speaking countries of Africa. The first group was represented by Leopold Senghor, the great poet who is now the President of Senegal. The second group was represented by French speaking African students in Paris.

We are publishing series of articles on the views these two groups represent. The first three series are on Negritude. Though Leopold Senghor represents this ideology, Paul Jean-Sarter, the great French philosopher, in his Black Orpheus did a lot to introduce the subject to the intellectual world.

After the three series on Negritude, we shall publish criticism of the subject by the second group of intellectuals. In certain parts of the second series, we shall discover the links between the Intellectuals of English speaking Africa and their counterparts in French speaking Africa.

Apart from the fact that the series provoke an intellectual exercise, and show the development of intellectual ferment in French speaking Africa during the early fifties, we have decided to publish these articles because two things show clearly:—

1. How "Towards Colonial Freedom" by Kwame Nkrumah and the struggle of Ghana influenced some of the leaders of thought in French speaking Africa and
2. How, in French-speaking Africa, culture forms the basis of all discussions.

—EDITOR—

great poetry of revolution that exists.

WHITE WORKERS MATERIALISTIC

It is no mere accident that the white worker seldom resorts to poetry as an outlet for suffering, anger or pride. Not that I think the labouring classes less "gifted" than the children of the bourgeoisie.

The saving grace of "talent" loses its meaning when we try to prove that a given class of society possesses it in greater measure than another. Nor can it be claimed that the labouring classes toil so hard that they have lost the urge to sing.

The slaves went through an ordeal far more gruelling, and yet they have left us songs. We must therefore face the facts, and seek the explanation of the workers' deliberate avoidance of poetic expression in the present circumstances of the class struggle.

Bowed beneath the crushing weight of techniques, the white worker yearns to become a technician con-

now this position, now that, raise this person's salary, decide to call a strike in sympathy, or protest against the war in Indo-China. Efficiency is all that counts.

Why, surely it is only right that the downtrodden, oppressed classes should first become conscious of themselves. Nevertheless, such consciousness is, in their case far removed from anything like introspection. For them it simply means recognising in terms of action their position as objective entities, and this can be determined by the vagaries of production and distribution.

United by a common struggle in a simple bond of suffering which spares none of them, the labouring classes know none of the contradictions that feed the springs of artistic expression, but at the same time run counter to the need of practical life.

PRAGMATISM AND REVOLUTION

As far as they are concerned, self-knowledge means attuning themselves

future has remained in the hands of young, well-intentioned bourgeois who found inspiration in their own psychological contradictions, the opposition between their own ideals and the social class to which they belonged, and the vaqueness of the old bourgeois tongue.

VICTIM OF OPPRESSION

The Negro is just as much a victim of our capitalistic system as is the white worker. As such, he appreciates the close bond of solidarity that exists between him and the oppressed classes in Europe, in spite of differences of colour.

He is led to envisage and proclaim a society without privilege, where the colour of one's skin will be regarded as something quite fortuitous. And yet, though the oppression is shared, it is coloured by history and geographical considerations.

AATUF and ICFTU

RECENT dis-affiliations of some national trade union centres from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and feverish activities surrounding a possible African regional conference of that organisation show that all is not well within the ICFTU camp.

Some observers attribute this state of affairs to the new spirit of African one-

ness generated by last May's Addis Ababa Conference of African leaders. The story, however, goes back much further.

For a few years after the second World War there was only one trade union movement embracing all workers of the world and giving concrete expression to the clarion call of socialism: WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

This organisation was the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). As soon as the brief post-war

by
X-ray

honeymoon between the East and the West wore off, Western trade union leaders engineered a split within the WFTU.

The result was the creation of the ICFTU which unites principally the TUC of Britain, the AFL-CIO of U.S.A. and the middle

of the road trade unions of Belgium, France and Italy. In short the ICFTU came into being, and remains, the organisation of the pro-imperialist trade unions of the West.

Quite naturally an important field of operation of the ICFTU has been Africa where every stragem has been used to bend African trade unions to the leadership of the trade unions of the West.

One of the results of the First Conference of Independent African States held in Accra in 1958, was the birth of the All-African Trades Union Federation (AATUF).

Its purpose, from its very inception, has been to weld all trade unions on the continent of Africa into one powerful body with an African leadership free of all encumbrances from outside Africa and dedicated to the struggle for the total liberation and complete independence of Africa.

It is natural that the ICFTU and the AATUF should clash. And this tussle has been going on

for some years now. The ICFTU has used its close relations with business houses in Africa—most of which incidentally are run by nationals of the Western countries that make up the ICFTU to plant so-called moderate leaders on African trade unions. Their view is that workers should seek rising standards of living within the existing economic system.

But the existing economic system is basically imperialist in character and militates against Africa's full independence.

A situation thus arises in which African workers—the vanguard of the African revolution—are being turned into the defenders of the status quo.

This unhealthy situation is the handwork of the ICFTU. And that is why this imperialist inspired organisation is rightly seen in many African circles as a menace to the African Revolution.

The conflict between the ICFTU and AATUF is a fundamental one. Must the African working class movement fight on the side

of the African Revolution? Or should it become an instrument for resisting the African Revolution? These questions must be answered NOW.

There is no room for any unification between

AATUF and ICFTU. What the situation demands is that all national trade union centres in Africa should sever their connections with the ICFTU and join the ranks of the

Revolutionalize African Sports—says Nkrumah

NOW that Africans are their own masters, and now that the end of colonialism in Africa is in sight, the world will show us little sympathy if we make no endeavour to project the African personality into the field of sports too.



"Your task must be to create a complete revolution in Sports on our continent!" —Kwame Nkrumah.

"Your task must be to create a complete revolution in the struggle and organisation of sports on our continent and to give sports that new orientation which shall lead to a total break with the colonial past.

"I have always followed with keen interest and great pride the glorious achievements of African sportsmen and sportswomen: the great performances of men like Abebe of Ethiopia and Ike Quartey of Ghana in the last Olympic Games.

"The phenomenal success of Antao, Kenya sprinter, at the last Commonwealth Games, the recent brilliant victories of world middleweight cham-

pion, Dick Tiger of Nigeria and the very impressive record of success after success by our own Black Star boys have all filled my heart with great joy.

"But these achievements are few and far between, because they do not stem from a concerted, continental planning which alone can mobilise the dispersed talents of our sporting youth into one mighty continental force, capable of holding its own with credit

and honour in major international competitions.

"The imperative need is for you to establish, as a matter of urgency, a Pan-African Sports Organisation that will think and plan in terms of the whole continent.

"That must be your contribution to the success of the African Revolution.

"As the Sporting Youth of Africa, you must understand and appreciate the mandate Africa imposes upon you to unite now and compete with the major sporting nations of the world, not as individuals of your separate states, but as one continental team of a Free and United Africa, animated by the one burning desire to bring dignity and glory to Africa.

"The tempo of the African Revolution and the present mood of the African masses demand the immediate execution of this mandate. I am sure, therefore, that you will not fail.

"Good luck to you and may God bless you all in your various endeavours."

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Continued from page 1

fired against what is technically known as the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (men who acquire wealth through their connections with state power and the state administrative machinery).

The effect of the Dawn Broadcast was far-reaching and electrifying. The dissenting business tycoons showed their anger by shouting "TUC is now UTC". The applauding masses replied with "One man one car."

The inevitable result was that elements of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie within the CPP gradually and cunningly teamed up with the United Party and the imperialists to resist the drive to socialism.

These three forces struck their first concerted blow

against the Ghana State in September 1961.

This attack contained three elements. The first was terrorism through dynamiting of public places. The aim was to create the impression inside Ghana and overseas that the people had revolted against the Government. The organisation for this was 'Ghana Patriots' based at Lome and directed by Dr. Busia's United Party.

BUSIA RECEIVES £50,000 FOR SUBVERSION

The Government of Togo at the time gave its backing to this organisation. Dr. Busia explained in a meeting in which Sylvanus Olympio was present that he

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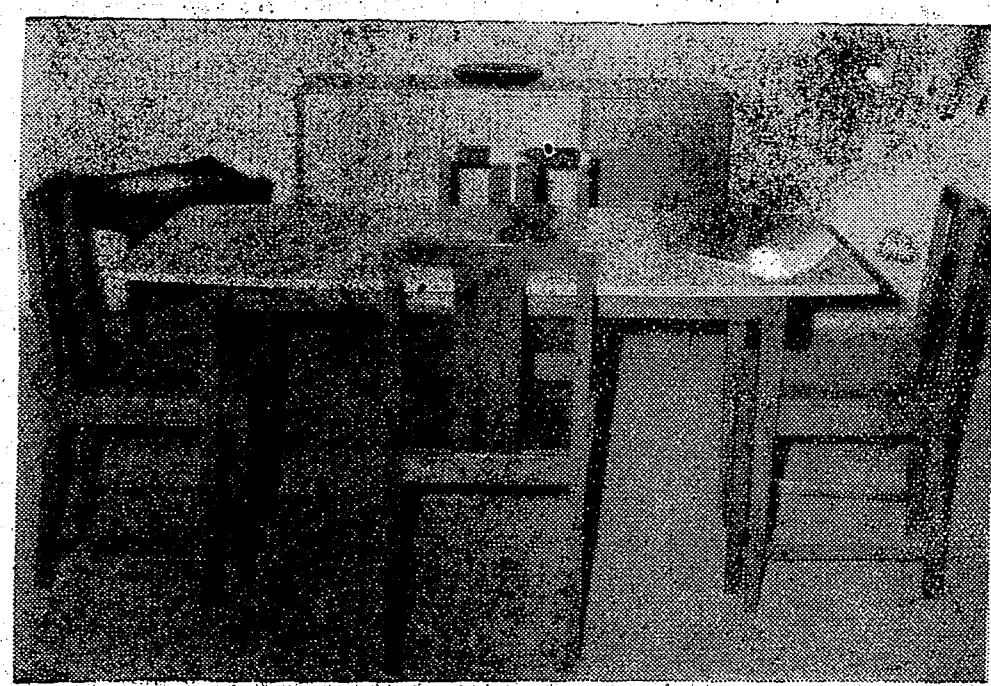
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A Reader Writes The Editor

c/o P.O. Box 701,
Accra.
22nd July, 1963.

The Editor,
The Spark,
P.O. Box M. 24,
Accra.

REF. PAMPHLET ON THE SERIES:
THE TEACHINGS OF
DR. KWAME NKURUMAH.

Dear Editor,

I write you to say thank you for the privilege given to the Public to send their views in compiling the pamphlet.

The teachings of Kwame Nkrumah as in your series on the building of Socialism in newly African States, a common front at International levels, and the liquidation of Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Capitalism and on the African Revolution etc. has been the most serious discussion not only in the Republic of Ghana but throughout the Continent of Africa. I have first, to thank our able writer by name Julius Sago for the way he tackled the subject with important interpretations and for his presentation.

The publication of the pamphlets is wel-

come news, and here are my views about the publication:—

1. The Pamphlet should be handy and presentable, and should carry photographs of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as well as those of the other African leaders, who are in agreement with his teachings.
2. The Pamphlet should be dedicated to the memories of African Freedom Fighters for the inspirations they drew from the teachings, and as an additional tonic in the African Revolution.
3. The cost of the pamphlet should be within the reach of the youth, workers, peasants and of all African freedom fighters.
4. The pamphlet should illustrate where Nkrumalism is in conformity with the Addis Ababa Charter to show the effects of Nkrumalism in the struggles for Mother Africa.
5. The pamphlet should include the Socialist Parties in Africa as carried by the early editorials in "The Spark."

Please accept the views in good faith. I thank you in anticipation.

(Sgd.) Vicenta

IMPERIALIST IN AFRICA

by Obotun Awuku

A SIGNIFICANT development in the Franco-American rivalry for spheres of influence in Africa consists in the recent announcement that a number of U.S. loans and grants have been made to French-speaking African countries.

Although the aid provided is generally on a small scale ranging from £32,000 for health services in Upper Volta to \$2.4m. for the provision of electricity to 12 administrative centres in Guinea, the significance of this first triumph for America should not be underrated. It marks a definite step forward in the vain competition between America and France to balkanise and dominate Africa for their own benefits.

Capitalism thrives in the fertile soils of imperialism. By the dictates of self-preservation, capitalism, for this reason, must needs expand to ensure its own existence. Impelled by this crucial necessity, America, as monarch of the capitalist world, has for long, through various and devious means, sought to build an imperial realm commensurate with her giant stature.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Her first attempt at imperialist expansion was in 1898 when she warred with Spain and snatched from her the rich lands of the Philippines and Puerto Rico, and gained influence over the northern part of South America and all of Central America as well as strategic control over the Pacific. Having tasted blood for the first time and found it good, the American eagle lust for more. She swooped down upon the helpless islands of the Caribbean and the Pacific. She even preyed upon China.

But America had entered too late into this ravenous expedition to build herself an empire as Britain or France had done. Above all she bitterly regretted her failure to participate in the rape of Africa. With the advent of Katanga as the richest source of uranium, the intensity of her chagrin could only be matched with the fervour of her hankering to share in the loot.

AMERICA IN AFRICA

America did not for long let her mistakes go uncorrected. Her imperialist expansion in Africa began with this consuming desire to control the sources of uranium not only in Katanga but in all parts of the world. This resulted in a struggle between her and the other imperialist powers. The struggle attained new dimensions during World War II and developed to even greater proportions in the postwar years.

The first strategic triumph came in April, 1950, when it was announced that the Bank of England was going to transfer all outstanding shares that the Tanganyika Concessions, "the principal projection of British monopoly interests in the Congo and Central Africa," had to the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.

Since then American influence in Africa has grown apace till today she is the mistress of the greater part of Africa. Where Britain, Belgium, Portugal and other colonial powers once ruled, America now, through subtlety, dictates policy and holds control over all that matters.

DOLLAR WARFARE

As has been noted above, American imperialism expands through various and

devious means. Unlike her invasion of the Western Hemisphere, the American invasion of Africa is not with bullets but with dollars. Armed with the Yankee dollar she proceeds with intrigues, stratagems and subterfuges, formenting upheavals but denying responsibility for them, but always proceeding unerringly, untiringly, unswervingly, until she sets up puppet governments which will do her will.

This has happened in Latin America, and is happening now in Africa. America's callous role in the Congo and the cold murder of Patrice Lumumba are well known. Posing as the champion of liberties, she calculatingly manoeuvred to turn the unrest she had engineered to her own advantage. When she was certain that her interests in the Congo had been safeguarded, peace and unity returned, at last to that discordant, dissevered and unhappy land.

CASH NEXUS

The motivating force of imperialism is self-interest; apropos this, morality, principles and all virtues pale into insignificance. American politics in regard to the policy of Apartheid in South Africa are condition-

ed by her economics in that country. She has hundreds of millions of pounds at stake in that country and will do nothing to endanger her financial interests there.

America's relation with every other African country is similarly actuated by this same harsh cash nexus. It is disarming, therefore, to see how fast she is gaining control over the affairs of state in several independent African countries.

In East Africa, she has gained footholds in Kenya and Tanganyika, strong props to strengthen her base in Ethiopia. In the West, Nigeria, has started a licentious flirtation with this capitalist Medusa.

This imperialist Gorgon, determined to take over Angola from the Portuguese, has adopted the strategy of supporting nationalists at the U.N.O. against Portugal. Pursuant to this aim, she has compelled Congo to recognise Roberto's government in exile. It is common knowledge that Roberto is in the pay of America.

Thus gradually, America is enclosing all Africa in the meshes of her imperialist network. She has reduced Britain, once the supreme empress of a quarter of the

CONTRADICTIONS

whole world, to the subservient status of a hanger-on content to play second fiddle to the champion of the new imperialism.

FRENCH OPPOSITION

In the post-war struggle for imperialist supremacy, America has prostrated all former imperial powers save France who has constituted herself into the greatest rival of the Giant of the West.

The bitter struggle is by no means confined to Africa. De Gaulle, the New Napoleon, dreams of a united Europe under the hegemony of France, equipped with her own nuclear striking force and constituting a formidable third force in world power politics.

In pursuance of this objective, de Gaulle is determined to stop at nothing. It is noteworthy in this connection that he crossed the ideological boundary to congratulate Krushchev for the recent Russian space triumph with these significant words: "The Old World has won again."

Moreover, de Gaulle's bald announcement that the recent partial nuclear test ban agreed upon by Russia, U.S. and Britain did not prevent France from carrying on with her own tests came as a surprise to nobody. In fact de Gaulle welcomes this as a great opportunity to narrow the yawning gap between France's puny nuclear force and those of the giants.

ATLANTIC UNION?

While France is labouring for a united continental Europe which leaves Britain beyond its pale, Spaaks, Foreign Minister of Belgium, is dreaming of an Atlantic Union embracing even America. But de Gaulle is not prepared to see Europe overshadowed by the American eagle.

So far, he has been winning in Europe in this vita-

nic struggle to keep U.S. beyond the Atlantic. He kicked Britain out of the Common Market because he believed America will use her as the bridge to cross over and take control of a unified Europe.

In Africa, General de Gaulle has been adopting several methods to oust America out of those territories where France still wields undisputed power.

His first step in this pursuit was to put fear into those French speaking African territories which showed the slightest sign of the unholy desire for the profaning Yankee dollar. But de Gaulle did not apparently leave his children destitute.

VEILED EXPLOITATION

He formed the FAC (Fonds d'Aide et de Co-operation) and the CCCE (Caisse Centrale de Co-operation Economique) for the purpose of aiding economic development.

It must be noted, however, that these organisations are in reality for the purpose of furthering French exploitation in these African countries. Investments through these organisations support French commercial and industrial enterprises engaged in the production of exportable crops and in the exploitation of minerals which are exported in their unprocessed forms to Europe.

Thus while France, through these organisations, persuades the African countries of her sincerity to assist in their economic development, and thereby hopes to succeed to clean their hearts of that hankering for the dollar, she is, in fact, subtly but most effectively draining the resources of these countries.

It is significant to note that the FAC is financed not by France but by the

European Common Market whose members, in pursuance of the concept of Euroafrica, and conscious of the incalculable gains to be derived from such attachment of under-deve-

loped African countries to industrialised Europe, have freely consented to France's use of their funds for this purpose.

Continued on Page 5



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Behind the headlines...

BIG BUSINESS IN SWAZILAND

BRITISH troops have been used to break the biggest strike in the history of Swaziland. Once again in Africa, workers have been beaten, tear-gassed, and arrested in hundreds. This time it was for demanding better wages and working conditions at the world's fifth largest asbestos mine.

For four weeks production was stopped at the Havelock mine at Emlembe. In the third week, when a one-day solidarity strike of Africans throughout the country suddenly broadened into a general strike, the British authorities became frightened and called for aid.

The Gordon Highlanders were flown in from Kenya, by courtesy of Sir Roy Welensky who gladly co-operated when asked to provide staging facilities and planes at Salisbury. This angered the Africans in Kenya who disliked the British bases any way, but delighted the settlers in the Rhodesias.

The Havelock asbestos mine employs 1,500 Africans and 160 Europeans. It was opened in 1938 and cost £75,000 to bring into production in 1939 when output was 4,591 tons worth £95,900.

In 1961 output was 30,792 tons valued at £2,500,000—40 per cent of the total value of all exports from Swaziland.

A thirteen-mile aerial cableway carries the asbestos fibre over the north-west frontier into the railhead at Barberton, Transvaal. Most of the Havelock output is exported to the U.K., and to South Africa, France and Spain.

HUGE PROFITS

The Havelock mine is operated by Amianthus Mines (Pty.) Ltd. of Johannesburg, but this company is wholly owned by the British asbestos monopoly, Turner and Newall of Manchester. This huge concern advertises itself with the words: "Worldwide leadership in asbestos, plastics and insulation."

Trading profits last year were £15,638,000 and the previous year they reached

just over £19 million. Fixed and current assets total over £100 million.

The principal U.K. companies in the group are Turner Brothers Asbestos of Rochdale, J.W. Roberts of Bolton, Glass Fabrics of Dungannon (Ulster), Ferodo of Chapel-le-Frith, Turners Asbestos Cement of Manchester, Washington Chemical and Newall's Insulation of Washington (Co. Durham), Stillite Products of London and Stockton, Raw Asbestos Distributors of Manchester and British Industrial Plastics of Birmingham.

The group has factories turning out asbestos and plastic products in nineteen places in the U.K., and in U.S.A., Canada, Brazil, South Africa, Nigeria, India, Australia and Eire. Besides Havelock in Swaziland, it has mines in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Canada.

The chairman of Turner and Newall and of New Amianthus, is Ronald Soothill whose thirteen directorships include three big insurance companies and the District Bank, which has the T. & N. account.

The son of a clergyman, he spent six years with

by
Arthur James

Cadbury's before joining I. & N. in 1928; and lives in a house named The Manor at Maids Moreton, Birmingham.

AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT?

In his 1960 report to the shareholders he spoke of visiting the group's mines in South Africa and Swaziland, and said that:

"in their smoothness of operation and freedom from interruption, political or otherwise, they were at that time, as they still are, in an entirely satisfactory condition. Our mining companies have long been pioneers in African advancement and this sound policy is continuing unabated."

This must have sounded good to the miners at Havelock whose basic annual average wage in 1961 was, according to the Colonial Office, £45-£47 pounds a year, plus "quarters and rations".

The strike at Havelock

began with a demand—rejected, of course—for £1 a day minimum wage.

The Royal Commonwealth Society advises British citizens going to Swaziland that:

"£800 per annum for a married man (no children) and £500 per annum for a single man may serve as a rough guide for the basic expenses of daily life (making no allowances for such things as the upkeep of a car or for more than trivial expenditure on tobacco or alcohol, or for saving, or holidays, which are usually expensive). Owing to the lack of public transport a car is almost a necessity."

There is this further information on the cost of servants:

Cook/houseboy, £4-£6 a month, plus rations (about £2).

2nd boy/girl, £3-£4 10. a month, plus rations (about £2).

Garden boy, £2-£4 a month, plus rations (about £2).

Among the directors of Turner and Newall is Alan Russell, managing director of the merchant bankers J. Henry Schroeder Wragg. He is also a director of Legal and General Assurance and of the British end of International Business Machines of U.S.A.

EXPLOITATION

The mineral potential of Swaziland is very rich, but strictly not for Swazis. Near Havelock, on the Highveld, Mount Ngwenya rises from the Bomvu Ridge. This mountain seems to be practically solid iron. Deposits are estimated at 100 million tons—60 per cent pure.

With loans from the Colonial Development Corporation, the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa and Guest, Keen and Nettlefold of Britain, have combined to set up the Swaziland Iron Ore Development Co. to dig out the ore and sell 12 million tons of it to Japan for £40 million in the next ten years.

To get the ore to Laurence Marques, the Indian Ocean port of Mozambique, a 137-mile railway costing £8-£9 million is being built across Swaziland to link up with the rail system in the Portuguese colony. (Anglo-American is already digging out one-third of South Africa's gold and coal, two-thirds of the Rhodesias' copper, and through De Beers controls one-third of the world's diamond output).

When the iron ore and railway plans were announced in September 1961, Bernard Braine, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, said the scheme was "a happy example of the importance Her Majesty's Government attaches to its trusteeship. To those who are filled with forebodings about all the stresses and strains in Africa this must seem like an act of faith. That is what it is. In fact we have great faith in the future of Swaziland" (The Times, 15. 9. 61). Nineteen months later Mr. Braine's colleagues are putting their faith in tear-gas and the Gordon Highlanders.

Imperialist Contradictions in Africa

Continued from page 4

ASSASSINATIONS

In the face of all these concerted efforts to confine her to the Western hemisphere, America has remained undaunted. She has for long been struggling with France for the control of North America where she still retains bases in Morocco and Libya.

French answer to American intrigues in this region is the idea of a Maghreb Union. American counter-moves in other parts is to infiltrate into such important French speaking African countries as the Ivory Coast, the Niger and later Chad.

Such moves and counter-moves have often culminated in attempts at assassination and in political unrest. When after Bizerta, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia began to toy with the idea of alignment with America, attempts were made to assassinate him. The imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues which led to the assassination of Sylvanus Olympio of Togoland are quite well-known.

MICRO-UNIONS?

But the war for Africa is not only a conflict between America and France. It is a three cornered fight consisting also of the combat of the great masses of the African peoples to drive away these and all other foreign exploiters.

Against this more formidable force, both America and France find it expedient to employ strategems and chicaneries to blindfold the African peoples—each claiming to be the truer champion of their rights and interests but in reality seeking her own.

Such is the method employed by de Gaulle in regard to the Addis Ababa Summit Conference. He was the first among foreign Heads of State to welcome the African Char-

ter; but he put a different interpretation on its cardinal contents.

He openly talked of micro-unions in the parent body of the Organisation for African Unity. The concept of micro-unions consists in the idea of independent autonomous states forming regional and economic groupings which in turn form part of the larger union at the top.

Thus a union of micro-unions is one removed from a confederation, and is therefore looser and far weaker. While a confederation cannot operate upon the peoples of the nation, except through the different states forming the confederation, a union of micro-unions cannot even operate directly on the different independent states.

It has to pass through the different groups. Evidently this is no union at all, but something even looser than a council of understanding.

This then is the danger contained in the interpretation of our Charter given by de Gaulle. It is an attempt not to only to thwart any effective union between African states and by that means retain his stranglehold on the French speaking African nations, but is also a strategy to keep American imperialism out of Africa.

A DIVIDED HOUSE

In view of the intense rivalry and animosity between France and America, the news of any dollar aid, however, small, will be far from pleasing to President de Gaulle. This announcement will no doubt intensify their mutual antagonisms and thus the hostilities within the capitalist camp will turn to grow.

With the evident fascist tendencies in France, James S. Allen's remark in his book "World Monopoly and Peace", deserves

some consideration in these times. He writes:

"Fascism itself is the symptom of extreme capitalist crisis, the specific state form under which monopoly capital in Germany and in a number of other countries sought to resolve by force and at the expense of the people the inner contradictions of the social system."

"Far from making possible a uniform capitalist front against the Soviet Union, the coming to power of fascism in some countries accentuated the antagonisms among the capitalist nations. The inner conflicts of the capitalist world—within nations and between them—outweighed the tendency towards a common front of the ruling classes against socialism even before the anti-Soviet ideologists realised it."

"When war finally did burst forth, it came in the Far East in the form of an attack by Japan upon the colonial preserves of the other important powers, and in Europe in its critical stage as a conflict among the capitalist countries themselves."

"This was a dramatic expression of the uncontrollable contradictions inherent in capitalism, of the inability—nay, the impossibility of its reactionary statesmen to marshal world forces for a given end."

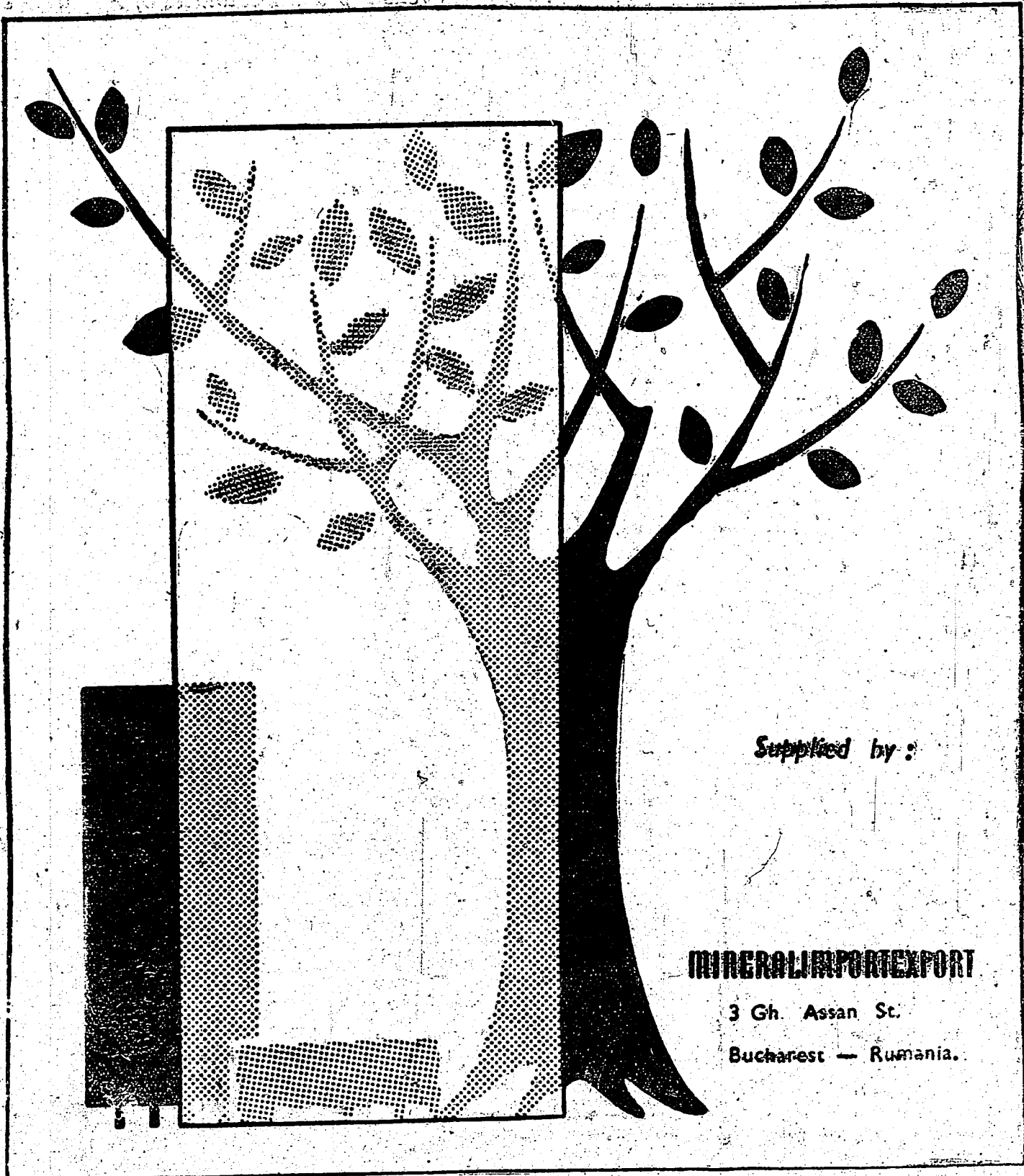
It is a trite but true saying that "history repeats itself." It is the hope of the world that the world shall be saved from the unthinkable horrors of a nuclear war. But if ever hostilities should break out, it is a safe guess that the opposing combatants will not be the adherents of capitalism against the adherents of socialism—capitalist America against socialist Russia—but rather capitalist America against capitalist France.

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Anatomy of Counter-Revolution

(Continued from page 3)

3rd JULY, WEDNESDAY:

ETHIOPIA: The Ghanaian Ambassador, Mr. E. M. Debra, in honour of Ghana's Republic Anniversary Celebrations gives reception to Emperor Haile Selassie, Cabinet Ministers, members of Diplomatic Corps and 400 distinguished guests.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Vice-President of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr. Richard Haldane, declares at a news conference that by virtue of her membership of the U.N., South Africa qualifies automatically for membership of the I.L.O.

KENYA: The new British military base in Kenya has been completed at a cost of £3,500,000.

SENEGAL (Dakar): African diplomats in Senegal pay warm tribute to Senegalese President, Leopold Senghor, for his part in the reconciliation of Mali and Senegal.

ROME: The Togolese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Apedo Amah, leader of Togo Government's delegation to Accra, says that his government is considering opening an Embassy in Accra.

NYASALAND: A store supervisor in the Ministry of Works and Housing, Mr. George Hitchell, is ordered by a local Court at Mxuzu to pay £40 sterling as compensation for touching the buttocks of a married African woman.

NIGERIA: A four-man Ghanaian delegation arrives in Lagos to inspect and collect information about university medical education and institutions in Nigeria.

4th JULY, THURSDAY:

GHANA: A former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ako Adjei, now in detention, is expected to appear before an Accra court on August 5th on fraud charges.

GUINEA: The head of the African Radio and Television, Mr. Alpha Dialo, says in Conakry that the Union Council will meet in Dakar, Senegal, from July 29 to 31.

The meeting will be attended by Radio and Television officials from Ghana, Cameroon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Togo and the U.A.R.

The agenda includes preparations for the Union's general Assembly due to be held in Brazzaville, Congo.

KENYA: Miss Margaret Kenyatta, daughter of Kenya's Prime Minister, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, begins her official activities in Washington with a visit to the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

5th JULY, FRIDAY:

GHANA: The Association of Ghanaian Journalists celebrates ALGERIA NIGHT at a Press Club to mark the first anniversary of free Algeria.

TANGANYIKA: Algeria and Guinea have contributed their one per cent National budgets to the African Liberation Movement as agreed upon at the Addis Ababa Summit.

6th JULY, SATURDAY:

ALGERIA: The Algerian Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Bella reveals that some industrialists discuss the formation of a "Tshombe Government" in Algeria.

TANGANYIKA: The African National Congress of South Africa sends a four-man delegation to appear before the United Nations sub-committee on apartheid.

ETHIOPIA: Portuguese Embassy sources say that Ethiopia has severed diplomatic relations with Portugal and that Liberian authorities intend doing the same.

8th JULY, MONDAY:

ANGOLA: Angolan patriots prepare for a general offensive

against the Portuguese colonialists. Active mobilisation of the forces of the freedom fighters for the freedom of Angola is going on throughout the country.

TOGO: Morocco gives recognition to the Togolese government of President Nicholas Grunitzky.

CONGO (Leopoldville): A Congolese member of Parliament and a former Vice-Premier, Mr. Jason Sendwe, has been arrested by the provincial authorities. Mr. Sendwe is also President of the Balubakat Party which opposes Moise Tshombe.

TANGANYIKA: Tanganyika observes a public holiday in commemoration of the ninth anniversary of the founding of the leading Tanganyikan African National Union.

9th JULY, TUESDAY:

GHANA: The Ghana Government in a note calls the British Government's attention to the serious consequence of failing to take the Legislative opportunity which is now open to it to end racial discrimination and unrepresentative Government in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia.

TANGANYIKA: President Julius Nyerere says the racial disturbances in the United States has created a bad impression about Americans in the outside world.

10th JULY, WEDNESDAY:

MOROCCO: An inter-Parliamentary Conference to be attended by about 100 political figures of Africa and Europe is to be held in Rabat on July 13.

NIGERIA: The Coalition Government of Western Nigeria withdraws all its offers in a regional administration to the opposition Action Group.

U.A.R.: President Hamani Diori of Niger receives an enthusiastic welcome from workers when he visits a tyre factory at Smouha.

KENYA: A Government statement will be made shortly on plans to implement a boycott of South African goods.

NIGERIA: Segun Awolowo, 25-year-old barrister and son of Nigeria's Action Group Leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, dies in hospital from injuries sustained in a car accident.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Mr. Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the Angolan Liberation Democratic Front, announces that the Four-Party Democratic Front for the Liberation of Angola has expressed its readiness to participate in the Government of Mr. Holden Roberto, leader of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile.

11th JULY, THURSDAY:

KENYA: Mr. Fred Kubai, Kenya Government Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, declares that seasoned freedom fighters, who backed Jomo Kenyatta in the early days of the Kenya struggle, are being recruited for service in the African Liberation Army to fight for the freedom of the fascist ruled states on the continent.

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. D. W. Ewer, a professor of entomology and zoology at Rhodes University for the past nine years leaves South Africa for Ghana because he feels nothing scientific can be accomplished in the Pretoria regime by a scientist who does not consent to propping up apartheid.

Dr. Ewer is to take up a zoology professorship at the University of Ghana.

TANGANYIKA: Mr. Joe Fio N. Meyer, first African diplomat to be accredited to Tanganyika and also Ghana High Commissioner in this country pays a farewell call on President Julius Nyerere at state house. Mr. Meyer leaves Tanganyika finally for Ghana.

got the sum of £50,000 "to fight the Ghanaian Government, which he said had come from commercial interests in Ghana" (Statement by the Government of Ghana on the Recent Conspiracy p.23).

The second element was the Takoradi-Sekondi workers strike. Although claimed to be a protest against the

on when the President was away on his tour of Eastern Europe, the strike remnants returned to work after his broadcast appeal in which he drew

President was out of reach, the attack fell on the crowds who turned out in their thousands to demonstrate their support and loyalty to the President and



A protest march by both old and young—a scene which became nation-wide just after the abortive attempt on Kwame's life.

Budget in general and compulsory savings in particular, these strikes were portrayed to the outside world as a fight for the overthrow of the government. Financial support was sought from the U.S.A.

In a cablegram to Secretary, Longshoremen, New York City, the strikers said:

"Dockers and Railway men on strike stop Appeal financial moral support in struggle against government control of unions and for survival of parliamentary democracy stop Reply urgently required."

This cablegram was later discovered to be forged by agents of the United Party who were the behind-the-scene planners of the Takoradi-Sekondi strikes.

The third element was the Army. Expatriate Officers, largely British, were expected not to take part in any use of the troops for internal security purposes. This will clear the way for a few Ghanaian army officers who were in touch with the Gbedemah group to take control of the Army and establish an army regime.

This plot is exposed in detail in an official document "Statement by the Government on the Recent Conspiracy" W.P No. 7/61 of 11th December 1961. The use of the Army was even referred to in an article in the London TIMES of June 1961 in the words:

"... there are people in Accra who weep for Ghana and they are putting their hope in Mr. Gbedemah and the army—a growing power in the land."

Gbedemah of course based his influence over some army officers on tribalism.

BUREAUCRATIC BOURGEOISIE

This putsch by the three anti-popular groups—the imperialist, the united party and elements of bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the CPP—failed. Its failure revealed the powerful appeal of the person of Dr. Nkrumah to the people of Ghana. Though the strikes were

attention to the political character of the strikes. This fact is of great significance because it showed that any coup d'etat which does not completely get rid of Dr. Nkrumah is not likely to get the support of the majority of the people.

This discovery opened the way to the next effort in this unfolding process of counter-revolution. Nkrumah was to be assassinated and the group to take over must appear to the public to be the true political heirs of Nkrumah.

Accordingly, it was necessary to groom a core of men who must pose publicly as the most loyal aides of Nkrumah and the standard bearers of socialism. Naturally, this group of men must come from within the CPP and must be closely associated with the President.

The inducement for them was the chance of becoming the supreme political power of the land. Opportunism was now considered the best weapon in the armoury of counter-revolution. This group was the Adamafo clique.

The opportunist group led by Adamafo quickly settled down to scheming with the former groups of counter-revolutionaries. It linked up with the United Party elements in Lome through that party's chairman who personally directed the activities of a small band of grenade throwers.

MIRACULOUS ESCAPE

In the meantime drastic steps were taken by the Ghana Government to raise an officer corps in the Ghana Army loyal to the socialist revolution. This was the complete Africanisation of the Command in the Army.

The forces of counter-revolution struck again at Kulungugu, August 1, 1962. Dr. Nkrumah, in his own words, had a "miraculous escape" from a British Army Mark 36 field grenade which exploded barely six feet away.

This was followed by several bomb attacks in Accra. And even when the

the socialist programme of the CPP.

In these attacks, designed to break the morale of the people, British and French grenades were used by a gang directed by a group of United Party leaders based in Lome, Togoland.

As was the case in the September 1961 attempt, a section of the Western press exposed its contacts with the anti-government groups. They all sang the same tune—the Kulungugu attack was a plot of the left socialists against Nkrumah.

Their tactic was clear. Since intrigues with the opportunist Adamafo clique had failed to get rid of the President (hence socialism), Nkrumah must be persuaded to abandon socialism by being led to believe that the designs on his life came from socialist fanatics.

FORCES OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The common denominator in both efforts is to force a retreat from the socialist path of development formally approved at

the July 1962 Party Congress at Kumasi. To summarise, the forces of counter-revolution in Ghana are made up as follows:

- i. the imperialists who want Ghana to be a neo-colonialist state;
- ii. the traditional opposition group of reactionary business men and intellectuals who want a capitalist society in Ghana;
- iii. the bureaucratic bourgeoisie within the CPP who tolerate socialist slogans but want no real advance towards socialism;
- iv. the opportunist elements within the CPP who are prepared to gamble away the socialist programme of the Party for the satisfaction of personal lust for power;
- v. Togo elements who want the Volta Region of Ghana incorporated in Togo as a quid pro quo for supporting counter-revolution in Ghana.

In the pursuit of its objective—a state of neo-colonialism in Ghana—the counter-revolutionaries use elements in the officer corps of the Army, misguided workers' leaders, squads of dead-end kids and hired killers. These diverse elements are welded together by a combination of tribalism, short-sighted inflammatory agitation against aspects of Government policy, and hypocritical appeal to abstract notions of justice and parliamentary democracy.

HOW TO BEAT IT DOWN

Are counter-revolutionary intrigues in Ghana over? The steps taken to weather the storm in the past show the line alone which the Revolution will be saved and consolidated.

The first is the Africanisation of the public services, particularly the Army and the Police.

This will eliminate the links through which imperialism, exploiting nationalist feelings of expatriate officers, can develop intrigues against the safety and security of the state. Side by side with this, the newly created corps of African officers must be given a thorough education in the ideology of socialism and the Party programme.

Secondly, the drive to socialism should be pushed

ahead without let or hindrance. This will generate more enthusiasm among the masses and possibly convince the counter-revolutionaries that it is futile to dream of holding up the socialist revolution.

In the third place, party leadership and the government should be insulated against all forms of opportunism. This is best achieved by developing the party's links with the broad masses; by setting up party branches in all work places; by vesting leadership of the party branches in working class elements with a clear understanding of the line of march; by making every new member in the party (especially those who once had other political affiliations) serve a period of supervised apprenticeship and wait their turn in appointments to important offices; by developing self-criticism, sincere comradeship and real democracy within the party; by subjecting all party leaders and Ministers to effective party discipline, and by breaking down the cordon of self-seeking middlemen between the Leader and the people.

SOCIALIST EXPERIMENT

It should be noted that within the African context, to safeguard the socialist Revolution means beating back the forces of neo-colonialism and colonialism throughout Africa.

The efforts of counter-revolution in Ghana have a significance far beyond the frontiers of Ghana. For the socialist experiment in Ghana is not important only to the Ghanaian people but also to all the peoples of Africa. Ghana's success opens the way to similar experiments elsewhere in Africa.

Nkrumah was right when after Kulungugu he said that "this bomb was not aimed simply at me as Kwame Nkrumah, but through me at Ghana and Africa."

And he accurately portrayed the meaning of Ghana to all Africa when at the lighting of the flames ceremony in Accra on 1st July this year Nkrumah said:

"I light this flame not only in the name of the people of Ghana but also in sacred duty to the millions of Africans elsewhere to whom we are bound by common destiny. Let all of us here present remember that the defence of our freedom is the unity of Africa... I now light this flame and may it burn perpetually as a symbol of victory for our cause."



A section of the mammoth crowd at Accra Airport awaiting the arrival of Osagyefo the President from Tamale after his miraculous escape from the Kulungugu bomb incident.

