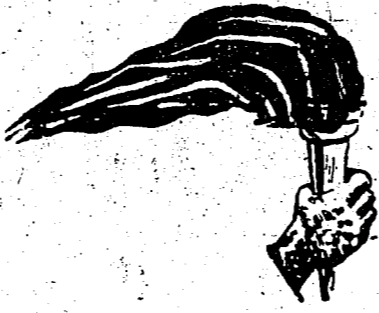


# THE SPARK



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A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1963

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

## EDITORIAL

### Continental Peoples Movement (I)

IT is becoming clearer everyday that just as organised pressure from below has been the most effective weapon against colonialism, so also are mass movements of the people the most potent instrument for bringing neo-colonialism and apartheid to their knees. And now as neo-colonialism is working on an all-Africa basis, the mass movements of the people must be co-ordinated on a continental basis and made to fight with a continental strategy:

Last May's Addis Ababa Conference provided Africa with a single programme of action—the historic African Charter. The Charter calls for a resolute fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid. It is true that concerted action by African states in the international arena has increased the isolation of South Africa. Nor can it be denied that Portugal and Spain have been forced to have second thoughts about the trend of events in their colonial territories.

All this notwithstanding, imperialism has made great strides since Addis Ababa Conference, in strengthening its defences against the tide of the African Revolution. Indeed, from a long-term point of view, imperialism has made more gains than the African Revolution since Addis Ababa.

We have made gains towards isolating South Africa but are these not largely offset by the continued supply of arms to that country, the building of armaments factories in that country, and its continued trade with Britain, U.S.A. and France which, in any case, handle the bulk of South African trade? Our moves against South Africa have been mostly in the nature of harassing actions. But though harassing actions are useful, a war can only be won through full-scale offensive actions that destroy the enemy's war potential.

We have made gains in Southern Rhodesia, no doubt. But the sleek manoeuvres of imperialism over Angola and in

continued on page 6

# One Continent with One Government

"FOUR months after Addis Ababa Conference, the tempo of development in Africa has been such that this charter is already being overtaken by events. The Foreign Ministers' Conference in Dakar has already made the contradictions contained in this compromise explode into the open. What is needed now is to press forward strongly and push forward all the time. What is needed is to find out new ways, and to progress at a fast pace, because neo-colonialism like a monster is watching us, with all its aggressiveness, always on the ready to conquer and strengthen its strongholds in Africa. Its machinery for exerting pressure on us is well greased, so to say, and its main instrument is regional divisions, the balkanisation of the continent."

*In front of me, Kwame Nkrumah is sitting with the chin slightly forward, the arms on the knees, and he stresses his sentences by pounding one hand with the other as if he wants to make his words even stronger by doing so.*

The President of Ghana, who is the most praised and possibly the most hated among African leaders, dynamic and enthusiastic, seems always ready for the struggle even when just talking. Our interview lasts for more than one hour, and all this time, his voice remains warm and passionate.

"I must say that I was myself amazed at Addis Ababa to see some of the African leaders gathered there signing the text of the compromise we had finally reached." He continues. "In fact, if they had not at least signed this compromise—even a compromise as it was—the masses would not have allowed them to land in their own countries. This is because in the concrete conditions of our continent, the peoples have already gone further than the official political systems in their countries. For instance, look at countries like Chad, Ivory Coast and Nigeria, where you find a situation almost reaching the breaking-point, a situation where the neo-colonialist structure cannot help being overcome by the continuously accelerating evolu-

tion of the political consciousness of the African masses. "What we need now is that the consciousness of the masses must become the decisive factor, in view of the fact that the bright shopwindow of formal independence is no longer cheating anybody, and the fundamental dependent relationships between the emerging nations and the former colonial powers are becoming noticed. The masses see that national development is being hampered, if not completely stopped, customs barriers remain as before, financial policy is still controlled from the colonialist capitals; and those are only a few examples. "This is a very dangerous situation existing in former French territories as well as in some of the English speaking territories in East

Africa. There is a special danger arising from all these semi-independent states lagging behind the movement for Africa's genuine and complete liberation. Each time they are faced with any problem involving the colonialists and their policies, especially those involving dominated African peoples, these governments in many ways still tied up to their "Protectors", show no reluctance in taking the same stand as the neo-colonialists.

"We have to reckon with this fact. They are not few. There are African leaders who consider the struggle of their still subjected brothers as something alien to their own business. Some even argue this way: We boycott the Portuguese and pass strong resolutions without taking into account that by boycotting Mozambique, we are strangling the neck of Nyasaland."

At this juncture, we touch the Addis Ababa Conference and the appreciation of what it has achieved. From Kwame Nkrumah's point of view, Addis Ababa only initiated a new state of the development and struggle in Africa, and it has been rather a starting base, detecting and disclosing a crisis, than a place of arrival. Out of the opposite factors which confronted them has arisen a new dimension in the development of the struggle for African unity. But there is no real agreement on the methods and the basic principles.

One is at the same time surprised and comforted to find such equilibrium, such a calm and steady ability to evaluate a situation in a man who for 30 years, has been fully engaged in the political struggle and has been working for organisations and papers concerned with Pan-Africanism even at a time when this might seem to be more remote than any myth.

Having studied in half a dozen American universities, where the subjects he studied ranged from theology to philosophy (his doctorate thesis was on logical positivism), as well as researches in sociology, Kwame Nkrumah was then led to enter politics. He became the Chairman of the Association of African Students in America and

Canada. These various experiences led him, as he puts it himself, "to think in terms of an African nationalism and to come to the conclusion that the black race would never be safe unless it could live in a free independent Africa."

As he gets up from behind his big desk in the Cabinet where I am entering, he starts speaking from a distance:

*mes by which every single act has been inspired."*

"Nevertheless, there always has been a main thread throughout all our particular decisions; and this thread has been nothing else but the fundamental principles which have directed our way of development. It is a well known fact that colonial rule has made impossible for our country as well as

*"Well", answers Nkrumah, "have you noticed the gentleman who came out from here just before you entered this room? He is the representative of one of the biggest world metallurgical trusts (and here, he*

WE reproduce this week a translation of an interview Mr. Giorgio Signorinia had with President Kwame Nkrumah early this month. It appeared in Italian in the Saturday October 5 issue of 'Paese Sera', a progressive Italian daily with a circulation of 2½ million. (Turn to page 6). Mr. Signorinia who is a special correspondent of 'Paese Sera' is a well-known writer on international affairs.

We have decided to publish the interview because 'The Spark' strongly holds the view that Kwame Nkrumah is an outstanding revolutionary of our age, a remarkable seer and activist who has a clear vision of the way to Africa's greatness and doggedly follows this path, unabashed by capitalist manoeuvres and intrigues.

*quotes a name, actually well-known and suggestive), he came with an offer to build in Ghana a big metallurgical plant.*

*"The project involved very large investments, but linked with conditions about the shareholding which would have excluded any action from our Government. We are not going to grant this request.*

*"The frontier-line you made reference is not easy to fix. I would like to say that somehow, it is beyond the range of a strict theory. What is obvious is that any economic aid should be free of any political strings; but, apart from that we have also to take into consideration the price policy eventually pursued by the enterprise once the investments have been made. We have to take into consideration whether the Government of the emerging country shall get control of an equitable share of the stocks within a reasonably short time, and,*

Continued on page 6



"It is the first time since 2 years that I receive a journalist, for I have noticed that the interviewers usually bring nothing but confusions and misunderstandings. However, if you think that it is time to make a review of Africa's problems today, then I would be happy to help you in this field."

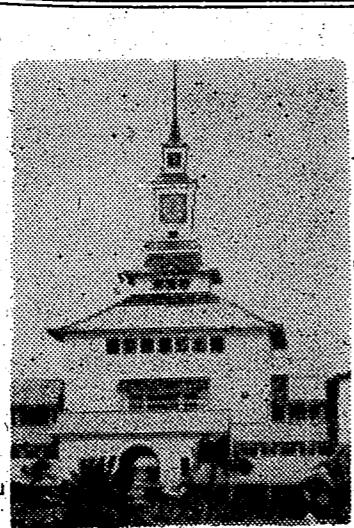
What we are now entering is a genuine discussion, sometimes interrupted by some, witty slightly paradoxical, remarks from the President.

Ghana's economic and political development and the clear trend towards socialism which the President is determined should be followed by the country, these are the themes of the first part of this discussion. I ask: "Is it possible to speak of an African socialism, or would it not be more correct to say that Ghana is a country where a socialism without any adjective added is being developed?"

"There is no such thing as 'Socialism,'" answers Nkrumah, "there is only one socialism, scientific socialism, and Ghana is following the path of this scientific socialism. We have not been always able to state it in a clear-cut manner in all our statements, in all our program-

for all subjected countries to have significant national capital accumulation; at least an accumulation of such a size that would have enabled national private investments in the industrial development field. We therefore will be right if we say that only the government has at its disposal the necessary material means for building the foundations of social and economic development, it is thus left to the government to achieve it. Moreover, socialism is the one choice left to us, since it implies the collective ownership of means of production; land and all its products, as well as the collective use of all these means in order to satisfy the needs of the whole people."

In the face of a political stand so clearly stated, a question arises about the ways to be followed to achieve a socialist development of the country; this involves the problem of the criteria to be adopted regarding the degree to which foreign economic aid could be suitable and could be accepted. "What is the frontier-line beyond which the necessary foreign aid would become only the neo-colonialist Trojan horse?", I ask.



## Next Issue

*IN response to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's sessional address to the Parliament of Ghana on October 15, THE SPARK is turning its search-light on the universities in Ghana.*

*We start next week a series of articles on the subject with the belief that it will stimulate discussion and help the authorities to greater activity, tightening the loose ends and putting right what is amiss.*

*We must emphasise however that THE SPARK believes that our education must be completely in harmony with the prevailing conditions of our society.*

—EDITOR.



# Africa after Addis Ababa

THE tempo of development in Africa, since Addis Ababa, has been such that this Charter is already being overtaken by events. It has become clear that we must move forward quickly, with a united voice, to a Union Government of Africa.

In accordance with the spirit of the Charter, the African States have been able to present a unified front in the United Nations and at other international conferences. This unanimity, this community of vision, has not been easy.

## CENTRAL MACHINERY

It has been achieved as a result of tedious consultations involving long delays and even the risk of failure to agree. Our actions would have been swifter, bolder and more effective if there had been in existence a strong, central political machinery for dealing with the wider problems affecting Africa as a whole.

Let us take the case of the Congo. For more than two years now I have advocated the policy that in the interest of the independence and sovereignty of the Congo, the situation in that country can best be solved by the African States themselves. It is significant in this connection that the African States were the first to land troops in the Congo in answer to the urgent appeal of the Congolese Government.

Our troops have worked within the United Nations Organisation since the days of Lumumba. Now that the United Nations troops are about to be withdrawn from the Congo, the African States have an opportunity

and an obligation to set an example of African self-help by going to the aid of a sister State. By so doing, we would have eliminated the rivalries of neo-colonialist and imperialist powers from the Congo.

I have accordingly proposed to the Government of the Congo, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Heads of the Independent African States and Governments, that an all-African force should take over from the United Nations well in advance of its withdrawal from the Congo.

Although this proposal was acceptable in principle,

it could not be carried out because the African States, in spite of our resolutions at Addis Ababa, had not provided an effective machinery for such united action. The longer we delay action for a continental Government of Africa, the greater will be our troubles and confusion.

## ONLY SOLUTION

A continental political union for Africa is not only essential for our freedom and existence; it is necessary for the orderly progress and rapid development of our continent. African unity is the only solution to the vast problems facing our oppressed brothers and the Freedom

Fighters in the Rhodesias, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. It is the only solution to the difficulties which are bound to confront our newly independent States and those that are shortly to be independent.

*As I speak to you now, there is a grim struggle—a battle for freedom—going on in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea where the best of our youth are locked in mortal combat against the evil forces of colonialism in a determined effort to wipe out the pedigrees, the privileges, the injustices, the*

*principalities and the powers of a new imperialism.*

It should be clear to the colonialists by now that we shall not give up the struggle until they leave Africa alone. If they do not leave Africa alone, we shall in our unity compel them to do so. The struggle is not against race; it is against a system. The racialists and imperialists must quit Africa now.

As for the settlers, who continue to oppress our people under minority governments, it is time they came to terms with the African nationalists. We demand the acceptance of the democratic principle of one man, one vote. The will of the majority must for ever prevail.

To achieve this end, we must hasten to our goal of a united Africa. Only with our united strength can we free our oppressed compatriots from political bondage and from the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

## NEO-COLONIALISM

When we of the emergent States of Africa and Asia talk of neo-colonialism we have no doubt about its meaning or its effects upon us. We live with it; to us it is no idle phantasy.

On the other hand, when the rich countries of the world talk of giving capital to the relatively poor countries, they wish to do this not only in a patronising way, but also in such a manner that they can use it to meddle in the affairs of the countries to which capital is offered. What they fail to realise is that capital in the form of so-called aid is not charity. It is given in hard-commercial terms and should, therefore, not entitle those who give it to a ny political conditions whatsoever. In any case, it benefits both sides—the giver and the receiver, the investor and the country in which the capital is invested.

Those who wish to use this capital to bribe, influence, control and direct

the affairs of African States are the neo-colonialists. They even try to dictate our budgets on their own terms. How can we maintain our economic development in this way?

## EXPLOITATION

Let us be very serious about this. As long as the world remains divided into rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, master and slave, developed and underdeveloped, as long as there are parts of the world whose resources can be exploited not for the welfare of the people of the area exploited, but for the benefit and in the interests of the rich and powerful foreign nations, the struggle for world peace stands undermined. Peace must be founded on a just appreciation of the need to extend the boundaries of human progress and human welfare so that the exploitation of nation by nation, of state by state, of race by race and of man by man, shall forever cease.

Our struggles in Africa will have no meaning except in the context of world peace. That is why the Government of Ghana has welcomed and has become a party to the partial Test Ban Treaty recently adopted in Moscow by the nuclear powers. We are aware that this Treaty does not fulfil the hopes of mankind, and that it is only a small step towards the abolition of nuclear warfare. It must become a stepping stone to general and complete disarmament.

It is not enough to have a world without the bomb; we must press on to a world without war. We must rid ourselves as quickly as possible of the stocks and production facilities of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction. Only in a spirit of mutual confidence and trust among the nations, big and small, can we expect agreement on complete and total disarmament. It is in the confident expectation of such agreement being reached that we can redouble our efforts to build a happy and prosperous Ghana.

# Bechuanaland: Save these Victims of Verwoerd

THE British Government is helping Dr. Verwoerd to build a wall around the frontiers of South Africa. No need for bricks or barbed wire. Just paper, immigration certificates and mean little regulations designed to appease the South African Government and block the escape routes for the victims of apartheid, struggling to get away from their persecutors. More and more refugees from South Africa are arriving in the British Protectorate, only to be turned away. Soon there will be no way out.

Of the three British protectorates in Southern Africa, only one is any real use to refugees. Basutoland and Swaziland are tiny islands within Verwoerd's territory. The refugees need to get to Bechuanaland, where they may be able to start a journey towards real freedom in independent states. But the authorities in Bechuanaland meet them with suspicion, hostility and threats. ("What if we put you on the train tonight?") They do their level best to sabotage escape plans.

## "GET BACK AND ROT"

News of the latest, perhaps the worst, act of official sabotage yet comes from our correspondent in Bechuanaland. Four adults and two children arrived as political refugees on September 14. They only wanted "asylum in transit", for they had no intention of staying in Bechuanaland. One of them, Dan Ncayiyana, a medical student, produced documents to show that he had been accepted at Ibadan University, Nigeria, and that scholarship and passage money were on the way. Like the others, he was refused entry into Bechuanaland.

The reason given for turning them back was ingeniously simple. They had not come straight from South Africa but had first taken refuge in Basutoland. Since they had already received political asylum in one British protectorate, they could not apply for it again. They were now subject to Bechuanaland immigration laws and these were not favourable.

The authorities held that they were without visible means of support and thus likely to become a liability to the Bechuanaland Government. The refugees were ordered to fly back to Basutoland and told that there was no higher authority to whom they could appeal.

What were they doing in Basutoland in the first place? Mr. Ncayiyana had been studying at Natal

University. In April of this year, he was arrested by the South African police for furthering the aims of an illegal political organisation. He jumped bail and escaped to the nearest refuge, Basutoland, where he was granted political asylum. At great expense, he chartered a plane to fly to Bechuanaland with his friends, so that he could take off to start a new life in Nigeria. Then the British authorities stepped in and said, "No. Get back to Basutoland and rot."

Boyee Sinkila, a matriculation student from Pondoland, is in a similar position. So is Makhaola Bolofo, a secondary school headmaster, who makes up the rest of the party with his wife and two children. Mr. Bolofo escaped to Basutoland after the 1961 Pondoland revolt in South Africa. The British authorities tried to stop him getting into Basutoland; he was declared a prohibited immigrant. But he fought the Order on grounds of citizenship by birth. Now, when he wants to get out of Basutoland to bring up his family in freedom, the British authorities held him back.

Mr. Bolofo can't understand it. British policy doesn't even seem consistent. When Goldreich and Wolpe flew to Bechuanaland from Swaziland, they were received with open arms and even got police protection. Another victim, the South African journalist, Matthew Nkoana, has a simple explanation for the bloody-minded attitude of the Bechuanaland authorities. They are anxious to appease South Africa which has an economic stranglehold over this British protectorate. They fear retaliatory measures if it is established that the territory is being used by refugees.

"You can't blame them," writes Mr. Nkoana. "The people of the protectorate can hardly be expected to sacrifice their

livelihood for the sake of victims of South African oppression. If only Bechuanaland could break that economic stranglehold! The protectorate has great economic potentiality, but the British administration has failed her. Bechuanaland has no railway to call her own. There is an aeroplane-used to transport tons of human cargo from all over Africa as cheap labour for the mining sharks of Johannesburg!"

## COLONIAL TRADITION

Mr. Nkoana claims that the mentality of the Bechuanaland administration is still steeped in narrow colonial tradition and perverted by the pro-apartheid attitude of the White settlers. Worse still, the so-called African nationalist leaders in the Protectorate are often equally parochial. "An educated tribalist is worse than the untutored type." It was an African politician who asked the authorities to refuse entry to Jack and Rica Hogson when they escaped to Bechuanaland from South African house arrest. He said he did not want the territory to become "a breeding ground for Communism."

Other refugees have received similar treatment: P. K. Leballo, National Secretary of the Pan-Africanist Congress, and another PAC member, Patrick Duncan, and the son of a former Governor-General. Both were declared prohibited immigrants by the Bechuanaland administration. So were J. B. Marks and Advocate Slovo after their short stay in Francistown. "Yet neither of them wanted to stay!", writes Matthew Nkoana, "fretting about their flight plans, they complained to me bitterly about the boredom of this drab and dusty little town." Why then were they declared prohibited immigrants? Mr. Nkoana explains tolerantly that these bans are propaganda designed to appease Dr.

Verwoerd.

Matthew Nkoana himself would have liked to stay in Bechuanaland. But he has been given 30 days to quit. In this British protectorate, refugees are only allowed to stay if they undertake to refrain from political activity. Suddenly, his journalistic work has been put in the category of political activity.

He skipped the South African border in 1962 when he was out on bail, pending his appeal against a three-year sentence for being a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress. Arriving in Bechuanaland, he turned to freelance journalism. Because of local prejudice and the hopeless unemployment in this underdeveloped area, there was nothing else he could do. He promised the District Commissioner that he would not take part in political activity, concerning either Bechuanaland or "neighbouring" countries. The DC assured him that journalism would not come under this heading and he kept his word. Yet, a few months later, he was ordered from on high to revoke Mr. Nkoana's permit to stay in Bechuanaland. Why?

## UNGRATEFUL REFUGEE

Two things had happened. An African political leader in Bechuanaland had been waging a campaign to get rid of Mr. Nkoana, "an ungrateful refugee". Secondly, Mr. Nkoana was summoned to the office of Major King, the Francistown police chief. He was rapped on the knuckles for "abusing hospitality"—on the strength of a 15-word sentence: "he had applied for police protection at the meeting and they were much in evidence." Unless Mr. Nkoana corrected these "wrong impressions", said the major, he would report him for taking part in politics, in violation of his undertaking.

So Mr. Nkoana was ex-

pelled from Bechuanaland an "ungrateful refugee". Yet he had written a good deal in praise of the British administration. It seems that any excuse would serve to get this embarrassing refugee out of British territory and avoid trouble with Dr. Verwoerd. Mr. Nkoana is very bitter against the local "Tshombes" of Bechuanaland who are almost as ready to fuddle to the South African Government as the British authorities are.

But that is a matter for the African politicians themselves. For Britain, the main concern must be the feeble and heartless administration of the representatives in Bechuanaland. Protectorates are meant to protect people. Remember, four adults and two children have run great risks and sold up their belongings to escape from the tyranny of apartheid. Their only way out is through British territory. They haven't much time. If they are forced to stay in Basutoland, they may be kidnapped by the South Africans, as Ganyile was. It is the duty of all people to try to get these people out to safety and freedom—Ncayiyana, Sinkila and the Bolofo family.

When the British Labour movement protested against British arms going to South Africa, the protest had some effect. It is important that, during the current Labour Party conference, someone speaks out against this cringing British policy of closed frontiers. Refugees from Verwoerd must not be turned back from British territories. They must be welcomed and helped on their way. It is not pleasant that these unfortunates should be shuttled back and forth across the country of their enemies with policemen and kidnapers waiting to grab them. If the Labour Party speaks now, six unfortunate people may find a way out of apartheid and into civilisation.

READ

## China Reconstructs

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# Ghana's Oil Refinery

RECENTLY, Ghana's oil refinery, the first of its kind on the West Coast of Africa, was officially opened by Osagyefo the President at Tema. The refinery was built at a cost of £8½ million by the Ghana-Italian Petroleum Company (Ghaip for short).

The setting up of an oil refinery in Ghana is one of the two arms of a co-ordinated drive aimed at creating an all Ghana power basis for our programme of industrialisation and modernisation. The other arm of the drive is the hydro-electric power project at Akosombo. These two

Ghanaian control. It is a special case of the key problem—how to achieve economic advance without endangering independence and sovereignty.

The authorised capital of Ghaip (Ghana-Italian Petroleum Company) is £3,400,000 equally taken up by two Italian compa-

products. These are solids, gases and liquids. Under the solid products we have industrial products like rust preventives, waxes, carbon and asphalt, lubricants like graphite and grease and solid fuels like coke and briquettes. Under the gas products of oil refining, we have natural gas and organic chemicals.

## TYPES OF PRODUCTS

The liquid products are wood preventives, coolants, motor oil, lubricants and petrol, jet oil, diesel fuel, kerosene etc. Apart from providing all the fuels, kerosene and gas, the Tema oil refinery will provide by-products which can be used in the manufacture of synthetics (resins, plastics and textile fibres like nylon and rayon). Other by-products also go into the production of agricultural fertilisers. Osagyefo the President has already directed that top priority be given to developing a fertiliser industry based on the by-products of the oil refinery.

This priority on agricultural fertilisers is understandable. For it will enable us to produce large quantities of fertilisers at reasonable prices for our farms. And this should result in increased agricultural output without the expenditure of large amounts of foreign currency on imported fertilisers.

## THREE ADVANTAGES

Another aspect of Ghana's new oil industry is the distribution of oil products within the country. All the existing oil retail companies will continue to operate. Each will supply its crude oil to the Tema refinery and will be free to market its products both inside and outside Ghana. The prices at which these products are sold inside Ghana will of course be agreed between all the oil com-

## FOCUS ON SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA (PART SIX)



THE web of circumstances in the history of our times has inexorably patterned out the course of development which emergent nations should follow. This course is socialism. It is the only way by which a young nation can hope to build up a firm foundation for rapid development: politically, economically, socially and culturally.

It is this course of socialism which Ghana, under the inspired leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has chosen to pursue.

We continue in this issue, the series of articles tracing the progress of socialism in Ghana in the economic, social and political fields. After that we hope to follow the trend of socialism in other African countries also.

Our article today is on the Tema Oil Refinery.

We owe a debt of gratitude to our Columnist X'ray for contributing this article.

—EDITOR.



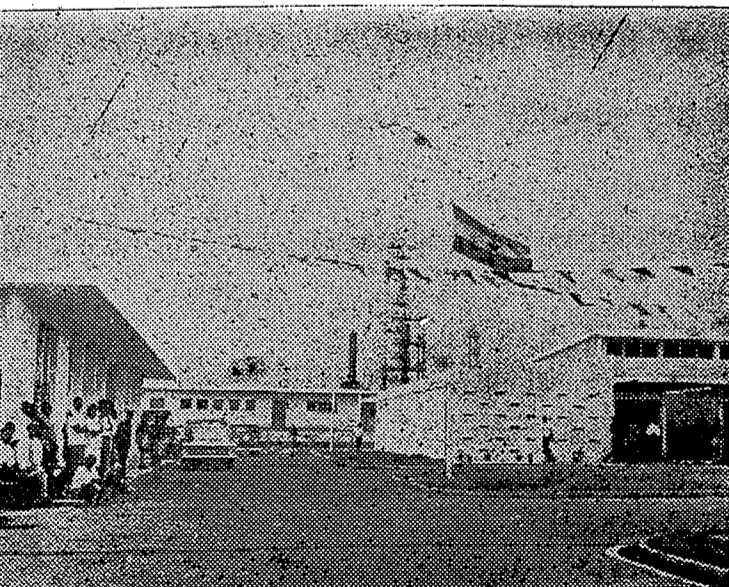
Osagyefo chats with the Italian Directors of the Refinery.

projects will enable Ghana to control the production of all the power—electricity, petrol and fuel—needed for Ghana's industrial and domestic life. It is significant that like Lenin, the founder of the world's first socialist state, Osagyefo, in his march towards a socialist Ghana, is giving top priority to the abundant supply of fuel and power and to vesting control over fuel and power supplies firmly in the hand of Ghana.

The oil industry is vital to the industrial life of any nation. And because of this, it has become a storm centre in world politics. Imperialism fastens on to it in its effort to dominate the world and push its economic tentacles into all corners of the earth. And nations eager to establish and sustain their independence are compelled to solve the politics of oil in the interest of their peoples. Hence many coups d'etat and revolutions have centred around oil and the interests connected with oil.

## IMPORTANCE OF OIL

Osagyefo recognises this fact only too well. In his Tema speech he said: "Oil is the life blood of industry. It is as important for industry as water is for human existence. The politics of it is even more complicating." There is little doubt that in the process of negotiation that has led to the establishment of Ghana's oil refinery, the President has been guided by two considerations—first, the need to provide Ghana's industrial growth with an adequate fuel basis, and second, the need to secure this fuel basis by bringing it squarely under



Part of the building of the Oil Refinery at Tema

and beneficial to Ghana's economic prosperity.

An important offshoot of the setting up of the Tema oil refinery is that we are creating the basis for a new and important industry in the country. This is a chemical industry which can support further industrial advance as well as the modernisation of agriculture.

The refining of oil yields three main types of

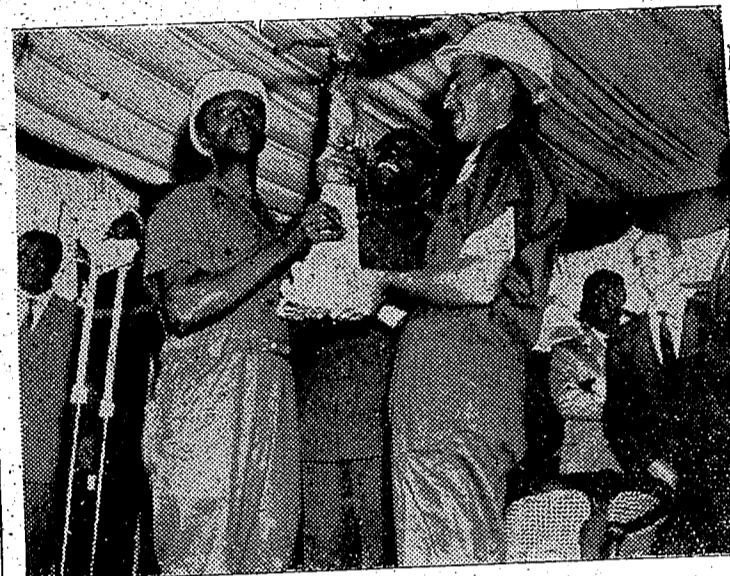
panies and the Ghana Government.

Three advantages of this arrangement readily come to mind. The oil distribution network in the country is not disturbed and hence the supply of oil and related products should be efficiently maintained. Secondly, a good amount of foreign currency will be saved by the State. Thirdly, Government is in a better position to know the cost

structure in the oil business. And this knowledge will put it in a stronger position when it comes either to fixing the retail prices of oil products or to deciding on the amount of tax that could reasonably be put on oil products.

It is to be pointed out that there is nothing in the agreements so far concluded that prevent the Ghana Government either from importing its own crude oil from whatever source or from setting up its own retail organisation that could compete with other companies now engaged in the oil retail trade. To keep an ever watchful eye on these aspects of the oil business—on retail inside Ghana

and on supply of crude oil at fair prices to the Tema refinery—is a very important means of pegging prices of oil products in Ghana and hence of the cost of living in the country. For it must never be forgotten that the prices at which oil and oil products are offered to the public constitute an important factor in the costs structure of consumer goods and services throughout the country. A fair degree of control over these costs is therefore an important weapon in the armoury of a government that is out to achieve economic growth and general prosperity within the context of complete independence from foreign control.



Two employees of the refinery presenting President Nkrumah with a Roman Statue in bronze, a woman with wings symbolising "VICTORY"

## RUMANIAN MADE TRACTORS

- UTOS — a mark of tractors used and well-known in 30 countries,
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**FROM THE INSIDE ...**

# Stop the Genocide in Kurdistan



IRAQ'S Baathist regime is waging a ruthless war of extermination against the Kurdish people, declared an urgent plea for help addressed to the International Red Cross by Mustafa Bazani, chairman of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and Commander-in-Chief of the Kurdish Armed Forces, early this month.

"Flouting the Geneva conventions, troops of the Bagdad Government are bombing Kurdish towns and villages, killing women, old men and children.

"They are staging massacres and are forcibly expelling civilians from the oil-bearing regions of Kurdistan, shooting all Kurdish soldiers taken prisoners, burning crops with napalm, destroying cattle and seeking to strangle the Kurdish people through an economic blockade," declares Mustafa Barzani.

**POLICY OF GENOCIDE**

The Mongolian People's Republic has likewise requested that an item on "the policy of genocide carried out by the Government of the Republic of Iraq against the Kurdish people" be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly whose session opened in New York this week.

The Iraqi Government, declares an accompanying explanatory memorandum, have launched "large-scale military operations against the Kurdish people with troops, aircraft, tanks and artillery.

"In the course of these punitive operations which embrace all of northern Iraq, Kurdish villages throughout the whole region are being burnt to the ground, the peaceful Kurdish population—including women, children and old people—is being exterminated, and the indigenous inhabitants are being driven en masse from their homes.

**'BLOODY REPRESSION'**

"Thus the Iraqi Government is carrying out a policy of bloody repression

against the Kurdish people which is a distinct ethnic group, comprises nearly one quarter of the population of Iraq, and has inhabited the northern areas of the country from time immemorial.

"It is clear that the very existence of the Kurdish people in Iraq is threatened."

The Kurdish people's struggle for freedom—for the elementary right to

vided between the Ottoman Empire and Iran. It was repartitioned by the imperialists after the First World War.

North-west Kurdistan went to Turkey—East Kurdistan to Iran and South Kurdistan to Iraq. A small part of Kurdistan also lies within the borders of Syria.

Of about 9 million Kurds, about 3 million live in Turkey, about 2 million in Iran and nearly 1,500,000

In the pre-war years, there were Kurdish uprisings against the British backed Iraq regime in 1922, 1923 and again in 1930—31 and 1935—36.

The Kurdish national liberation movement gained in strength during the war, but was again defeated in 1943—46, a group of about 500 Kurds, among them Mustafa Barzani, seeking refuge in the Soviet Union after fighting their way out of Iraq and across Northern Iran.

But in 1958, the Kurds played an active part in the overthrow of the Nuri Said regime by General Kassem. In April, 1959, the exiles returned to help rebuild their land.

**AIR RAIDS**

At first the Kassem regime went through the motions of aiding Kurdish national aspirations; plans were made for industrial and agricultural development in Kurdistan and for schools and hospitals. Kurdish newspapers and magazines were published.

But the plans stayed on paper. At the end of 1960, the Kassem Government began open persecution of the Kurds. The years 1961 and 1962 saw the concentration of one-third of Kassem's army and air force against the Kurds, with murderous air raids on defenceless villages.

This war against the Kurdish people was undoubtedly one of the reasons for Kassem's growing unpopu-

larity and his eventual isolation and overthrow by the new regime headed by Col. Aref.

The new regime, which had voiced opposition to Kassem's Kurdish policy and promise the Kurds their national rights, started talks with the Kurdish leaders.

**ARMS AND AIRCRAFTS**

The Kurds sought national autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic and equal civil rights; they wanted executive and legislative councils for Iraqi Kurdistan and

equal participation in the central government.

But the Aref regime, which had also launched a reign of terror against Communists and other democrats throughout Iraq, took advantage of the negotiations to mass troops near the Kurdish areas.

It then issued an ultimatum demanding that the Kurdish national liberation movement lay down its arms and surrender within twenty-four hours or "reap all the consequences."

Some Western governments have adopted a "wait-and-see" policy toward the brutal war being

waged by the Aref regime. But Britain's Tory government—with an eye, no doubt, on the rich oilfields of Kurdistan—is giving the Iraqi regime extensive military aid, supplying arms for mountain warfare, "Saracen" armoured troop transporters and Hawker Hunter jets and also training Iraqi aircrews.

"Our people appeal to the British people, to their solid democratic traditions to oblige their government to cease immediately the shipment of arms to Iraq," Ismet Cherif Vanly, a representative of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, writes.

**RUTHLESS WAR**

*IN a report from Baghdad, "Daily Telegraph" (19:6:63), Special Correspondent Richard Beeston spoke of a "ruthless war of extermination being carried out by 40,000 Iraqi troops and by aircraft, razing Kurdish villages and massacring Kurdish old men, women and children."*

*The new campaign, he wrote, "is far more brutal and cold-blooded than anything Gen. Kassem ever waged. The inhabitants of all Kurdish villages within twenty-five miles radius of Kirkuk, the oil town, have been driven out. Many villages have been shelled, then finished off by tanks and bulldozers. Crops have been burned and cattle slaughtered."*

speakers and study in their own language, for the right to govern themselves—has been long and bitter.

An ancient people, with a culture and language of their own, their land of Kurdistan was in the seventeenth century forcibly di-

in Iraq. A small number of Kurds—about 60,000—live in the Soviet Union, mainly in the Caucasian republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. Some also live as far away as the Chinese People's Republic and Pakistan.

## THE HIATUS IN HAITI

HAITI'S latest crisis is a reflection of the hiatus of Washington's Caribbean and Latin American policies.

Separated from Cuba only by the Windward passage, Haiti is situated on the western part of the island of Hispaniola, the rest of which is taken up by the Dominican Republic.

The population, mainly Negro descendants of the slaves brought in by the French colonizers with a minority of

mulattoes, is estimated at four million.

Two centuries ago, Haiti was the richest French colony, producing sugar, coffee, cocoa, spices, indigo and tropical fruits in rich abundance, on plantations where cruelty and brutality to the slaves brought from Africa reached inhuman heights.

In 1804, they rebelled, threw out the French and set up their own republic.

For over a century French despotism was replaced by indigenous exploitation and misrule.

Occupied by U.S. Marines from 1915 to 1934, the

Americans left little heritage but a hate for the Yankees: The first batch of marines—sent in because Haiti owed the U.S. money—were from America's Deep South and imbued with its traditional racial prejudice.

Today Haiti is the most densely populated State in the Caribbean, with its numbers growing and its resources shrinking, with the land already widely eroded, with virtually no industry, and with its people, 90 per cent illiterate, living on the verge of starvation, many in foetid, undrained slums.

It is ruled or, rather, misruled by Dr. Francois Duvalier ("Papa Doc," he likes his sycophants to call him), who squeezes the country with the aid of his private army of thugs known as the Ton Ton Macoutes (bogymen) in a manner reminiscent of Al Capone's rule in Chicago.

**U.S. AID**

Duvalier came to power in 1957 and was able to remain in power only through continued U.S. dollar aid which he extorted from Washington.

Last May, he proclaimed himself President for a further term, dispensing even with the constitutional trappings of mock-democracy.

Because Haiti is one of Cuba's nearest neighbours Washington has, of course, a special interest in it.

So when, last May, there came the first rumblings of revolt against Duvalier by army officers and an ex-chief of the Ton Ton Macoutes, the U.S. rushed naval units to the vicinity and temporarily broke off relations.

But Duvalier survived that crisis, and so the U.S. resumed relations.

Now Duvalier is fighting direct invasion from the same opponents, some of whom seem to enjoy the aid and protection of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

But it will need more than a change from Duvalier to some other elite ruling clique for the people to be rid of the suffering which they have undergone for centuries.

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BOOK REVIEW . . .

by J. W.

# Journey Into Black and White

## A MOVING AND INFORMATIVE ACCOUNT OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

South-West Africa. Ruth First, Penguin Africa Library, 5s.

RUTH First is one of the most outstanding journalists produced by the "anti-apartheid" movement in South Africa, a Treason Trial victim who earned the wrath of the Verwoerd Government and the admiration of progressive mankind for her fearless and striking exposures of forced labour in Bethal and other centres, and for her remarkable examination of the migrant labour system which drives hundreds of thousands of Africans each year from half a dozen countries to sweat for slave wages in the mines and on the farms of the white owners in the Republic.

With this book she once more puts us in her debt. South West Africa is a large slab of country lying north of the Republic of South Africa and to the south of Angola. Thus, it lies in a key position between two of the last

strongholds of white supremacy in southern Africa.

### IMPERIALISM

Seized originally by German imperialism from whom it was taken after the First World War, this territory was first under a League of Nations Mandate and then, after the Second World War, declared a Trust Territory by the United Nations.

In effect, however, as Ruth First shows in her moving yet informative account, the South African rulers have treated South West Africa as their colony, robbing the people year by year of their lands, and driving them into ever greater subjection.

There can be few people who read this passionate yet restrained description of the massacres of the Herero and Nama peoples at the hands of the German imperialists, or the continual robbery of the people's lands by the South African authorities who will fail to be moved to help put right these terrible wrongs.

Not the least valuable part of Ruth First's book is the detailed explanation

of the way in which the South African Government has consistently flouted the decisions of the U.N. over this question, thus, in effect, disqualifying itself from further U.N. membership.

A short section on the people's organisations in South West Africa, and valuable appendices on landownership, white settlement, foreign investment and education, help to round off this remarkable little study.

### HOUSE ARREST

There is no doubt that from now on Ruth First's book will be a standard work for all who wish to understand South West Africa and who desire to fight the racist and pro-fascist government of Verwoerd.

That such a talented humanist should have been recently placed under house arrest for five years and that she has been prohibited from having anything she writes being published in South Africa, is an added reason why anti-apartheid must be swept off the face of the earth and those who uphold it removed from their positions of power.

**JIMMY Boy**  
They used to call me  
Dandy like a Yankee  
I even boasted a crew cut  
Used most of the time the white man's language  
Which I spoke without accent  
My African tongue I reserved for my less privileged brethren

The Hollywood stars I knew by their first names  
Following their lives in and out of the divorce courts  
White was my food  
As my cupboard I decorated with "provisions"  
African culture was by me and my type held in general contempt

My father I even could tell in the white man's language  
"Don't be silly!" and get away with it  
My manners, upbringing, education  
In short, everything about me was so white  
A credit unto the teaching of the missionaries  
For didn't I sing "God save the King" and "Rule Britannia"?

Boy, I knew more about the white than about the black  
Anyway, to hell the black  
Who never invented anything.

Thoroughly anglicized or assimilated  
I embarked for "home".  
On board ship

Some white urchin referred to me as "black monkey"  
"But he is only a child" reflected I  
At last I landed in the land of "our fathers"  
The black boy from the jungle had made good  
And I had culturally and socially arrived at last

Then things began to happen  
Thick and fast they came  
To Lyceum one day was I inevitably propelled by my curious and fun-loving ebony feet  
There on the dance floor were more feet than I had ever seen before on any dance floor  
But not so nimble like mine  
Without any self-consciousness a lady for a dance I tried to engage

But, alas, she gave me the once over  
And told me to take a running jump  
However, the lady I thought I didn't hear well  
Or maybe the correct words of invitation I forgot to use  
So to the next lady I slowly said  
"May I please have the pleasure of this dance?"  
This time quick and laconic came the reply  
"Drop dead!"

Flabbergasted, I dismissed the dancing white natives as primitive  
Resolved never again to go dancing  
Then came my Armageddon  
A shop-window advert for accommodation I one day answered

The landlady with the look of a rat-catcher  
Almost screamed in my face "No niggers no dogs"  
As the door she slammed in my face  
For a moment I stood stunned  
Then slowly it began to seep in  
That I am in the same class as the dog  
That I am regarded as subhuman

Because of these incidents and sundry similar incidents in the days that followed  
I could not help but undertake an agonizing re-appraisal of my place in white society  
At "home" I had asked mother for a loaf of bread  
But for bread a rock she threw at my head  
I asked for fish  
But she gave me scorpion  
All the rights and privileges appertaining to membership of whitedom it seemed

Had been denied me  
On account of  
My skin.

Its blackness,  
To the white man I shall always remain beyond the pale of whitedom  
At best only succeeding in becoming a caricature of the white man

To draw up this balance sheet of my abortive essay into whitedom was no easy task  
For emotionally and psychologically was I involved in this highly painful stock-taking  
More so when on the credit side was membership of whitedom

And on the debit side all my wasted youth.  
If my mind I was not to lose futilely brooding over this soul-shattering revelation  
Something quick and positive I had to do about my disillusionment

The white house assiduously erected in my soul over the years

I must pull down  
And replace with my ancestral hut  
**BLACKNESS**

But, first libations I must pour  
Sacrificial rites I must perform  
To appease my ancestral spirits and the gods of my ancestors

To ask for their forgiveness  
For too long my ancestral hut had I abandoned  
And disowned my people  
Now for all this I'm going to atone  
By being once more black  
Black with vengeance

I'm going to be black all the way  
For having lost my white identity  
I'm now in search of my God-given identity  
My blackness

Now no longer do I shudder at the coming of darkness  
When in the quietness and loneliness of my white bed-sitter I used to reflect

How fast the white man was cutting me down to size.  
On the contrary, the friendly blackness of night I now welcome

For then with my ancestral spirits and the gods of my ancestors I can commune

Oh Africa, your elaborate funerals now re-charge my faith in Man

Your large beehive bazaars I can hardly tear myself away from

Your palm-fringed beaches where any man, rich or poor, can laze away in the hot tropical sun  
Shall forever remain the envy of the white millionaire from the asphalt jungle.

Your frisky school-children who have never known the lash of the exploiter nor have been brainwashed by the soul and culture-destroying missionary

Fill me with hope for your future  
From your teeming, whistling, singing jungles I now derive increased virility

For which I am admired by the white woman and loathed by the white man  
By the loud, pulsating music of the tom tom I'm brought back to life

By the toothpaste grins and gentle caresses of black womanhood my spiritual wounds are soothed and healed

By the bobbing, round and full buttocks of the rumbaing black girl I become rejuvenated  
In the moistened, glistening, prostrate, yet responsive because heaving, groins of my black belle I find my greatest self-fulfilment

Africa, oh sweet Africa, where were you before?  
"Twasn't your fault I didn't see you  
I looked for you with white eyes  
And so you were not there  
Now that I've found you again  
You can rest assured  
That never again shall we be parted  
For to appreciate, love and enjoy you  
I must lose you once

Henceforth at your service shall always be my blackness  
My blackness, however, is not the negative type  
My blackness will not mean atavism  
My blackness will not mean the jungle reclaiming the land  
My blackness, however, destroys in order to build  
So my blackness will kick into white hell the alien culture  
And then seek to reclaim, re-create and develop to its fullness in consonance with present-day needs, African culture, which today is stunted, distorted and overgrown with weeds through the exploiting centuries

With that I take off on my self-appointed mission  
From the streets, byways and lanes of Africa  
From her public squares and piazzas  
From her green jungles and scorched deserts  
From her roof-tops  
Yea, from the four corners of Africa  
I shall proclaim my blackness loud and clear  
For I'm dying to share with my people my new-found freedom

To tell them of my cultural re-birth  
And of my new Christian name.  
A B A B I O.

By Tetteh Tawiah  
24th August, 1963.

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# AFRICAN DIARY

**1st OCTOBER, TUESDAY:**  
**NIGERIA:** Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe former Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria is today sworn in as the Republic's first President by Chief Justice Sir Ademola Adetokunbo at the Tafawa Balewa Square.

**MOROCCO:** The Moroccan Government today formally takes possession of about 111,000 acres of French colonial farms and under Royal Decrees nationalises more than 544,000 acres.

**UGANDA:** The Kabaka, King of Buganda, escapes unhurt when incidentally his hunting camp at Ndaiga was burned down.

**2nd OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY:**  
 Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, in a message to President Sekou Toure on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the Independence of Guinea, expresses on behalf of himself, the Government and people of Ghana best wishes and warmest congratulations to the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** Seven South African Freedom Fighters whose plans a white settler judge describes as "dynamite to the safety of the State," are each sentenced in the Supreme Court to 20 years imprisonment.

**3rd OCTOBER, THURSDAY:**  
**LOME:** The Togo National Assembly Speaker, M. Barthelmy Lambony, announces the creation of a new political party. The aim of the new party, says Mr. Lambony, is to provide efficient leadership for the people and prevent subversive activities.

**TUNISIA:** Before leaving Tunisia after a four-day official visit, President Tubman of Liberia tells journalists that the establishment of an African Common Market is an excellent idea but it is still a little early to envisage such a market on the level of the whole continent.

**GHANA:** Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, arrives in Accra on a three-day visit as part of his African tour to study refugee problems.

**4th OCTOBER, FRIDAY:**  
**IVORY COAST:** The Ivory Coast National Assembly opens today to discuss the 1964 budget.

**U.A.R.:** President Nasser of the United Arab Republic holds talks with Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia's Minister for local Government and Social Welfare.

**ALGERIA:** Mr. Abdel Aziz Boufelfik, Foreign Minister will lead the Algerian delegation to discuss recent tension between Algeria and Morocco at Oujda near Morocco frontier. Mr. Reda Quedire, the Acting Foreign Minister will also head the Moroccan delegation.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Sir Edgar Whitehead, leader of the opposition of the Southern Rhodesian National Party's First Congress, that he believes the Commonwealth and the World will support Southern Rhodesia's bid for independence if Africans have greater representatives in Parliament.

**5th OCTOBER, SATURDAY:**  
**TUNISIA:** President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, tells the National Assembly that French troops will evacuate the Bizerte base by October 15. President Bourguiba describes the evacuation of Bizerte as "an important event for Africa and that it is the only base after Suez to be evacuated in the continent."

**CONGO:** Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South-West

Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) tells journalists in Leopoldville that his organisation has signed a "pact of military collaboration" with the Angolan "Government in exile." He announces later that the Congolese Government "has agreed that SWAPO should operate from Congo."

**GHANA:** In a pre-departure interview at the Accra International Airport, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for refugees now on a tour of Africa, tells newsmen that African Unity under a continental government will not only solve the continent's refugee problems, but also her economic and political problems as well.

**7th OCTOBER, MONDAY:**  
**ETHIOPIA:** Addressing the United Nations in New York, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia says, all Africans will fight "if necessary" and "topple and destroy ignoble and unhappy regimes" holding Angola and Mozambique in sub-human bondage.

**NIGERIA:** About 300 people including Ghanaian residents in Lagos saw for the first time a Ghana Film Unit production on the recent Addis Ababa Conference at the residence of the Press Attache of the Ghana High Commission.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** Eleyen freedom fighters are expected to be arraigned before a court in Johannesburg today on charges under the General Law Amendment (Sabotage) Act and the suppression of Communism Act, carrying the death penalty or a minimum of five years imprisonment.

Among the freedom fighters are Nelson Mandela, former leader of the African National Congress, now serving a five-year term of imprisonment for incitement and leaving the country unlawfully and Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the A.N.C.

**8th OCTOBER, TUESDAY:**  
**UGANDA:** Sir Walter Coutts, Governor-General of Uganda since independence day last October, leaves Entebbe Airport for London on the termination of his appointment. His office disappeared last night as the Queen ceased to be Uganda's Head of State, the new President, the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa took office.

**ETHIOPIA:** The Ethiopian Government intends to award a prize of £10,000 sterling annually to the best scientific work on African problems. The prize is to be awarded for researches in the fields of medicine, economics, art and natural and social science.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The Federation of Finish Transport Unions (KAF) says Finish dockers will not unload a Swedish vessel carrying a cargo of South African goods, saying it is their duty to take part in the fight for human right against racial repression.

**9th OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY:**  
**UGANDA:** Madame Pauline Lumumba, widow of Congo's First Prime Minister, the late Patrice Lumumba, arrives in Kampala for Uganda's independence anniversary celebrations as a guest of Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote.

**ETHIOPIA:** Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, reveals at a press conference a plan for dissolving the Pan-African movement for East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECA).

**GHANA:** The United Nations Information Centre in Accra, announces that Ghana is the first country to ratify the Vien-

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Da due anni non riceveva giornalisti

Il presidente del Ghana Nkrumah a colloquio con il nostro inviato:



# AFRICA UNITA

con un solo governo

Continued from page 1

later on, to become the major shareholder, getting a majority part. All these elements have to be appreciated in each case, one by one, and examined with the utmost care. As a matter of principle, we would think it better to deal with foreign national corporations as it has occurred in the case of AGIP with Tema Oil Refinery than with foreign private firms."

"Anyway, every time a project is submitted to us for approval, we have first of all to relate it to our ultimate objective, that is our socialist development and the ways and means of implementing it, as well as the circumstances which are bound to make it more difficult to attain, circumstances which, if not checked, would submit us again to neo-colonialist yoke. But we have attained our independence and are still fighting hard to instil into it a genuine content. From this path, we are determined not to allow ourselves to be diverted, even if we sometimes make a few mistakes."

In connection with the economic problems, I remarked that a political pro-

blem of utmost significance arises as far as the building of a socialist African democracy is concerned. It is the problem of the political relations between the government and the masses within a society upon which the tribal links and loyalties are still strong. This includes also the problem of the party, and the regaining of democratic life in Africa."

**PSEUDO-PROBLEM**  
 "This is a pseudo-problem", replies Nkrumah—"or, at least, it will be as soon as we reach a certain standard of living conditions. Then, the inter-tribal differences or even religious or cultural differences would become mere individual issues with no bearing on political matters. As it has happened in India to the Maharajahs, we shall keep our traditional chiefs with their paraphernalia and attributes, but it would be only something of an ornament, a part of our folk-lore. Even now, in any place where parties based on tribal loyalties have been created, we already notice that a process towards centralisation has started. Let us take for instance Congo (Leopoldville) where, during the

most sinister times of the crisis, there were several hundreds of parties, which fact should be a warning and a lesson for all of us. On another scale, another aspect is the process of balkanisation, initiated by neo-colonialist forces, a process now taking the shape, in constitutional matters, of regional autonomy."

At this point, there is a silent moment in the cabinet, where one can hear only the regular noise produced by the air-conditioner. The President is thinking again, whilst I am giving a glance at the pictures of African leaders and individuals posted on the wall above the book shelves. I notice one showing Lumumba and Nkrumah together, it seems as if this picture is to remind me that precisely herefrom, in this cabinet, the Congolese leader started organising his national movement. Now, Nkrumah starts speaking again, but as if he is only following the path of his own thoughts, of some main and fundamental ideas: "African Unity can solve all our problems—A United Africa with one government."

I ask him whether this is not an over-ambitious

DOMANI TUTTO ESAURITO (ORE 15) ALLI

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programme, a very remote objective. He replies with a passionate accent that even African independence was looked at as an ambitious programme and a very remote objective only 20 years ago. Then, he stretches his hands on the desk covered with books and he takes a typescripted booklet, the pages are full of amendments and corrections. "This is still restricted", he says, "but I am working on it twenty hours per day." I read the title: **DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF UNITED AFRICA.**

**"NARROW GATE"**  
 "I don't allow myself", continues the President, "to think in terms of regional groupings as far as such groupings imply a geopolitical content. Africa cannot tolerate divisions; only one government of a United Africa will be able to lead the continent on the path of development, of a development which cannot afford to be anything but socialist. Only within this general framework, can the problems concerning the still-dominated countries be solved—through our united, concrete, active and brotherly support to our brothers still subjected to colonial slavery. Boycotting, forbidding the racialist South Africa's planes to land and to overfly our countries, all that, of course represent practical steps to

which we, like the other African states, have joined in, but still it would be much more efficient to dismantle those regional organisations, out of which are born frontiers at a time when abolition of these frontiers is needed. I am referring to the existence of the African and Malagasy Union (U.A.M.)"

We now turn to some loose conversation. We talk about a theoretical book just sent to the press by the President, in which he has given a general account of his long initiated effort to evolve, from the particular forms of African experiences during the struggle for freedom and unity, a more elaborate ideological theory.

"A United Africa with one government," Kwame Nkrumah repeats as we walk out of the office. This watch-word I keep in mind.

It is now two months since I have been wandering around Africa, and so far I have already collected many informations. I have seen countries at various stages of political development. I have noticed various political trends. Now when I try to evaluate these previous experiences in the light of this long talk with Nkrumah, I wonder whether the way referred to by the President of Ghana is not the only new dialectical process which starts from the Addis Ababa Conference. It implies that African Unity, is necessarily the "narrow gate" through which the Black Giant has to go in order to get hold of total and complete independence.

Continued from page 1

**Congo (Leopoldville)** could seal off the Southern portion of the continent from effective support by the African Revolution beating down from the East and West coasts. In East Africa, the gains we have made in Uganda and Kenya are threatened, by the relentless drive by British imperialism to foist the East African Federation, a regional grouping which is not in accord with the Addis Ababa concept of one Africa.

In the Congo (Leopoldville), U.N presence is still being used to resist the march of nationalism.

And in the French-speaking states, imperialism is doing everything to strengthen its grip on the "client states" (Youlou is thrown out, and Tam-

na Convention on consular relations. The announcement says, the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs (in New York) has received Ghana's instrument of ratification.

**10th OCTOBER, THURSDAY:**  
**CONGO:** The Angolan Revolutionary Government in "exile" of Mr. Holden Roberto announces that the Angolan National Liberation Army (A.L.N.A.) has resumed the offensive in Angola and that strong reinforcements and many arms are being sent to the country's interior.

\* The Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula appeals to the United Nations to keep its forces in his country next year to meet the threat of those who want to re-establish the secession of Katanga.

**KENYA:** Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, now in London attending the Kenya Constitutional Conference, comments on a threat by officials of the Kenya Democratic Union to set up an independent state within Kenya, says that his Government is fully determined to deal with any threat from "self-seekers" who wish to challenge established authority.

## EDITORIAL

boulai is strengthened by immobilising the dissidents in his regime).

Where imperialism has lost control, as in Algeria, armed rebellion supported by the former colonialists is quickly fomented.

Indeed, since Addis Ababa, imperialism has not only sought to strengthen its defence on the African continent, it has also geared up for a counter-offensive, which, it must be admitted, is still limited in scope.

Imperialism is directing its counter-offensive along three main lines. Firstly, it seeks to strengthen its grip over the client states. These regimes are becoming more reactionary and dictatorial with the ill-concealed approval of

the imperialists who up to now have posed as custodians of democracy and the human conscience. Secondly, it seeks to undercut Africa's drive towards liberation of the remaining colonial territories by shunting our united efforts away from direct positive action and along the path of negotiation with the colonial powers concerned. By this method, imperialism hopes to replace colonialism with neo-colonialism either by making all our attempts at inter-African co-operation impossible or by giving them a form that permits of manipulation by the imperialist powers themselves.

pivotal action—a unified continental political machinery. This is why all leaders of the African Revolution demand a union government for Africa now. And this is precisely why imperialism has made resistance to the idea of a union government for Africa the kingpin of its strategy in Africa.

Our salvation lies in building political unity in Africa. This is the key that will open a new and higher phase for the African Revolution—the phase of complete independence and a fuller life for the people. And be it known that the only sure road to African political unity is a continental peoples movements, animated by the people, guided by a continental strategy, soldiered by the people and fighting uncompromisingly for a peoples programme.