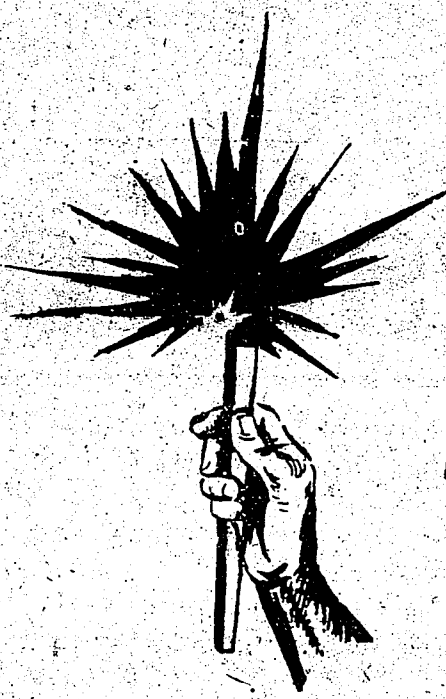


# THE SPARK



A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1963

49

2d.

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## EDITORIAL

### The African Press and The African Revolution

ADDRESSING the opening session of the Second Conference of African Journalists here in Accra at the beginning of this week, the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah described the sort of journalist Africa needs in these words: "To the true African journalist, his newspaper is a collective organiser, a collective instrument of mobilisation and a collective educator—a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism and to assist total African independence and unity." In a word the African press must be the handmaiden of the African Revolution.

Most fighters for African freedom will agree with this exposition on the role of the African press. But because of certain weaknesses in us as individuals, and particularly because of our heritage of bourgeois and Western education, because of our mechanical application of tenets blindly copied from Western society, we find it difficult to move from where we are to where we ought to be.

The first notion we must tackle is that of the freedom of the press. We must openly admit the truth that an arrangement whereby the big press lords of the imperialist countries are given a free hand in African journalism creates, not freedom of the press, but enslavement of the African masses to ideas that serve to buttress the rule of imperialism. The new States of Africa must destroy the well nigh monopolistic control of their press by press lords of France, Britain and U.S.A. Here, economic solutions are not always effective; and if need be, the State must step in to nationalise newspaper concerns that come under this category.

The second notion from which we must free ourselves is that the State ought not operate in the field of newspaper business. The truth is that the technological requirements of the modern press involve a large outlay of capital which is beyond the reach of most individuals or groups in present day Africa. And to allow the few rich in Africa to dominate the African press is to open the door directly to an exploiting hierarchy and indirectly to imperialism which is more often than not behind the African capitalist.

Once this structural reorganisation is complete, the African press must set out boldly to perform certain clear-cut duties. In the first place it must canvass the socialist path of development by proving its superiority over every other road. In fact, we must make it abundantly clear that only the socialist path of development can lead Africa out of economic dependence and its teeming millions out of crushing poverty within the shortest possible time.

In the second place, the African press must wage a dedicated struggle in support of a continental union government for Africa. Statecraft shows that far-reaching co-operation between states is only possible where there is a high degree of unanimity on ideology, aims and objectives. Political unity is therefore the starting point, and not the end as some erroneously believe, of far-reaching co-operation and harmonisation of policies between African states.

Lastly, the African press is a life-giving institution in the one-party popular democratic regime. For it is the medium of self-criticism for the regime. And as such its control must be vested in the party and in other democratic organisations like the trade unions, the students and youths organisations, etc. A peoples press, manned by knowledgeable journalists who are dedicated to the African Revolution with its twin objectives of the liquidation of imperialism and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man is a key institution of the new

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The tussle between these three categories of African journalists certainly will not end when the second conference of African journalists rises. For the simple reason that conditions that have brought them into being will not automatically come to an end as soon as the conference ends.

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The "no criticism of African governments" school of thought, it must be stated frankly are the protagonists of neo-colonialism in Africa. It is a known fact that co-operation between states will never go far enough until there is agreement on political aims and objectives. It is also a known fact that some African governments, because of their links with imperialism, are vehemently opposed to anything that looks like political unity of the African continent. Will the African press be serving the cause of African Unity if it remains silent over the actions of African governments that obstruct or undermine such unity?

The argument of non-interference in the internal

affairs of sister states is a mere screen for shielding imperialist manoeuvres in Africa. Is it common sense to expect the African press does the testing of nuclear weapons on its territories on the grounds that this is a matter entirely within its jurisdiction?

The holders of the "non-interference in domestic affairs" view seem to forget that domestic policy is a determinant of foreign policy. For example, a national army trained, equipped and officered by nationals of NATO countries can only serve a foreign policy leaning heavily on the NATO powers. And such over-dependence on NATO powers is simply incompatible with our drive to complete independence and total liberation.

### DECOLONISATION

The Addis Ababa Charter laid down certain principles. The more important ones are rapid decolonisation,

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anti-apartheid and a fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms. In defence of these principles, the African press has no alternative but to expose and fight the intrigues of neo-colonialism in Congo (Brazzaville) where Fulbert Youlou was overthrown and in Dahomey where Hubert Maga was deposed. Again, the African press must challenge any policies that aim at solving apartheid by dividing South Africa even if such policy is put out as the policy of an African government. Another example is that the African press cannot remain silent when an African state, contrary to the accepted principle of an early termination of colonialism, calls for abolition of colonial rule in Africa only by 1970.

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major factor in keeping these governments on the path of rectitude. To advocate a conspiracy of silence on the part of the African press is to create conditions that encourage both the imperialists and their agents in Africa.

### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The second issue which must be thoroughly settled here at the conference and among journalists in each African country is the notion of the freedom of the press. There is a tendency among some African journalists to adopt a mechanical approach to the matter of the freedom of the press. Some even resent all forms of "interference" by politicians with the press in its daily work.

It is important always to bear in mind, when handling this problem, that the journalist is never free in the sense that he rarely owns the paper or radio on which he works. Therefore the plea for 'freedom of the press' in reality reduces to a plea for a free hand for the owners of the press. The liberty of the journalist is relative. He is free when his ideology is broadly the same as that of the owners of the paper on which he works. If his ideology is contraposed to that of his boss or board of directors, then surely he has to restrict his freedom and work for his living or attain the greatest freedom of all which is a sack from his job. The point being made here is that freedom of the press cannot be considered in isolation; it must be related to the bigger question of who controls the press.

Control of the African press is a problem which African journalists must face boldly and realistically. There will never arise a situation in which control of the press ceases to exist.

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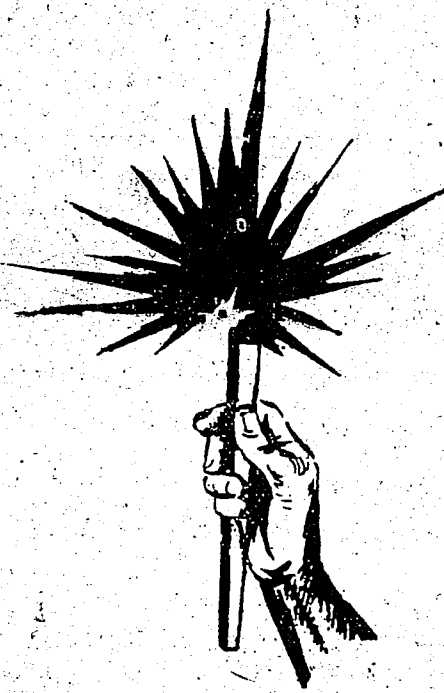
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Secondly, having seen that the African press serving the African Revolution must be supported by the African state, the question arises: should control be in the hands of the government or of the political party? The correct solution is that press control should be vested in the party in preference to the government. For without such an arrangement, the government soon grows very powerful at the expense of the party that gave birth to it and government policies mould party ideology instead of party ideology animating government policies.

A second reason for vesting control of the African press in the party, and not in the government, is provided in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's opening address to the second conference of African journalists. Talking about "governments whose only opposition to tyranny and abuse lies in the folds of the ruling party itself", the President of the Republic of Ghana said: "A ceaseless flow of self-criticism, an unending vigilance against tyranny and nepotism and

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# Our Universities: Legon

## A REPLY

By Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien,  
Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana

## OUR EXPLANATION

WE are happy to carry the views of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, on the first three instalments of our series on "Our Universities: Legon".

In our desire to let the public get the full facts we offered Dr. O'Brien twice the space he asked for.

We have reproduced Dr. O'Brien's article entirely unedited. Even the cross-heads stand as supplied by the Vice-Chancellor himself.

We carry side by side our correspondent's comments on Dr. O'Brien's reply.

Any contributions by readers that throw light on this controversy are welcome.

Our series on "Our Universities" continues on page 6. —EDITOR.

I AM grateful to the Editor of "Spark" for giving me an opportunity and a reasonable allowance of space, to reply to the three critical articles under the title "Our Universities: Legon" which "Spark" has just published. These articles contain some valid criticisms, and it is well to acknowledge the truth of this at once. All of us at the University are conscious that our institution, like others, has its defects and, although we might not all agree on exactly what these defects were, we are far from envisaging the situation with complacency.

### COSTS

The first criticism explicitly made by the writer of the articles is that the buildings which at present constitute our campus "cost far too much, much more, it is certain, than they need have done". I believe that this unfortunately is true, and I would add a further criticism, that the buildings in question were not merely uneconomic but functionally badly designed (although it must be said in their favour that they are solidly constructed with low maintenance costs). I would agree with the writer that it is essential to ensure that future buildings will be as efficient and as economic as humanly possible. I do not agree with him as to the most likely means of securing that end; this is a point to which I shall return in a moment.

A further point concerning building which is valid is that it is uneconomic for the University to house, as it is at present obliged to do, some of its staff in rented flats in the Accra area. To cope with this situation, five blocks of flats are nearing completion in the Ayido Valley area of the University campus, and further housing is also being planned. Since our critic made a point about "relying on local skill", it should be noted that the flats in question have been designed and executed by G.N.C.C.

Yet another point with which one must agree concerns the high cost of running the University. It is true that the "maintenance of its staff, academic, administrative, and services, has totalled up in an alarming way"; it is also true, as your correspondence justly observes, that the cost per student has tended to fall; this trend may be expected to continue. The total cost, however, is still a matter for concern as the University continues, in accordance with Government policy and without any lowering of admission standards, to expand. The number, at 1,500, is now more than double what it was two years ago, and may be expected to reach 5,000 before 1970. The addition of a medical school will also considerably inflate costs, even though American A.I.D. is expected to bear a considerable proportion of these costs in the early years of the School. As, in Ghana, in accordance with Socialist principles, the entire cost of the University normally falls on the State, and as Ghana is already contributing a higher proportion of its revenue to higher education than is any other country, the implications

of this rising burden call for a careful examination, and they are receiving this at more than one level. This University has proposed to the National Council for Higher Education the constitution of a University Grants Committee to review all estimates from Universities and eliminate unnecessary duplication and any waste. At the University's request, a senior financial official of the State has agreed to participate, with the University's Finance Committee, in a detailed review of the University's finances, in order to ascertain what economies are feasible without damage to the national requirements which the University is called upon to meet. At the same time, on the initiative of a member of the University's own Department of Economics, that department have in train, with the Institute of Statistics, a special study into the cost of University construction and operation. I quote from the memorandum proposing this study, which has my full support:—

"A study of the kind envisaged here should put a lot of valuable information in the hands of those planning the University's expansion. It should also reveal details of the financial organisation which are not immediately apparent. It is also possible that it will reveal certain obvious changes that should be made. Perhaps most important of all it would give a way of seeing quite clearly the relationship between the University and the economy of the country. The University is part of the country not only politically and socially, it is also part of the country economically."

I should add, however, that while it is vital to exert vigilance regarding costs, there is no reason for believing that expenditure at Legon is wasteful in comparison with comparable institutions. The following table of approximate cost per student for certain Universities in Africa and the West Indies is of some interest:

Most of the above Universities have much less adequate facilities for teaching and research than are available at Legon. Our figures of cost per student also compare not unfavourably with those for K.N.U.S.T.

I now pass to criticisms of more dubious value. Two of these are house-keeping points. Thus it is implied that the project for a University farm instituted by my predecessor as Vice-Chancellor, Nana Nketsia, now the Chairman of the Council, has been abandoned. This is not the case. The farm is in operation, and is supplying the University with produce, as are the agricultural research stations, as by-products of their functions. We wish, of course, to make as much progress as possible towards making the University Community self-sufficient in food. This effort is, however, ancillary, and must remain so, to the University's prime functions of teaching and research.

On the relatively trivial question of "the gravel pit" your correspondent advises us to consult our own department of Geology about using gravel deposits on our campus for road building. I have consulted that department which confirms that these deposits have, in fact, been used for some time for this purpose. It ought not to be necessary to refer to such an issue at all, were it not that it illustrates one of your correspondent's less agreeable polemical methods. He says here that there is "nothing but a criminal point" in buying gravel from contractors when these deposits are available. The use of such violent, and indeed possibly libellous language on a matter about which he did not trouble to ascertain the facts is considerably below the standards rightly expected from a Socialist journal. This again, is a point to which, unfortunately, I shall have to return.

### GRADUATES

A much more important point—indeed quite vital and central to the University's function—is the claim that recent graduates fall seriously below the standards of their predecessors. If this were so, then indeed, there would be grounds for the most fundamental reconsideration of everything which the University has been doing, as it would be clear that the University was failing in the nation in relation to its main function. But is the charge true? The only evidence which your correspondent produces is his claim that "recent graduates caused groans in the upper reaches of the civil service". As against this, we have the known fact that the University's examination standards have not

been lowered in any way. This is controlled as regards admissions by the West African Examinations Council, and as regards degrees by external examiners. It is true, of course, that, since really first rate graduates are scarcer than run-of-the-mill ones, it follows that, as you expand numbers you will be producing more run-of-the-mill graduates. It is also true that, unfortunately, a high proportion of the expanded student intake are students who have chosen what are regarded as the easier options, while relatively few are equipped and prepared to begin a University Science course. The remedy for this is to be sought in co-operation with the schools and it has in fact been the object of review by more than one government sponsored committee during the past year.

Another point is also to be borne in mind when the cry—not peculiar to Ghana—is raised: "the University is going to the dogs and the new graduates are not a patch on our generation". This is that the new graduate is ipso facto likely to be rather callow, and will not show to best advantage in the first years of his post-graduate career. To compare him, at this stage in his development, with a mature "early graduate" is therefore misleading.

A number of points have been made by your correspondent about the Faculty of Agriculture. This is a large and complex subject, and requires even more space than you have kindly allowed me here, to deal with adequately. What I would like to ask you would be to set aside space in a future issue for the faculty's own account of what it is doing in teaching, in research and in practical application. In this there will be room for a detailed reply to your criticisms.

Even at this stage, however I should like to cite just one example of the value which the University's research work in this field has for Ghana's developing economy. The Polish concern which is to set up a sugar refinery here was led to a positive decision on this, as its directors have expressly stated, by the published researches on sugar cane carried out at the University's research station at Kpong, and has entrusted that station with the task of raising the initial cane crop for the project.

### MASTER PLAN

One theme which ran through the three articles, and which is taken up in the third article with extreme vehemence, is the idea that the University's plans to hold a competition for the master plan for development up to a campus of 5,000 students constitute, to use the language of the final article, "a criminal misuse of funds".

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I AM very glad that the University of Ghana at Legon has not only admitted the validity of (albeit, some) of the points raised by me, but in fact agrees that steps should be taken to correct some of the defects pointed out. It is not as if these are new things. We of the press have been summoned to Legon a few times before, but from the hand-outs given us there we would think that all was well with our University in Legon.

The President said in his speech to the Conference of African Journalists:

*"As a professional man, the African journalist shares with other journalists throughout the world, the duty of gathering information carefully and of disseminating it honestly. To tamper with the truth is treason to the human mind. By poisoning the well-springs of public opinion with falsehood, you defeat, in the long run, your own ends. Once a journal gains a reputation for occasional unreliability or distortion, its value is destroyed"*

One takes it that, in quoting this statement in its reply, the University of Ghana wishes to say first that I as a journalist have not behaved according to the recommendations of this quotation, and that it, on this occasion of journalistic activity, has measured up fully to standards.

So let's see what the University has to say. I should however be forgiven if I pass over the points on which we agree. I shall even say that the recommendation of the University of Ghana for the creation of a University Grants Committee is a sound one though one would have thought that the National Council for Higher Education would be able to carry-out the functions mentioned.

Even though the suggestion that the University of Ghana should "reveal details of the financial organisation which are not immediately apparent", and possibly (?) "reveal certain obvious changes that should be made" has come only in 1963 (one supposes) it is better late than never. Kudos to the Department of Economics for its initiative. What prevented the University administration from showing the initiative itself?

The argument which the University of Ghana gives for the suggestion that we should be happy with its expenditure is deeply fallacious. I refer readers to the table given in the University's reply. When the University says that the institutions it mentions "have much less adequate facilities for teaching and research than are available at Legon" surely it cannot be telling quite the truth. Is our University seriously suggesting that Ibadan has facilities for teaching and research not comparable to those at Legon?

This is of course quite false. Besides, it is known that Ibadan has for some time now been consistently producing science graduates of high calibre. Their success in this field is more distinguished than that of Legon. Why is there such a dearth of such graduates from Legon with its boasted "facilities for teaching and research"?

The table of costs is very faulty and Legon

should know that medical students cost far much to produce than other students do. In Ibadan, they have a large number of Medical students, and they have had them in some numbers for several years now. It is a marvel in the circumstances that their cost per student is only £1,100 compared with Legon's £950. The University College of East Africa (Makerere) has also had a beautifully equipped and well manned medical school for some years now, and yet the average cost per student is only £650 per annum. When Legon has really got down to training students in medicine, its cost per student now £950 will rise considerably, especially if Legon has an intake in medicine anything like Ibadan.

Besides, the table should really illustrate the relative costs of building, as its position would lead one to expect. The figures for that have of course not been furnished.

If one judged Legon's table in the light of the President's speech quoted by it, one would be forced to the painful conclusion that we have not been fairly dealt with. What did Legon cost to build?

I pointed out that Legon must be understood to be claiming that it was being truthful and correct in its article. What I meant about the University farm was that the plans of Nana Nketsia had not been fulfilled and this is true. I admitted there was a farm, I admitted that meat was supplied from the University's farm, etc. But I added that this was not on an adequate scale. So when the University of Ghana in its Vice-Chancellor's letter writes "it is implied that the project for a university farm...has been abandoned. This is not the case", it is not dealing with us honestly. The plans of Nana Nketsia were for such a farm as would make the University of Ghana self-sufficient in meat, eggs, fowls and certain crops. These plans have not been implemented. Instead, there is a little farm which supplies food in little quantities and is quite uneconomical.

What is the evidence that Legon wishes "to make as

much progress as possible towards making the university community self-sufficient in food"? None, for Legon could have by now been self-sufficient in beef, lamb, pork, fowl, eggs, yams, etc. if it really wishes to. Its reluctance peeps through its statement that such a farm is ancillary and must remain ancillary to the prime functions of teaching and research.

If Legon realised that it owed a duty to this country, discharged through our farmers, it would have a model farm putting some of the results of its researches into practice, a farm which it can point out to the farmers as an illustration of the correctness of scientific agriculture.

The only instance of the transmission of a result of its researches which Legon was able to mention in its reply is advice in connection with our sugar refinery. But this is not satisfactory. If Legon were able to say that such results concerning sugar-cane had been passed on to the Ministry or Department of Agriculture to the United Ghana Farmers' Council, etc. then we would know that it had not been sitting on the results of its researches. Why wait for the sugar-refinery, when sugar-cane has been grown in this country for centuries.

### GRAVEL PIT

May we know which roads in Legon have been constructed by use of gravel from Legon? And may we know if large sums of money have not been paid by Legon to contractors supplying gravel from outside?

The University of Legon may not know how much I know. I have in fact exercised some restraint over the points I raise, and I shall continue to do so in spite of Legon's doubts.

It is painful to see so many irrelevancies in the reply from Legon. Consider the following:

*"The only evidence which your correspondent produces is his claim that 'recent graduates caused groans in the upper reaches of the civil service'. As against this, we have the known fact that the university's examination standards have not been lowered in any way. This is controlled as regards admissions by the West African Examinations Council and as regards examinations"*

Continued on page 7

# Osagyefo's Address to African Journalists

ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF GHANA, AND ON MY OWN BEHALF, LET ME WELCOME YOU, JOURNALISTS OF AFRICA, AND ALL THOSE WHO HAVE COME HERE TO ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE.

IT IS NOT SIMPLY OUT OF COURTESY THAT I AM HERE TO OPEN THIS CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN JOURNALISTS. MOST OF YOU WILL KNOW THAT I COME TO SPEAK TO YOU WITH A PARTICULAR SENSE OF PLEASURE AS AN OLD JOURNALIST WHO CAN STILL BE EXCITED BY THE SMELL OF PRINTER'S INK AND THE CLATTER OF THE PRINTING MACHINE.

If we interpret journalism as the dissemination of news and the clarion to action, then journalism is certainly not new to Africa.

From time immemorial we have developed our own special system of transmitting news and messages across the country, from village to village, from community to community; we have devised our peculiar means of gathering our people together and putting problems before them for decision. The talking drums and the courier have been the harbingers of news. From the days of the drum, we have accepted as an inexorable canon that the news which was transmitted should be true and the information conveyed accurate and reliable. For the safety and the lives of many people might depend upon it.

In these modern days, we have the teleprinter and the telex machine for conveying news at greater speed. But the principle and the purpose of it all remain the same. Even while the drum spoke, we in Africa were developing more modern forms of journalism.

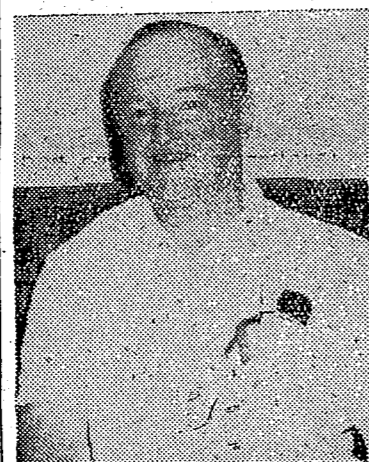
## YEARS OF HISTORY

Indigenous newspapers in West Africa have at least a hundred years of history behind them. In 1858, only fourteen years after the Bond of 1844 and before the Gold Coast had been annexed as a definitive colony of Great Britain the WEST AFRICAN HERALD was edited by Charles Bannerman, a son of the soil. About the same time, John Tengu Jabavu was editing the IMVO in South Africa. In Nigeria, the basic ideas of modern nationalism were developed by John Payne Jackson from 1891, in his journal, THE LAGOS WEEKLY RECORD.

James Brew in the Gold Coast of the 1870's, and 80's, and J. E. Caseley Hayford, a generation later, edited vocal, nationalist papers; but they were restricted in their circulation to the few literate readers along the coast.

The astonishing thing about these editors and their small band of journalistic collaborators was how they managed to build up a secret intelligence and news-gathering service along the coast, which involved, beside the normal hazards of anti-colonialist activity, the danger of some of them finding a premature watery grave. In those days, there was no proper road between Cape Coast

and Accra—not even the rough one we knew before the Government of the Convention People's Party built the present modern ones. So these editors and their co-workers worked their clandestine way by canoe along the coast to the



Maurice Hermann  
President, I.O.J.  
(Observer)

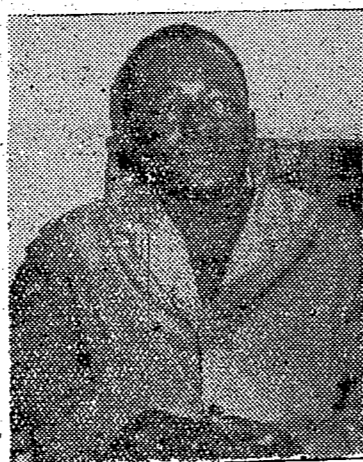
capital, Accra. There, they ferretted out all the latest material that could be used against the colonialist government, and then they paddled their dangerous way back to Cape Coast. All these activities were done at night. It was always a puzzle to the British administration in Accra as to how these newspapers were able to appear in Cape Coast with such "hot" news so quickly.

## DOCTRINE OF EQUAL RIGHTS

Nevertheless, these and other journalists did much to spread the doctrine of equal rights for Africans, especially as schooling began to widen out gradually and we were becoming conscious of ourselves as political beings.

In North Africa, in 1930, L'ACTION TUNISIENNE was launched by Habib Bourguiba, now President of

Tunisia, and a group of his Neo Destour party members. In the Ivory Coast in 1935, the journal L'ECLAIREUR had an immense success in African circles. It led a campaign against reactionary chiefs and colonialist oppression. It demanded measures of social reconstruction and urged the cause of the unemployed and of the African farmers, who had been hit by the colonialist-made economic crisis. Nnamdi Azikiwe's WEST AFRICAN PILOT and the organ of the Convention People's Party—the ACCRA EVENING NEWS—in more recent years, led in the field of nationalist journalism. Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, with his WEST AFRICAN STANDARD, did some ground work in trade union journalism.



Secretary General  
PAMJU

THE AFRICANIST emerged as the custodian of South African nationalism in 1953 and remained a revolutionary mouthpiece of the Africans of South Africa. Its founder and first editor was Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, who is now detained indefinitely on Robben Island after serving three years' imprisonment for his part in the cause of freedom.

George Padmore, working outside Africa, but identifying himself completely with its struggles, carried on almost all of his adult life a tenacious fight for African nationalism and independence. His contributions to the press of Africa and to that of peoples of African descent in the West Indies and the United States; his wide spread journalistic writings throughout the world, served as a rallying point and inspiration to the leaders of African independence and the masses.

## AFRICAN PRESS

The African press, born of incipient nationalism, nurtured on political consciousness, and developed side by side with a growing sense of responsibility, is now strong and healthy, despite the many obstacles placed in its way. However, the fact that the press in Africa to-day is an important and influential institution, does not alone lend importance to your meeting to-day.

The special significance of this gathering is that it is the first conference of African journalists since the Organisation of African Unity was established at Addis Ababa in May this year.

As such it can do nothing less than fulfil the purpose of a continental press conference on the Unity of Africa.

As a professional man, the African journalist shares with other journalists throughout the world, the duty of gathering information carefully and of disseminating it honestly. To tamper with the truth is treason to the human mind. By poisoning the well-springs of public opinion with falsehood, you defeat, in the long run, your own ends. Once a journal gains a reputation for even occasional unreliability or distortion, its value is destroyed.

It is part of our revolutionary credo that within the competitive system of capitalism, the press cannot function in accordance with a strict regard for the sacredness of facts, and that the press, therefore, should not remain in private hands.

As, in a capitalist or neo-colonialist environment, profit from circulation and advertising is the major consideration, the journalist working within it is caught by its mechanisms.

## ARRANGEMENTS OF NEWS

No matter how great his personal integrity, as long as he remains, he must mould his thinking to its dictates, consciously or unconsciously, he is forced into arranging news and information to fit the outlook of his journal. He finds himself rejecting or distorting facts that do not coincide with the outlook and interest of his employer or the medium's advertisers. Willy-nilly, he adjusts his ideas to that of the class which his journal represents, the class for which it caters, the interests and objectives which it serves to advance.

Under the pressure of competition for advertising revenue, trivialities are blown up, the vulgar emphasised, ethics forgotten, the important trimmed to the class outlook. Enmities are fanned and peace is perverted. The search is for sensation and the justification of an unjust system in which truth or the journalist must become the casualty.

It is no wonder, then, that for every decent or well-informed journal in a capitalist country, you have many more of the kind that concentrates on sensationalism and scandal; that cover up facts or deny them; that manufacture news in order to mislead and corrupt. There are journals that employ special techniques of presentation in order to ensnare the minds not just of thousands, but of the millions, that read them. Every means, both subtle and raw, are used to maintain sway over the minds of men, and thus secure and hold their support in the continued exploitation and suppression of the oppressed. Oft-times they are



President Nkrumah addressing the Second Conference of African Journalists

led to concur in their own exploitation. They are enjoined against peace, they are manoeuvred against freedom and right.

Unfortunately, some of these journals have made their way into our continent and are employing their influence to wean our people to ideas and ways of life that run counter to our image and our hopes. We must be vigilant against their penetration and their incitement. We must be careful not to take their falsities as models, either for our public or our journalists. For our African journalists have a different task, a higher responsibility, a greater objective, which demand a mould of quite another order.

## TYPES OF JOURNALISTS

In Africa today, three types of African journalists can be recognised on our continent: There are those who are purposefully and unreservedly devoted to the cause of the African Revolution. Such journalists are dedicated to African freedom, African progress and African unity.

Then, there are those who by their work serve only the interests of private capital. These journalists have no minds of their own, no devotion to their people or their continent. They carry out the dictates of their foreign employers operating in Africa; they gyrate in the effort to anticipate their masters' wishes.

Thirdly, there are those journalists who, unwittingly or deliberately, serve the interests of foreign governments by their support of the client and puppet regimes that have been established in Africa.

The last two categories wrap their distortions and their diversions from the truth in a morbid appeal to chauvinism, unreason and latent animosities.

Whether they are aware of it or not, they are misusing their talents and their opportunity in the interest

of Africa's enemies and against those of our people, our continent and our cause.

## THE FIGHT

We who are fighting against colonialism and imperialism, we who are fighting against the blandishment of client states and settler governments in Africa, and are seeking to create a just society in which the welfare of each shall be the welfare of all, must stand against the methods of those whose journalism has precisely the opposite ends. We have nothing to gain by suppressing or distorting facts. Circulation of itself is not our first consideration; though obviously we are anxious to reach and inform the widest possible audience. But we have no wish to play upon the gullibility of that audience, for it is precisely to the interests of that audience that we are dedicated. And we can only promote those interests by self-criticism and the faithful presentation of truth and fact.

The journalist who works faithfully for our African Revolution refuses to sell his soul to imperialism and to Moloch, and thus starts with an advantage over his colleagues of the imperialist and neo-colonialist press.

His integrity, as long as he persists in this decision, is assured. To the true African journalist, his newspaper is a collective organ-

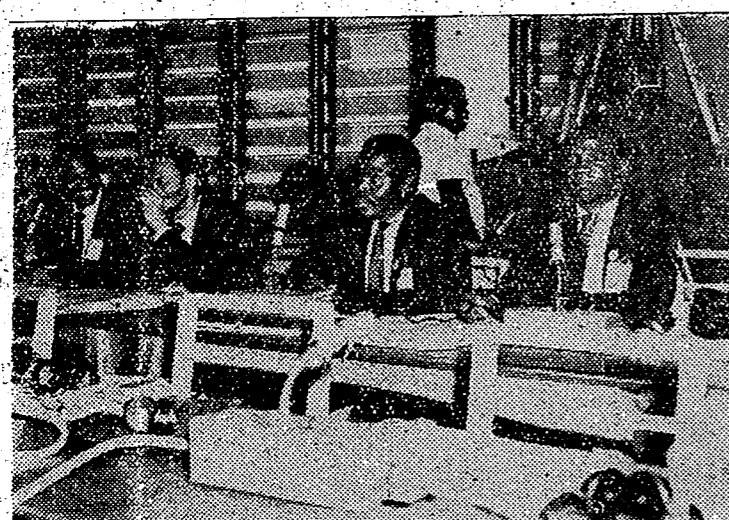
niser, a collective instrument of mobilisation and a collective educator—a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to assist total African independence and unity.

The true African journalist, abjuring imperialist blandishments and bribes, can certainly call his soul his own. His work may be more difficult because of deficiencies in the technical means of gathering information and the daily harassments that confront him; his remuneration may not be great and expense accounts non-existent. But he has other, more satisfying rewards. He draws contentment from an honest job honestly done. His satisfac-

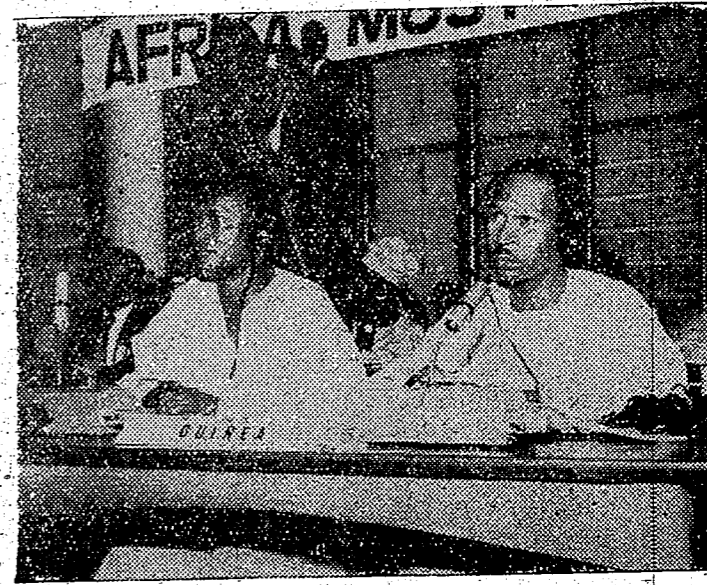
(Continued on page 4)



Hussein Fahmy  
Leader, U.A.R. Delegation



Zambia Delegation



# "African Journalists Must Fight Neo-Colonialism"



F. Pistolesse (I.C.C.J.)

(Continued from page 3)

tion is in his integrity, in work performed for the betterment of his fellows and the society of which he is a worthy member.

He does not need to peep through keyholes for scandals, or bribe underlings to divulge what should remain private and personal; he does not need to concoct or manufacture exciting revelations. He is not forced to doctor news and debase public standards to fit the purpose of the rich and the would-be richer. I am re-



M. Gologo, Leader, Mali Delegation

mind here that a British journalist friend of mine once told me that sometimes the news items he sent to his paper in London were so doctored that he had difficulty in recognising what he himself had written.

### THE AFRICAN JOURNALIST

The true African journalist very often works for the organ of the political party to which he himself belongs and in whose purpose he believes. He works to serve a society moving in the direction of his own aspirations.

How many journalists of the imperialist and neo-co-



Vasco Cabral, Leader

lonialist press have this satisfaction? How many know this peace of mind? How many work with a respect for their calling, and with faith in the society which they serve?

These are high rewards for an honest man in the course of his professional career. But they are not earned without corresponding responsibilities. Every African is responsible to the African Revolution by the heritage of his birth and by his experience of colonialism and imperialism.

The responsibilities of the journalist come particularly high in the hierarchy of our revolution; none higher, none more onerous, none more satisfying than those of an African journalist using his talents and his integrity in adverse and sacrificing conditions, not only in the cause of the freedom and independence of his country, but in the wider cause of the political unity and cultural and material development of the African continent, of which his country is a part.

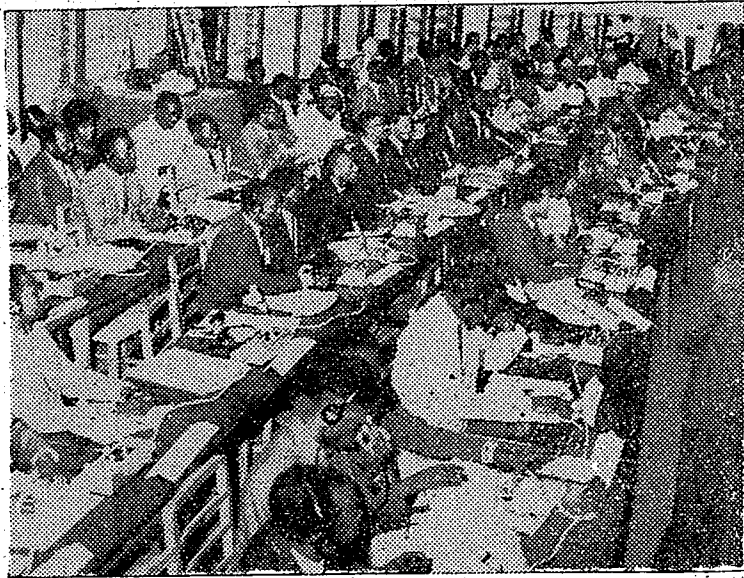
### WATCHWORD

Truth, we say, must be the watchword of our African journalists and facts must be his guide. These tenets, however, must not excuse dullness in our newspapers and our journals. They must not be used as a cover for shoddy writing and ambiguous intentions. The African journalist is not only expected to communicate the facts and aims of our African Revolution, but to do so compellingly and without fear. He must continually and fearlessly expose neo-colonialist subterfuge. He must attain a proper understanding of the African Revolution, its purpose and its travails. He must acquire technical proficiency and literary skill.

Even though he tells the truth, it does not make the same impact when presented in a dull manner with vain repetition, as if without conviction.

We must make our publications attractive to the eye and easy to handle and read. We cannot self-righteously or contemptuously dismiss the appeal or under-rate the seductiveness of the brightness in which the imperialism clothes its journalistic offerings. Bright colours and gay forms are used to cover insidious suggestiveness. We have more genuine fare to offer, but we would be foolish to dismiss airily the blandishments that cover their frivolities and poisonous intentions. We would be deceiving ourselves if we were to under-rate their abilities and their determination to penetrate deeply into our midst and draw our people away from their own true interests.

Africa presents a vast market for popular magazines—especially the smart magazines which cater for the faster juvenile and middle-class Afro-Americans, anxious to share in the fruits of the rich material environment so near and



yet so far from their reach. Our enemies are intent to make these the thin edge of intellectual neo-colonialism.

You will not beat the spurious and seductive output of Western journalism except by publications of high quality and popular appeal. The answer is not to copy them, but to excel them—to educate the taste of the African reader to the point of rejecting the undesirable foreign wares.

### AFRICAN REVOLUTION

To do this, however, you must understand our Revolution, know its main-springs and its objectives. You must know what spirit we have to impart, what kind of society we are seeking, what nature of men and women we hope to fashion. The facts you gather must manifest that Revolution, foster its aim and depict truthfully its progress, its pitfalls and obstacles. They must encourage our people and not deceive them with false hopes or false achievements.

You have the duty to express the views which will move our Revolution forward. For all of this, the ordinary professional education of a journalist is not enough. You must understand the relationship between the press and our society and you must understand our society in relation to the rest of the world.

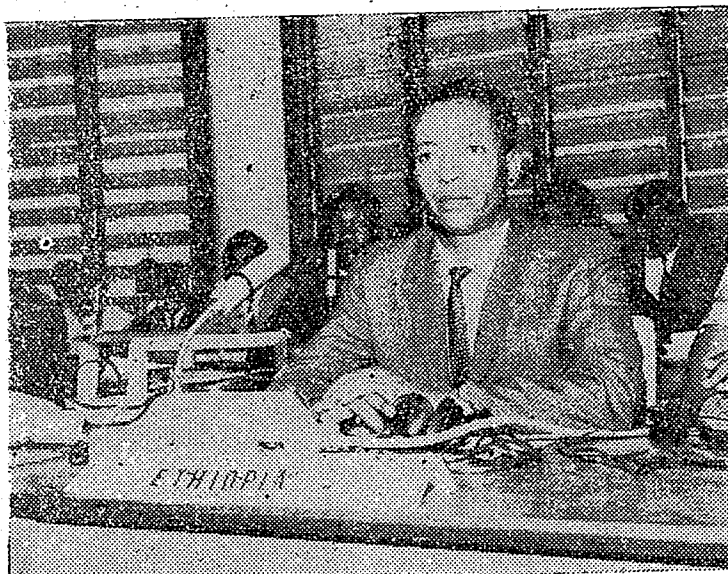
The truly African revolutionary press does not exist merely for the purpose of enriching its proprietors or entertaining its readers. It is an integral part of our society, with which its purpose is in consonance. Just as in the capitalist countries the press represents and carries out the purpose of capitalism, so in Revolutionary Africa, our Revolutionary African press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose. This is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease.

This is what we are trying to do here in the Ghana School of Journalism.

### HOST OF ENEMIES

For our continent to develop along these lines, we must repel a host of enemies: Enemies whom we call imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, in an attempt to categorise their activities, but enemies whose ends are always the same: the undermining and restriction of our independence. They work laboriously to impede and frustrate our economic development; they employ all manner of means to prevent our unity as a continent.

To destroy our political stability is the obvious method of attacking our independence. Hence they try to corrupt our political institutions, our civil service, our police, our army. Even



our universities and judiciary are not exempt from their attempts to capture our constitution for their own ends through bribery and corruption. But thanks to the firm resistance at all levels of our national movements, they are often foiled.

A more effective method of destroying our political stability is to intensify our poverty so that popular dissatisfaction will infect our states with treason and violence. The legacies of poverty and backwardness, left by the colonialists and which can be removed only by great sacrifices spread over long periods, offer fertile fields for such

intrigue.

### EXPLOITATION

We have seen enough to know that the imperialists use decolonisation as a manoeuvre for the greater exploitation of their former colonies. They do not accept it as a historical necessity to end a shameful and untenable period in human history. In the face of stormy winds of freedom blowing through Africa, the colonialists have only veered their course; they have not changed it. Where once they ruled by force, they now manipulate to maintain their hold (on Africa) by cunning, bribery and subterranean violence.

Ironically, they follow in the footsteps of the early Portuguese explorers, who first named the southern tip of our continent the Cape of Storms, and then changed the name to the Cape of Good Hope. The change of name could not change the weather conditions; and did no more for the indigenous inhabitants than to make that corner of Africa a hell on earth for them.

If the imperialists have been forced by circumstances to cede independence to former colonies, we know by now that the intention was to make that independence purely nominal. Wherever independence aims to become a reality, the hostility of the imperialists knows no bounds. This ulterior intention has resulted in dividing Africa into client states and states whose independence hangs

power, which is thereby able to dominate its economy and, indirectly, the state apparatus. It is empire-building without the flag.

And this is how it works: They see to it that the political power remains in the hands of indigenous reactionaries.

They manoeuvre to control the Army, the Police and even the Intelligence Services.

They see to it that the economic institutions of the country are in the hands of their agents, and that economic production is completely controlled by private foreign capital leaving only the less profitable infra-structure in the hands of the indigenous population.

They divide the Trade Union and other popular movements.

When they have gained full control, in this way, of a client or puppet state, with a client or puppet administration, then they are in a position to do what they like with the territory, its government and its people.

### MILITARY COUPS

If they cannot get their own way, then they engineer political and military coups, to overthrow the regimes and install new reactionary regimes which will carry out their orders.

Some of us allow ourselves to be used as agents of such neo-colonialist and settler government espionage systems operating in Africa. Even the Fascist Regime of South Africa could have agents among us here.

I have always been particularly proud of my trade union associations. As a worker in my student days in America, I belonged to the Maritime Workers' Union and played an active part in our struggles to better the living conditions of our fellow workers.

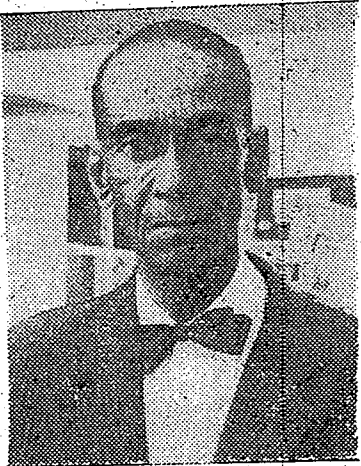
From the very early days of the African resistance struggle, trade unions have played a dominant role in the conquering liberation movements. That is our experience in Ghana, and I know the experience throughout the other African countries.

Throughout this vast continent of ours, workers, organised or unorganised, must become aware of the duty they owe not only to their own country but to mother Africa and must rapidly adjust themselves to the new role of nation building, and also guard jealously our independence against incursions of neo-colonialism. African workers must organise themselves for the final overthrow of colonialism and



Jiri Meisner, Secretary General I.O.J.

liquidation of neo-colonialism. The African trade unions must be the vanguard in this continental struggle because the workers suffer most under colonialist or neo-colonialist exploitation. The journalists of Africa must recognise this and use the African press in supporting our trade unions and exposing the evils of neo-colonialism.



J. Erenne, Leader Mauritius Delegation

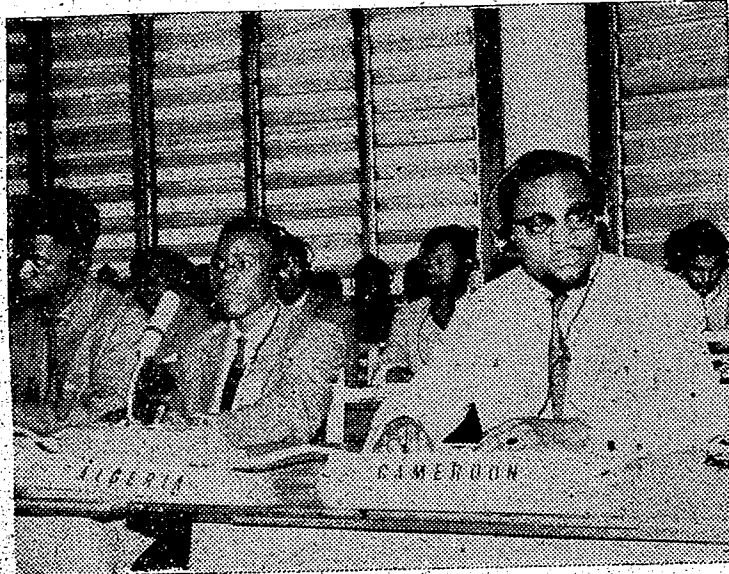
My faith in the All-African Trade Union Federation as the most positive and reliable ally in our struggle against neo-colonialism is an abiding one. AATUF must have the unconditional support of the African Press as against the other neo-colonialist trade union groupings in Africa, either of the ICFTU or those who serve as vehicle of neo-colonialist infiltration. Our African journalists must help explain the importance of trade Unions in our African revolution. The African trade unions are those that have their roots in the broad



Engelbert Ngog-Hob, Leader, Cameroon Delegation

mass of our people. They must be in a position to bring to our attention quickly the feelings of the workers and we must draw them into consultation on the formulation of Government policy. There cannot be any conflict of interest

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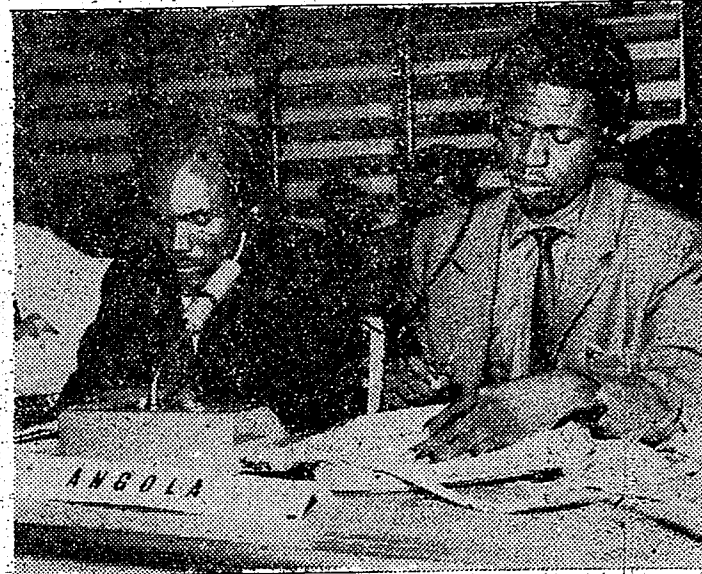
Lo Cheikh Bara, Leader, Senegal Delegation



Lanra Landenefar, Leader Nigerian Delegation



Wilson Munubi Beukoli, Leader, Tanganyikan Delegation



# "Never Allow Yourselves to be Bought"

Continued from page 4

in the task of nation building. It must be the responsibility of the African Governments to encourage our trade unions and help them consolidate their strength.

To build Africa which must be Africa liberated from exploitation, Africa

must now press on quickly to a union Government of Africa.

Those who say that a continental government of Africa is illusory are deceiving themselves. Worse, they are deceiving their people, who see in the unity of our continent the way to a better life. They ig-

wide open to a neo-colonialist take-over in Africa.

The Moroccan-Algerian border dispute which erupted into open warfare last month, and others like it, present a grave symptom of our desperate plight as independent states. Among the colonial legacies which imperil our present and our future, there is the uneasy condition of ill-defined boundaries between states which hug a nationalist passion and new-found independence. What can more easily lead to strife, conflict and war?

With all the goodwill and wise leadership in the world, these border disputes cannot be permanently settled. Especially when they have their origin in the criminal colonial scramble for Africa. Why visit the sins of colonialism upon the children of the African Revolution? Why should we pay for the sins that colonialists have committed against us? The only solution to such border disputes lies in the establishment of a Union Government of Africa in which we shall all enjoy a common union citizenship which will make boundaries melt away.

**We were divided on our continent not by chance or by choice, but by force. We cannot cure that division by**

NOW. Putting off the reality of African Union will only add inertia to the confusion, it will bring the African revolution to a standstill, perhaps for the next thousand years. Now is the hour to seal the Union Government of Africa.

## UNITED AFRICA

This is the Africa which you, as African journalists, must help to create and develop, the new Africa of which our people dream, for which they stretch out their hands. With your brains and your pens, with the strength of your faith and the passion of your thoughts and words, you are the vanguard of the crusade for a United Africa. Never sell yourselves for a mess of pottage; never allow yourselves to be bought.

Less than six months have elapsed since Addis Ababa and, as I said the other day, the course of events has already overtaken us. We must take care that it does not overwhelm us completely. If there has been an ebb in the full tide of continental unity which launched the Addis Ababa Charter, we must attribute it to pressure on the client states and to a general stepping up of imperialist intrigues and threats throughout Africa.

foreign intelligence agencies.

The Belgian exploiters return in droves, secure in the knowledge that Mobutu's army is the only source of governmental power, and that he will protect them if the people's fury erupts.

American and Belgian capitalists have now resolved their differences in the Congo, whose wealth they mean to exploit as joint partners once a military dictatorship has broken completely the Lumumbaist political forces and the resistance of the industrial workers.

The writing on the wall for the Congo is as plain as it was in Peru, as it was in the Dominican Republic and in Honduras—as it was in South Vietnam before the military junta took over in order to give the war against the people of Vietnam a new lease of life.

## CONGO TRAGEDY

The plight of the Congo is no secret in Africa. It is known in the fullest detail in every part of the world. What will happen if we allow the Congo Republic to go the way of a Latin American Republic? We shall do no less than give the green light for the consortium of imperialists now operating in Africa to go ahead with plans for the structure of neo-colonialism here on the Latin American model.

If we let go the Congo it will strengthen the colonialists and the settler-governments of Southern Africa. It will mean the handing over of the struggle of our brothers in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa and the Protectorates to the more ruthless persecution of apartheid and quasi-apartheid. It will give encouragement to Verwoerd and his allies to strengthen still further the army that is being built up in South Africa.

This is the time we should be getting together to coalesce our forces against the threat of apartheid South Africa's menace to our African independence. We would be foolish if we sit back calmly while South Africa's ground to air missile base endangers our very existence.

If we let go the Congo we shall reinforce neo-colonialist presence here in Africa. While we are dilly-dallying, they are getting busier and busier on our continent. Western Powers are increasing their invest-

Let us, for example, take the Congo—that large and rich state in the heart of Africa—as the yardstick by which to measure whether we have progressed or not since the Summit Conference. If we look closely, we will see no progress, but rather a slackening of the high resolves and practical measures which we enunciated at Addis Ababa.

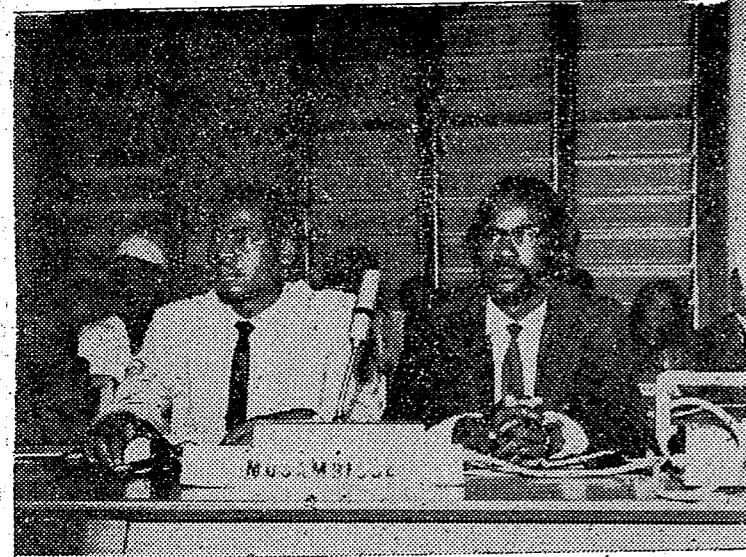
The situation in the Congo approximates that which found the Latin American states engulfed in political and military coups by juntas in the pay of outside interests and the control of

force among ourselves. We can only cure it by African unity, by coming together within a union government, not by perpetuating the artificial boundaries between us.

In the face of the assaults which neo-colonialism is now making on the whole of Africa, and of the preparations for war in those parts of Africa still occupied by the imperialists, the dividing line between triumph and disaster for African unity surmounted by a continental government is very thin. The military coups and plots, the border disputes in independent Africa, do not help to correct this situation.

We have allowed the neo-colonialists to intimidate us and make us afraid to move on to a continental government in Africa. While we listen to their counsels about the difficulties and the inopportunities, while we allow them to convince us that there are too many differences between us, while we permit them to assure us that we can only prosper by being strung to them and not to ourselves; they are getting on with their plans to drive us further and further apart and deepen the rifts between us.

Time is being used by them to sow confusion and destruction among us. We can frustrate their knavish tricks only by coming together, by coming together



just and strong we must build it with the people and for the people.

Africa must win through to real independence; and the only road open to us is the one whose first station was the Summit Conference of Addis Ababa. We



A. Quadraogo, Leader Upper Volta

more the lessons of history. If the United States of America could do it, if the Soviet Union could do it, if India could do it, why not Africa?

And it needs to be done now. No useful purpose is served by putting it off. On the contrary, recent events have shown that delay can only exacerbate our divisions and make our coming together more difficult.

We want the widest economic and social development, and we want it as soon as possible. We can get it, and get it quicker, only by planning it on a continental scale. And it becomes more and more obvious that continental planning cannot precede but must emanate from a continental government of Africa. It is this recognition that directs our enemies and detractors to keep us divided.



Salim, Leader Zanzibar Delegation

An All-African High Command is an immediate necessity, so that we can be ready at all times to protect our sovereignty and our independence. Otherwise, we will fight among ourselves, and destroy all we have so far achieved, to the delight and advantage of the neo-colonialists.

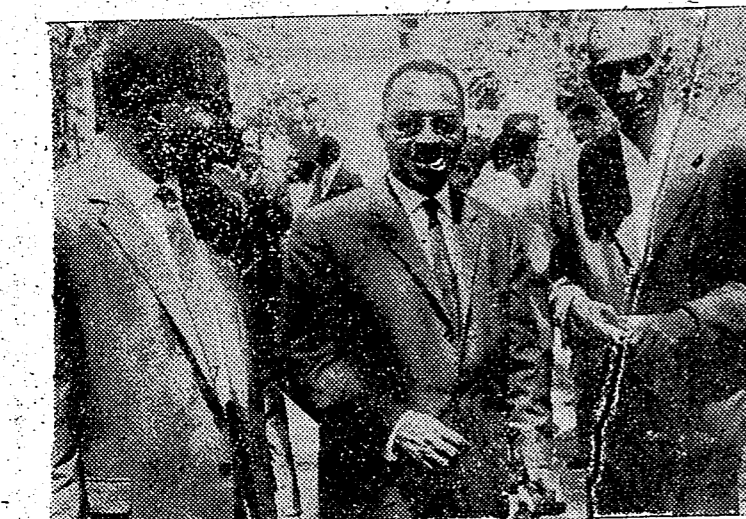
Only a continental government of Africa will give reality and purpose to African Unity. Without it, African Unity will remain an empty and sentimental slogan.

How can we hope to stop France from continually testing atom bombs in the Sahara? Only a Continental Government of Africa can make de Gaulle's France pause to reflect. No Resolutions or Charters can hope to do this.

A continental government for Africa, backed by a continental army under a unified High Command, would have authority to keep the peace throughout Africa. It would close the road now



A. Messan, Leader Togo Delegation



Members of the Executive of PANJU



ments in South Africa and refuse to be deflected from their support of Verwoerd and his regime. Surely these are signs of imperialist strength and unity, while we demonstrate our divisions and our feebleness.

If we let go the Congo we shall nullify the Addis Ababa Charter and confuse our minds with the hope of a unity that will never be fulfilled. We shall hand to neo-colonialist an instrument that will help them rather than the unity of Africa. The Congo is a symbol to all of us. And what goes on there now may be a symbol of what can happen to Ghana, or Nigeria, or Guinea, or Mali, or Tanganyika or any other African state.

## VIGILANCE

It is against these manoeuvres of the imperialists and neo-colonialists that the African journalist must be vigilant. He must shout for all the world to hear, and place on it the responsibility for thwarting their designs against Africa. The African journalist must be just as vigilant against our own faults and defections; and against our dilatoriness and unwillingness to make a reality of African unity. His is the duty to guard our African Revolution and see that it moves forward in the right direction. He must speak out, no matter what the cost. His columns must vibrate with the call to the African nations to take up the challenge that the African Revolution poses.

The African Revolution has for the most part, adopted one-party rule as its most appropriate political instrument for ending tribalism and planning development within the democratic framework of our African society. Even if we wanted it, we could not afford the deferment of strong and immediate governmental action which class and party politics entail. We cannot afford the political luxuries of capitalist democracy. We have

neither the capital nor the time.

The multiplication of political parties in Western Europe has not prevented the enthronement of dictatorial powers in some coun-

Continued on page 6



Munu Sipalo, Leader, Zambia Delegation



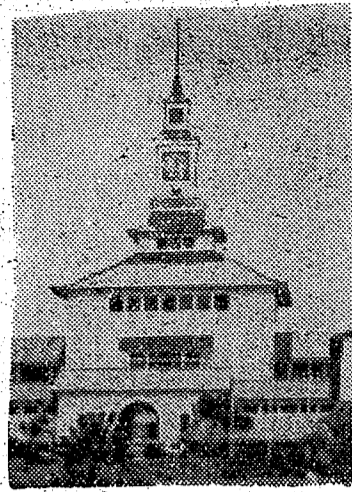
Bhukoli, Leader, Tanganyikan Delegation



R. Mugaba, Leader, Southern Rhodesia Delegation

Osagyefo, Jahumba, Wallace Johnson and Dr. Bankole Akpata.





## OUR UNIVERSITIES (4)

# LEGON

It is not only the Faculty of Agriculture which has a great deal to offer towards our total revolution. It obviously has more to offer than some other faculties. This does not mean however that the other faculties cannot orientate their mode of existence towards the demands and necessities of our national revolution.

The Faculty of Science is an obvious case. Scientific socialism, to which we are committed, means not merely that our programmes shall be based upon an objective analysis of our material conditions; it means that the material basis of socialist relations (i.e. classless relations) in society shall be created as rapidly as possible. To create this basis, both an agricultural and manufacturing industrial revolution is essential. I have already indicated some of the ways in which the Faculty of Agriculture can assist in the agricultural industry. Even though the Faculty of Science in Legon is a faculty of theoretical or pure science, it too has a lot of scope.

Manufacturing industry presupposes technological skill; and advanced technological skill presupposes scientific research and knowledge. And the latter can surely be advanced at Legon. Our industrial programme will pose for us terrifying problems associated with fuels and electricity. This much we know

in advance, and one way in which the University of Ghana and the Ghana Academy of Sciences can contribute to our industry is to begin research now into fuels. The conditions already exist in which such research can be initiated.

We already have an oil refinery in Ghana. Associated with the refinement

of oil for combustion there always is research to increase the percentage of heat usable as kinetic energy. This depends not only on the construction of machines but also on the properties of fuels. Our university at Legon in conjunction with the Academy of Sciences can co-operate with our university in Kumasi in such a venture. The Kwame Nkrumah University can concentrate on the machine aspect, and the physics and chemistry departments at Legon together with the Academy of Sciences can concentrate on the combustibility properties. This is possible not only in respect of known fuels like petrol and kerosene produced by refinement of crude oil, but also in respect of combinations of them and additives in general.

The Department of Physics could in addition encourage students to study the properties of diamonds and in general work on them at post-graduate level. Conditions for this are rather favourable as there are senior members of that Department who are in fact known to be interested in the physics of diamonds. An indefinite number of ways can be given in which the science faculty can orientate its existence and work to the demands of our socialist revolution. But these are suggestions which they can obviously better work out than I can ever hope to do.

I shall not speak of the Faculty of Medicine both because it has not properly started yet and because the ways in which it can serve us are obvious.

I am anxious to speak my mind about the Faculties of Social Studies, Arts, and Law.

In any socialist country as ours aspires to become, certain deanships and headships in the university

## Focus on SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA PART TEN

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.

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. This is part four of our series.

We believe our article will stimulate discussion and help the authorities to greater activity, tightening the loose ends and putting right what is amiss.

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

must be of great interest to the state. The President has several times, including the occasion of the opening of the Law School in Accra, explained that law has a vital connection with social ideal, indeed, that law is but an instrument of identifying, analysing, underlining, and enforcing social ideal, though in its actual use it can always be perverted. It follows that in a socialist society or a would-be socialist society in which correct

social ideals are embraced, the training of people in law is process which is of fundamental interest to the state.

The same can be said of the politics, economics, sociology, philosophy, for all these disciplines are vehicles of ideologies. A socialist state must therefore show concern and interest about the actual content which is purveyed under these labels. In order to satisfy this, however, it is not essential that the State

itself should take over responsibility for these Departments.

It is sufficient if the Deanships and Headships connected with these Departments are filled only by the prior consent of the State, or, in the case of Ghana, by the prior consent of the Chancellor of the Universities.

Our universities collectively form a gigantic instrument for the regeneration of our society.

# Salazar and His Bunkers

THE essay recently published by Perry Anderson on "Portugal and the end of Ultra-colonialism" gives not only a brilliant and deep analysis of the peculiarities of Portuguese colonialism, but might become, an effective weapon for African Revolutionaries, if only the practical conclusions involved are properly drawn and put into practice. We intend here to, summarize the main points outlined in this analysis and, further, to stress some practical conclusions.

The starting point, which constitutes the fundamental explanation underlying the whole book is that, while being herself an imperialist power, Portugal is at the same time an underdeveloped country, in fact a European colony, economically subjected to foreign capitalism, mainly British (telephone, railways, municipal transports, insurances, etc.) but also American, French, and West German. As a consequence, in Portugal illiteracy rate reaches the remarkable European peak of 40%.

Anderson shows clearly how Portuguese colonial history since the 15th century accounts for this economic backwardness. The Portuguese started sending their vessels, their soldiers, their captains their plunderers, and their merchants to African coastal areas, mainly because at that time, the gold supplies through the Sahara and the Maghreb were more or less running short due to social and political troubles inside the Maghreb States.

Therefore, the Portuguese merchants were left with no other choice than to go themselves to the gold producing countries, namely the States of the coast and hinterland of West Africa. In due course, their sailors found the much wanted gold. Incidentally, they bought also some slaves, the first cargo of which was put to domestic employment in Lisbon and other places. Later

on, by setting up their short lived Empire in Indonesia and India, the Portuguese were able to accumulate a tremendous wealth from the spices trade—or, more exactly, plunder. Rich with gold, slaves and spices, the small ruling class of Portugal felt no need for economic development in their own country. Hence, as Anderson aptly puts it, "Portuguese imperialism was based on an obviously idle metropolitan economy."

After the spices era came the age of sugar. This time the main source of profits being switched on from the Indian Ocean to Brazil. Later on, Brazil became also a gold producer, still only for the benefit and welfare of the ruling class of Portugal.

And, since the cultivation of sugar-cane and gold mining required abundant labour, the Portuguese maintained posts and forts on the African coast, South of the Sahara mainly for the procurement of slaves. Angolan and Mozambique hinterland, nevertheless, remained independent. All through these centuries, (from the 16th to the 19th) Portuguese metropolitan economy was becoming more and more idle.

When Brazil and other Latin American countries became independent, the loss was like a death blow to Portugal. Accordingly the new Empire, the one

that Africa in the 20th century is fighting hard to bring to its end, did, not arise, as in the case of the other imperialist countries, from the needs of capitalist expansion at home, but as a result of what Anderson calls a "reflex colonialism".

Colonized herself by great Britain, Portugal thought it fit to follow the path of her master and join in the scramble for Africa. First, the British felt it was better for them to leave some stretches of African land to the Portuguese than to Germany, to France or to Belgium. Secondly, it was also an efficient way of checking any democratic progress in Portugal.

Today, after some 70 years of Portuguese anachronistic and cruel domination, what is the situation? At this juncture, Anderson concentrates mainly on Angola.

The first well-known feature of Portuguese domination is the extensive use of forced labour. Although all imperialist powers have, at a more or less protracted period, imposed forced labour on African workers, the systematic and calculative way in which this method of exploitation is enforced in Angola and Mozambique gives to Portugal a special position among the exploiters, her unenviable notoriety being only challenged by South Africa.

But Portuguese colonialism went even further when it started, at the end of last century, to sell African workers to South African mines owners and who were exclusively of British origin. This monstrous agreement, signed in 1909; a few years after operations had actually been initiated, is still being applied.

From Mozambique,

100,000 African workers are yearly exported officially to the gold and uranium mines; others are poured in from Angola from where many escaped from this slave regime. It turns out clearly that, while Portugal is still a British Colony, her Angolan and Mozambique colonies are in their turn, in this respect, South-African dependencies.

Anderson provides us with an interesting explanation of this slave exploitation within the framework of capitalism. According to him, the explanation lies in the very fact that from the economic point of view, cultivation in Angola like gold mining in South Africa is fundamentally unprofitable, and could not go on without this highly cheap slave manpower.

We come now to a second feature of Portuguese colonialism. In fact, Portuguese colonies are not exploited by the weak Portuguese capitalist system, but by the big Western monopolies, whose list of big firms operating in Angola is particularly impressive. As far as agriculture is concerned, we find a French Bank controlling the so-called Companhia Agricola de Angola, while Belgian firms are holding vast concessions.

Even more significant is the picture in the mining industries. The biggest concern is the Angola Diamond Company (known as Diamang), itself an affiliate company of the Anglo-American Diamond Company (operating also in South Africa), in which the American majority shareholders are in partnership with the Katanga Belgian trusts and with some English interests. Drilling and distribution of Angolan oil is a Belgian

monopoly, while at Cabinda, north of Congo River, the American Gulf Oil enjoys exclusive rights.

Another company, known officially as a Aluminio Portuguese, is in fact a subsidiary of the French aluminium trust, Pechiney, already entrenched in Guinea and the Kamerun. The West German trust Krupp has so to say, booked all what is connected with iron and steel. The British, who own Portuguese railways at home, own also, quite naturally, the Benguela Railway, the one existing railway in Angola. It belongs to a subsidiary of the notorious Tanga-Nyika Concessions Ltd., also a partner in Union-Miniere of Haut-Katanga.

From this short catalogue it becomes obvious that fighting Salazar in Angola tantamount to a serious struggle against the biggest Western trusts, putting at stake French, American, British, West German and Belgian vested interests.

The catalogue shows also, *inter alia*, how through the Benguela Railway stretching from the Angolan coast to Katanga, and through financial connections, Angola, on one hand, a fourth African dependency, is on the other hand Katanga's dependency: (by Katanga, we do not mean the Africans, but the western trusts operating there). There is no room for surprise, the strong and steady support was given by the Portuguese to Tshombe in his secessionist moves.

A third and last feature of Portuguese colonialism, as X-rayed by Anderson is that having no capital, and no technicians to send into its colonies, Portugal only exports her poverty, having sent up to 1960 200,000 poor Portuguese settlers in

Angola, most of them illiterate, 20,000 of whom even in Angola, remained unemployed, an unique performance in the history of European colonialism. No need to say, those poor whites are nevertheless as racist as the big monopolies.

With fascist dictatorship at home, with practically no educational facilities for even a small fringe of Africans, with not the slightest prospect for any democratic development not even a bourgeois democratic development, no alternative was left to the Angolan people than to resort to armed revolt in order to get rid of

Portuguese domination. And this they did as everybody knows, in 1961.

Anderson gives a vivid account of the war, showing Portuguese panic after the first full-scale attacks launched by Angolan patriots, the savage repression of the Africans murdered in their tens of thousands, and the growing turmoil inside Portugal herself, as a consequence of the war, turmoil arising from the intensified rivalries within the ruling clique. We may only regret that, dealing with Portuguese resistance to fascism, Anderson completely ignores the import-

Continued on Page 3

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## Dr. O'Brien's Reply

Continued from page 2

This is the second, but not the last, time your correspondent finds it necessary to use the word "criminal": a term normally infrequent in the discussion of academic matters. The use of this word is all the more irresponsible in that the "knowledge" that a plan to hold an architectural competition is "criminal" is ascribed to the President.

Clearly if the President did come to any such conclusion, which, of course, he has not, he possesses the means to take the necessary proceedings. Much more than any other, this part of your correspondent's article abounds in mis-statements and misleading implications. Thus it is not true to say that the President "has ordered that the offer of the Kwame Nkrumah University for the common use of architectural services should be taken up".

In accordance with the normal pattern of the President's gracious and sympathetic dealings with the University, he asked me to study how best use might be made of the facilities of Kumasi in connection with the University's development plans, and this is accordingly under review at present. Naturally, we shall make the maximum practical use of facilities available in Ghana, and it is quite possible to harmonise the concept of making use of facilities available at Kumasi with the concept of a competition for the University's master plan. This competition, although your correspondent does not acknowledge the fact, will be open to all architects practising in Ghana, as the Ghana Society of Architects has been informed, as well as to a limited number of foreign architects.

The decision to hold this competition was taken on 8th July, 1963, by the University's Development Committee, a joint committee of the University Council and the Academic Board, which is the competent body in these matters. Your correspondent falsely states

that the decision was taken "against the strongly expressed opinions of the African members". This suggestion that there was a line-up of expatriates against African members is entirely unwarranted and insulting to the spirit of the University where no such line of division exist. In fact, it so happens that the only member who at any stage opposed the proposal in committee was an expatriate; the decision was supported by all the African members.

Your correspondent's statement about the costs of the competition is also ill-founded. The whole point of a competition is to ensure, beyond all doubt that the University's planning will be carried out as efficiently and economically as possible; if the present campus had been the subject of a competition, instead of simply being allocated to a particular firm of architects, the results would have been, without any doubt, more economic, more efficient and more distinguished.

I must stress that the competition is for a master plan; within the framework of the plan, specific buildings can be carried out by architects, including local architects, other than the designer of the plan. There is no commitment to pay any percentage to the designer of the plan. It is also misleading to say, as your correspondent does, that the designs will be examined and assessed by the "foreign referees". The external assessors will be three in number, and will actually constitute a minority on the board of assessors.

### OSAGYEFO'S ADVICE

As regards the whole of this part of his article, and some of its other parts, I may perhaps be permitted to offer your correspondent a word of advice, as he has offered so many to me. This is that he should not merely ponder and take to heart, but consistently apply in practice, the following wise and inspiring words used by Osagyefo to the all African Journalist Conference:

As a professional man, the African journalist shares with other journalists throughout the world, the duty of gathering information carefully and of disseminating it honestly. To tamper with the truth is treason to the human mind. By poisoning the wellsprings of public opinion with falsehood, you defeat in the long run, your own ends. Once a journal gains a reputation for even occasional unreliability or distortion, its value is destroyed.

In conclusion, I would like to say that Ghana, at Legon, a possession of great value: a University with high and unsullied standards of integrity in teaching and research: a University also which is benefiting from the immense stimulus of the emergence of Ghana and all Africa, and should play an important role in this great development. This University is the possession of the people of Ghana, and for them it should be cherished and safeguarded.

In this connections it will be, no doubt, necessary from time to time for the press to address words of advice and criticism to the University. Nor should the University resent this. But the criticism should be responsible and based on factual enquiry. The critic should find out what the University has to say for itself, and what its plans are in reality, as distinct from idle gossip about such plans.

He should always have in mind the long-term interests of the University and realise that a University will not flourish in an atmosphere of harassment and naggingly negative criticism. Expatriates like myself, who may be the immediate targets of some of this criticism, will go their ways soon enough, not much the worse for a few harsh words, but the University itself must be able to remain and grow as one of the great institutions of Ghana. What is important is that its growth should not be stunted, or the serenity of mind necessary for teaching and research be clouded, by an atmosphere of hostility or by the dissemination of untruth.

## Salazar and his Bunkers

Continued from page 6

ant part played by the Portuguese Communist Party, the one Portuguese party to have taken stand unequivocally for the complete independence of the colonies.

The Angolan Liberation war has not only shaken the foundations of the fascist regime, it has also engendered serious worldwide diplomatic consequences.

Even if only two heads of states, namely Franco and Verwoerd, dared to declare openly their full support for Salazar, it is still true that, as Anderson rightly emphasizes the Western Powers, committed at the same time to develop their neo-colonialist offensive and to give assistance to their old-colonialist ally, Salazar, did their best to help him.

The Kennedy administration, while sympathising by speeches with some of Africa's aspirations, was nevertheless the main factor in allowing Salazar to escape a clear out condemnation by U.N.O. But more than that was to be done for helping Salazar, and at this point, we have just to quote Anderson. (In 1961), the foreign friends of Portugal came in to rescue her.

West Germany granted a \$37 million loan. World Bank (B.I.R.D.) provided \$1,500,000 in order to help implement a road building strategic programme in South-Western Angola, South-Africa providing technical aid.

### AID

And these few million dollars were only for the first months of war. Since then, more millions have been poured in, from the various capitals of the so-called "free world, millions and also weapons, besides Tshombe's white mercenaries.

In any case, what we have already learnt about the real nature of Western exploitation in Angola leaves no doubt as to who, and which powers are necessarily committed to help Salazar.

Therefore, the main lesson to be drawn from this analysis by African Revolutionaries is that there is no such thing as a single war against the worn out Portuguese dictator, but Angolan war is a particularly acute sector on the Africa-wide front of the fight against "colonialism in all its forms." Concession to neo-colonialism amounts in the last analysis to giving help to Portugal's allies, those without

whom, she could not even dream of waging such a colonial war. For instance, it is clear from the data collected by Anderson, that West Germany is playing a big part on the Salazar's side.

Therefore, to close one's eyes on West Germany neo-colonialism is actually reinforcing the Portuguese stand, even if one tries to conceal this connection by some frantic verbal statements against Salazar alone. All the same, a geographical approach to the problem as well as the economic one makes clear that maintaining or tolerating the present neo-colonialist regime in Congo (Leopoldville) can do no good to the fighting people of Angola.

In short, what Anderson illustrates is that the fight is one which requires a united uncompromising Africa-wide strategy.

Short of that, we must face the more and more likely prospect of some kind of banal compromise, paving the way for neo-colonialist (instead of old-colonialist) exploitation of Portuguese colonies, and calling thus for a renewal of the fight at some time to come. It is only time that African Revolution acts strongly in order to avoid this grim eventual reality.

# Our Explanation

Continued from page 2

Could irrelevancy be so gross. Let us examine this passage from Legon. I take it that when Legon mentions "the known fact" it is contrasting its claim with the "groans" which it takes to be fable. Has Legon in view of its self-righteous quotation from the President's speech taken the trouble to gather information carefully and disseminate it honestly.

The upper reaches of the civil service have in fact complained, and if Legon were seriously enough interested it could have confirmed by enquiry that this was so.

The reference to the West African Examinations Council and external examiners confirms that Legon has still not fully appreciated its responsibilities. When I commented on recent graduates, I pointed out that Legon was the largest single producer of graduate civil servants in this country, and that those who became civil servants usually did not leave professional training. But Legon thinks that it is enough to keep up examination standards, to produce graduates who write good papers in history, philosophy, etc.

The civil service needs graduates with initiative and imagination, graduates with enterprise and deep commitment to national aspirations. What have external examiners got to do with this.

The President in his speech at Legon made a similar distinction in his discussion of the notion of an educated man.

The reason for the defi-

ciency of recent graduates in these respects is primarily that there is very little non-formal contact between students and staff. This is a form of repression which saps the student of initiative, etc.

As the President said, "In order that students may obtain the maximum benefit from their education in our universities, it is imperative that the relationship between them and their teachers should be as free and easy as possible. Without this close interaction between mind and mind, and the common fellowship of a University, it will be impossible to produce the type of student who understands the larger issues of the world around him."

The common fellowship of a university and the free and easy relationship between teacher and student are not discovered by keeping examination standards high, by seeking an outlet in the West African Examinations Council and external examiners. Surely, there is some confusion of thought here.

There is a further confusion. When top civil servants compare recent graduates with early graduates they do not take the early graduates as they are today, but as they were when they too were "recent graduates". When Legon therefore says: "to compare him (the recent graduates), at this stage in his development, with a mature 'early graduate' is therefore misleading". Legon surely misses the point badly.

When Legon says that the question how best use might be made of the facilities of Kumasi in connection with the University's development plans, and that this is accordingly under review at present, does it mean that it has actually started discussions with the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology? May we know what accommodation had actually been made for the offer of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology? This series of articles began, and also when the offer was made?

Legon mentions the involvement of the architects practising in Ghana. Is it not true that these architects were at first excluded, and were admitted only after the Ghana Society of Architects had protested?

I had no intention of suggesting any racial line-ups. Legon kindly tells us that the only member who at any stage opposed the proposal to have an international competition in committee was an expatriate. This is highly misleading. There were African members who opposed the plan to have an international competition, and the matter has not even been finally resolved. Is it not the case that at a forthcoming meeting of the University Council the views of African members who oppose the plan will be finally considered?

I am assured that indeed earlier on the plan was opposed by the Vice-Chancellor himself, and thanks and praise be to him for that. The latest however, is that African members of Council have opposed the plan. Of this I am assured.

If it is misleading for me to say that the designs will be examined and assessed by the foreign referees, why is it necessary to have them and as many as three.

And how much will this international competition cost? Why does Legon not supply figures as it misleadingly did in the case of student cost.

Legon's explanation of the high cost of Legon is dubious. There is no consequence surely from lack of competition to excessive cost. The buildings of the Kwame Nkrumah University as everyone who has troubled to examine them knows are highly functional, and very cheap from the point of view of the ratio of cost to use, unlike Legon. Was it necessary to put them to international competition? Legon may not know this, but the reduction in cost gained by Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology through a near-maximum use of its own know-how is staggering!

Still concerning buildings, Legon points out that the new blocks of flats were built by Ghana National Construction Corporation. Is it not true that someone in Legon wanted parts of the blocks knocked down for alterations which are in fact unnecessary and could have raised costs, and that Ghana National Construction Corporation refused to do so?

I should like to explain to Legon that we all love it as much as anyone there does. And it is because we love Legon and Legon is part of us and must be attuned to our needs, that we raise some of these points. No hostility is meant towards the Vice-Chancellor for whom I have a personal and an intellectual regard. The University is ours, it must serve us, and we have the right and duty to discuss how it can best serve us.

## Osagyefo's Address to All African Journalists

Continued from page 5

tries nor political instability in others. We see the Executive of the United States constantly frustrated over its measures to end racialism and to introduce social security legislation. What can go on there for decades without a political breakdown would bring chaos and disaster within a short time in any African state.

That is why Ghana has chosen the way of a people's socialist parliamentary democracy. We are aware that the one-party system cannot function in an environment contained by the restrictions of a client or a neo-colonialist state. We have also chosen the path of socialism for our economic reconstruction, because we believe that it is the only way to liquidate the remnants of colonialism. We believe that it is the only sure way, and the quickest, to build a happy life for the masses of our people.

Unless Africa embraces socialism, it will move backward instead of forward. Under any other system our progress can only be slow. Our people will lose their patience. They want to see progress, and socialism is the only means that will bring it speedily. Congo Brazzaville and Dahomey are object

lessons for us. The attempt to enforce a one-party system in a non-socialist environment can lead only to disaster.

### DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS

Because we want strong and yet democratic governments in our African Revolution, we must guard against the dangers inherent in governments whose only opposition to tyranny and abuse lies in the folds of the ruling party itself. A ceaseless flow of self-criticism, an unending vigilance against tyranny and nepotism and other forms of bribery and corruption, unswerving loyalty to principles approved by the masses of the people, these are the main safeguards for the people under one-party rule.

Who is best able to exercise that vigilance, to furnish the material for self-criticism, to sound warnings against any departure from principles, if not the press of Revolutionary Africa?

The African press has a vital part to play in the revolution which is now sweeping over the continent. Our newspapers, our broadcasting, our information services, our television, must reach out to the masses

of our people—to the workers, the farmers, the tradé unionists and peasants, to the university students, the young and the old—to explain the meaning and purpose of the fight against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. It must explain the necessity, for and the meaning and purpose of, a union Government of Africa.

Our press must be foremost in inspiring and educating the masses of our continent so that they can withstand the onslaught of decadent ideas and influences that permeate the ranks of the opportunists and neo-colonialist agents among us.

### BANISHMENT OF COLONIALISM

If we are to banish colonialism completely from our continent, every African must be made aware of his part in the struggle. This is the kind of education which the African press can and must help to spread.

You have a noble cause—I would say a holy cause: to work unstintingly, unhesitatingly and fearlessly for the equality of all our people on this continent for the universality of man's rights everywhere on this globe.

Yours is the responsibility to be ever on the alert for truth and to use it without fear or favour in the noble task of forwarding total independence in Africa.

You, by your calling, have the responsibility to work unceasingly for the unity of Africa, the single means by which we can promote the prosperity of this continent and defend it against the machinations of our enemies. By reason of your chosen work, you men and women of the press are in that most vital of positions where you can persuade men's minds, inform their opinions and point the way to go. Unless you use it for good, you betray your calling, you mislead those who look to you for truth, who expect from you an interpretation of that truth in their cause.

The conclusions that you reach at this conference must sustain this position. They should assist in the speedy realisation of a union government of Africa. They should keep you in that place which no journalist should ever vacate—the vanguard of the march to freedom.

I therefore charge you to lead the final triumphant march of a continent towards our unity which no imperialist or neo-colonialist will ever again be able to assail.

I wish you every success.





# African Journalism

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**1st NOVEMBER, FRIDAY:**  
**SOUTH AFRICA:** Mr. Oliver Tambo, Deputy President of the banned South African National Congress, accuses Britain of being the "greatest obstacle" in ending apartheid system.

Mr. Tambo tells the United Nations Special Political Committee that the most effective means of destroying apartheid is to strike South Africa's economy from outside through economic sanctions and isolation.

**GHANA:** Mr. Ato K. Wodejo, Acting Provisional Secretary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) announces that the expert committee of the Organisation is expected to hold its next meeting in the latter part of next month to consider the provisional agenda for the second session of the Council of Ministers.

**CONGO (Brazzaville):** A Ministry of Information communique announces that the proposed constitution for the Congo has been unanimously adopted by the constitutional committee at its final session.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The first executions for sabotage under South Africa's General Law Amendment Act takes place in the Central Prison in Pretoria, where three Africans, Lennox Madikane, Vezile Felix Jaxa and Mxolosi Damane are expected to be hanged.

**ALGERIA:** The Algerian President, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, announces to a gathering of more than 500,000 cheering Algerians during its independence celebrations that the Evian agreements with France will have to be adjusted.

**2nd NOVEMBER, SATURDAY:**  
**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** The Voice of Zambia, broadcasting from Elizabethville and directed at various parts of Northern Rhodesia goes on the air today.

This follows negotiations between representatives of Northern Rhodesia's United Independence Party and the National Congolese radio.

**TANGANYIKA:** President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika says at Dar-es-Salaam that African leaders are trying to avoid bloodshed in their liberation struggle but if the people in those countries concerned find out that liberation will not come peacefully, then they will have to resort to violence.

**GHANA:** Mr. Kojo Botsio, Ghana's Foreign Minister, leaves Accra by air for Algeria and Morocco to deliver a personal message from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to King Hassan of Morocco and President Ben Bella of Algeria.

**4th NOVEMBER, MONDAY:**  
**TANGANYIKA:** Two South-West African political movements, the African People's Organisation and the African National Union both with headquarters in Tanganyika have decided to emerge to form one political party.

**NIGERIA:** The Nigerian Federal Premier, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, launches Nigeria's 1963 population census.

In a nation-wide broadcast, Sir Abubakar, (who after failure of last year's £1.5 million sterling count, takes over the responsibility for the re-count) says the census is "an important operation to the future of Nigeria."

**GUINEA:** President Sekou Toure of Guinea, welcomes the Bamako agreement on a Moroccan-Algerian cease-fire as a demonstration of Africans' political maturity and ability to settle their own problems.

**U.A.R.:** Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, is expected in Cairo for talks with President Nasser.

The talks will include proposals for a summit meeting of non-aligned nations.

**GHANA:** In a recorded message to the sponsors of the Anti-Apartheid Protest March in London, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah sends an earnest appeal to all men of goodwill

throughout the world to condemn the vicious system of apartheid in South Africa and work for its complete elimination.

**MOROCCO:** The Moroccan Foreign Minister, Mr. Ahmed Balafrej in a telegram to the Senegalese Foreign Minister, Mr. Doudou Thiam, president of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) calls for the early meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the OAU to examine the Algerian-Moroccan conflict.

**5th NOVEMBER, TUESDAY:**  
**GHANA:** Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, extends cordial invitation to companies established in Ghana, as well as foreign governments and commercial concerns from abroad to take part in Ghana's first £10 million International Trade Fair due to open on February 3, 1965.

**DAHOMEY:** A cabinet meeting, under the chairmanship of Colonel Christophe Soglo, Head of the Provisional Government appoints a nine-member committee entrusted with preparing a draft constitution.

**NIGERIA:** Malam Isa Wali, 35, former Counsellor for Information in Nigeria's External Affairs has been appointed Nigeria High Commissioner to Ghana.

He is to replace Mr. Leslie Harriman, who has been acting High Commissioner since 1961.

**6th NOVEMBER, WEDNESDAY:**  
**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the United National Independence Party, tells a press conference that majority rule must be attained before independence in Southern Rhodesia.

He says "anything short of that will be resisted by us at any cost."

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Britain has decided to grant full internal self-government to Northern Rhodesia under a new constitution.

The constitution and home rule will come into force when a new government is formed after elections in January and the territory will have its first African Prime Minister.

**7th NOVEMBER, THURSDAY:**

**DAHOMEY:** Former Vice-President of the Dahomey National Assembly, M. Salomon Biokou, asks the Provisional Government that all Ministers in the overthrown government of President Maga be barred from leaving the country pending a detailed financial probe into the way they ran their Ministries.

\* President Nicolas Grunitzky of Togo, leaves Cotonou for Lome after a brief visit to the Provisional Government of Dahomey.

**SENEGAL:** Students from English, French and Arab Universities throughout Africa have attended the official opening of the African Institute of Economic Development, at Dakar.

The aim of the Institute, an idea of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa is to turn the students into experts on problems linked with the economic and social development of Africa.

**8th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY:**

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the African Nationalist Party, is banned by the white-settler government from attending public meetings in Southern Rhodesia for three months.

**MOROCCO:** M. Doudou Thiam, Senegalese Foreign Minister, and chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) says he is "very optimistic" and he thinks satisfactory solution of the Algerian-Moroccan conflict will be found.

**KENYA:** In a meeting between Kenya Trade Union Leaders and several Cabinet Ministers, on the controversy over the Uhuru (Freedom) bonus, the Trade Union leaders agreed to

other forms of bribery and corruption, unswerving loyalty to principles approved by the masses of the people, these are the main safeguards for the people under one-party rule. Who is best able to exercise that vigilance, to furnish the material for self-criticism, to sound warnings against any departure from principle, if not the press of Revolutionary Africa?"

There is a logical corollary flowing from this. If the press in individual African countries should be vested in the party and not in the government in order to protect the revolution in each country, then the Union of African Journalists, in order to protect the African Revolution on a continental level, cannot become a spineless organisation of governments. It must be a fighting organisation uniting, on the continental plane, the efforts of journalists fighting to keep their respective governments on the correct path in each African country. It must be a forum linking national organisations of journalists, and not a mere clearing house for the information services of African governments.

In the light of the above and mindful of professional requirements, Africa is in search of a Charter that will accurately reflect the character and mission of the journalist of the new Africa. Herein lies the significance of the speech delivered by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the opening session of the Second Conference of African Journalists last Monday. A close study of the speech provides us with the guidelines for such a Charter.

The ten cardinal points contained in the speech be summarised hereunder:

ensure that there are no strikes during Kenya's Independence Celebrations.

**DAHOMEY:** Mr. Hubert Maga, former President of Dahomey, announces his formal resignation as Dahomey's President following the recent uprising against his administration.

**9th NOVEMBER, SATURDAY:**

**KENYA:** Mr. Tom Mboya, Justice and Constitutional Affairs Minister, appeals to a large Asian audience in Nairobi not to wait until the last month of the "two-year grace period" after independence before seeking Kenya citizenship.

**NIGERIA:** The leader of the Dynamic Party of Nigeria, Dr. Chike Obi, in a press conference calls on the Nigerian Government to accord official recognition to the Chinese People's Republic and also open an Embassy in China, because Nigeria has a lot to learn from that country.

**11th NOVEMBER, MONDAY:**

**GHANA:** In his 60-minute opening address of the Second Conference of the Pan-African Union of Journalists in Accra, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, calls on all African Journalists to help create and develop the new Africa "of which our people dream and for which they stretch out their hands."

He continues to tell the 260 cheering delegates and observers that "With your brains and your pens, with the strength of your faith and the passion of your thoughts and words, you are the vanguard of the crusade for a United Africa."

The Conference last five days.

**Article 1. Journalism in Africa should be the calling of a new man who is bold, honest, incorruptible, dedicated to the ideals of the African Revolution and possessing a thorough knowledge of African problems in their relation with the outside world.**

**Article 2. The African press must be free from the controls of imperialist circles outside Africa and of capitalist groups inside Africa.**

**Article 3. The African press must play the role of a collective organiser and educator of the African masses in the fight for the complete overthrow of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.**

**Article 4. The African journalist should be an apostle of truth and a bold disseminator of facts in**

**an attractive and readable form.**

**Article 5. The African press should expose neo-colonialist intrigues and subterfuge including the spread of baneful notions by mass circulation journals printed in the imperialist countries.**

**Article 6. The African press must see African workers as the vanguard of the African Revolution and therefore must support African trade unions rooted in the African masses against all intrigues by trade unions in the imperialist countries.**

**Article 7. The African press must fight for a continental union government for Africa as the main-spring and directing force behind African unity.**

**Article 8. The African press should fight for broadly based and popular one-party systems while making it clear that the one-**

**party system is altogether unworkable in a client or neo-colonialist state.**

**Article 9. The African press must unceasingly fight for a socialist path of development in Africa in order to ensure the most rapid progress within the context of real and complete independence.**

**Article 10. In a popular and broadly based one-party system that has chosen the path of socialist development, the African press must perform the task of a watch-dog of the people continually exposing corruption, tyranny and deviations from principle, and always serving as the medium of self-criticism for the people's regime.**

We must expect a tirade of abuses from the West against these principles

which, taken together, constitute a powerful weapon in the onslaught against imperialist positions in Africa. More, we must expect less overt moves (improved conditions for a few top journalists, a step up of diplomatic pressures, sham partnerships with local interests, etc.) to be made by the barons of the imperialist press in Africa in a desperate attempt to hold their positions in Africa. Africa must press on determinedly along the path so ably charted at the Second Conference of African Journalists. The gains of the African revolution are not stable, nor can that revolution reach complete victory until there is a corresponding revolution in African journalism.



## "U. S. PEACE CORPS LOWER STANDARD"

**THE United States Peace Corps teachers' English is "incomprehensible," according to Mr. C. Mwalongo, general secretary of the Tanganyika National Teachers' Union.**

"These people are graduates without proper training. They are learning while they are here. Children in schools also complain they cannot fully understand the

English the American teachers use," he told a press conference here yesterday.

Meanwhile, the East African Teachers' Council, comprising teachers' unions from Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar, has condemned the Peace Corps teachers as being responsible for low school standards.

The accusation is contained in a communique published here yesterday following a conference of the teachers.

The teachers recommended to East African Governments to separate teachers from the civil service.

**EXCHANGE**  
 The conference also called for the exchange of teachers in Africa.

When this was effected they would ask for the disaffiliation of their council from the Trades Union Congress as was the case with their counterparts in Ghana.

The teachers said they considered this as "a progressive move" because it promoted more cordial relations between teachers and the governments concerned.