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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1964

EDITORIAL

TO RESTORE THE PEOPLE'S POWER VOTE



THERE is no painless advance to political power wherever fundamental social change is involved. To defeat the privileged class and the elements opposed to the peoples advance and curb the developing 'new rich' in Ghana, is to challenge the whole capitalist order the world over.

Experience shows that the non-socialist classes do not surrender their wealth and power without struggle. They always strive by every means in their power, including the use of force, to hold back the advance of the people.

Apart from the illegal use of force, the non-socialist forces, because they are opposed to fundamental social change, always launch prolonged and fierce battle. They always seek to rally all social forces they can influence to resist change.

The outcome of this political struggle depends on how the socialist forces, having won the people for change, carry out the change, holding and extending the support of the people, while dealing firmly with all attempts at forcible resistance to the people. This certainly means the restriction of the present freedom of the forces opposed to the people to own and control the political and economic life of the country.

Quite frequently the question of social change is posed as being between two alternatives—either the democratic or the revolutionary—with the clear inference that the two are mutually exclusive.

A people's revolution for social change is not antithetical to democracy. If the widest popular participation, at its most intense level, be basic to the meaning of democracy, then the whole revolutionary process and culmination, far from being contrary to democracy, represents its quintessence.

Counter-revolution is anti-democratic. That is why it is conspiratorial in character. Counter-revolution is hostile to the interests of the vast majority, contemptuous of that majority, eliteist, and finds it necessary to operate by stealth.

The forthcoming referendum is an important phase in the battle of the people of Ghana led by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Should the forces of the revolution move swiftly ahead or should we tolerate the resistance being offered by the counter-revolutionary forces?

The vote for YES is an expression of the willingness of the people of Ghana to hold fast their hard won power, end the capitalist domination of vital state organs and transform rapidly on socialist lines.

The vote for YES means the decision by the people to stand for a united movement of one political class. It means the opportunists cannot and will not remain where they are now.

Continued on page 4

THE PEOPLE'S LEADER



AT all stages, we seek the fullest co-operation of the people and their organisations, and in this way, and through public control of the means of production, we hope to evolve the truest kind of democracy within the Aristotelian meaning. By mass consultations we shall associate the people with the running of the nation's affairs, which must then operate in the interests of the people. Moreover, since control of the modern state is linked up with the control of the means of production and distribution, true democracy can only be said to exist when these have passed into the hands of the people. For then the people exercise control of the State through their will as expressed in the direct consultation between government and them. This must surely provide the most concrete and clearest operations of the democracy.

—Kwame Nkrumah

THE REFERENDUM

BETWEEN the 24th and 31st of this month, a nationwide referendum for specific amendments to our constitution will be held throughout the country. Some 3 million voters are expected to go to the polls. Details of this gigantic operation were given two days ago by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta when he addressed the press in his Ministry here at Accra. These details show that the mechanics of the referendum have been most meticulously gone into. All that is left is for the people to go out en bloc and register a massive YES vote.

There is no doubt that the people will respond to the call of the Leader and Party. Nonetheless, it will be useful exercise to consider the political and moral issues behind the whole operation.

THE TREASON TRAIL

On December 9, the Special Court trying five persons for treason and conspiracy to commit treason condemned Robert Benjamin Otchere and Joseph Yaw Manu but acquitted Tawia Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Cofie-Crabbe. The details of the trial are already well-known to you all. The performance of the Special Court was a shock to public morality and an outrage on the national conscience.

The entire nation was thrown into a state of deep concern and anxiety. The public will was however firmly re-established by the timely action of the President in relieving Chief Justice Sir Arku Korsah of his post. The Attorney General challenged the impartiality of the courts and the Government announced that the three men will continue in detention.

The National Assembly met on December 23 and passed the amendment to the Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act 1962. The following day, the verdict of the Special Court was declared null and void.

All this notwithstanding, the events since the

December 9 court verdict have shown that the Executive, that is the Government, must have even more powers in order to deal firmly and swiftly with any situation that might threaten public safety and security as well as do damage to public morale. These events have dramatically confirmed the lesson of history, namely, that in a revolutionary era when the old unjust social system is being forced to yield place to a new and just social order there can be only one master in the ship. This fact must not only be known and recognised. It must in addition be apparent to all.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

This consideration has led to the proposals for amendments to the constitution. And the fact that the enemy sees these amendments as a further consolidation of the peoples power in the drive to socialism is reflected in the treacherous gun attack on Osagyefo the President only two days after the referendum decision had been announced to the nation.

We Ghanaians, and Africans as a whole, are a people that give much consideration to moral issues. Accordingly, we ask one pertinent ques-



N. A. Welbeck
Executive Secretary
of C.P.P.

He launches the campaign today.

tion. What moral justification is there for the violent attacks on the person of Osagyefo the President?

There are no moral justifications whatsoever for these soulless attacks directed against the people of Ghana and

Continued on page 4

ONE PARTY SYSTEM

—Instrument of Democracy and Progress under Socialism

by **Julius Sago**

THE foundation of modern politics is the clash of economic interests. This does not detract from the fact that political leaders and political movements parading non-economic objectives have made brief appearance on the scene.

Nevertheless, a close scrutiny of these so-called non-economic movements reveals a deep-seated desire to conceal fundamental economic issues. Accordingly any study of either the one-party system or the multi-party system without due reference to the existing economic relations and property systems in society is bound to be superficial. Such an exercise can be put down as a mere prattle of the platform, a skimming on the periphery without getting to the heart of the problem. The one-party or multi-party state can only be fully understood if studied against the background of the prevailing economic system.

Broadly speaking the capitalist half of the world follows the multi-party system while the socialist half practices the one-party system. This broad generalisation has of course to be corrected for the fact that many countries of the capitalist system have a one-party state while a few socialist countries are governed by a coalition of several political parties. But for our purpose at this moment it is sufficient to accept the view that capitalism has the multi-party system while socialism tends towards the one-party state.

What is the nature of a capitalist society? It is a society in which there are many classes with fundamental cleavage of interests. While in some capitalist countries only the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and workers exist, in others feudalists, peasants, etc. exist in addition.

In the capitalist society, political power is in the hands of the propertied class, the employers the owners of capital. But these owners of capital do not make one homogeneous group. They are broken up into many interest groups. And a most important fact is that the interests of the various groups are invariably in conflict.

The bankers, that is finance capital, are divided into several groups. Some invest in industry for the home market. Others invest in industries serving foreign markets or in armaments industries. Yet others invest in agriculture, in oil, in real estate, in wholesale and retail trade or in insurance and transport.

CONFLICTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

There are other forms of conflicting economic interests. Giant monopolies clash constantly with the small businessmen.

Politics in the capitalist society is therefore a clash of these multifarious and conflicting interest groups. And each interest group tends to have its own political position. In time these political positions crystallise into a few political parties which in their interplay reflect the interests of the economic groups they represent.

These economic groups are aware of the fact that control of or share in political power is a necessary condition for the protection and advancement of their economic interests. Political parties are therefore horizontal in nature. They represent the various interest groups that make up the capitalist or employer class. And through control of the media of mass information these political organisations set out to capture the votes

of the lower (that is working) classes in their struggle for the control of state power.

NEW SYSTEM

Under this system, the masses choose between rival groups of the capitalist class. They are not allowed, largely through control of economic power by the capitalist class to build and give full support to their own political party.

Two conclusions can thus be reached. Firstly, the individualist and competitive nature of capitalism makes the existence of rival political parties possible and even essential. Secondly, the lower classes merely choose between rival political parties of the capitalist class.

Hence, while there is freedom of choice among the capitalists, there can be no such freedom among the lower classes. The political system of capitalist society is thus a democracy for the upper classes but an unmitigated dictatorship for the masses. The masses are merely called upon to side one group of capitalists at one time or another in their fight against other capitalist groups. In the process some crumbs fall to the lot of the masses for there is a strong tendency among them to support the highest bidder. But these crumbs notwithstanding, the masses in a capitalist state are not in the position to use political power to solve basic economic problems in their own interest.

SOCIALIST SOCIETY

In times of great national stress a fluke could occur when a party professing the interest of the common people wins political power. However, this victory is temporary and transient. For the basic economic relationships cannot be altered in the interest of the people as long as the old state apparatus—the civil service, police, judiciary, and army—remains in tact and continues to be geared to the point of view of capitalism. The classic example of this was the Labour Government in Britain after World War II.

Let us now turn to the socialist society. Here the cardinal distinguishing feature is the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The banks, the factories, the land, foreign trade, transport, insurance etc. are vested in the entire people.

By this arrangement, the conflicting groups created by the individual ownership of capital simply do not exist and cannot exist. Everybody owns the factors of production through the state which acts as the trustee of the entire people. The reconciliation of industrial and agricultural needs or of armaments and export requirements for example do not now involve a behind-the-scenes tussle by rival monopoly groups and banking interests. The adjustments are made by the people as a whole and in the interest of the entire people.

Under this set of circumstances, there is no need for two or more political parties each championing the interests of definite economic groups. Rather, the need is for competent administrators who could accurately assess the order of priorities in the needs of the people and effectively meet these demands.

UNNECESSARY LUXURY

The point here elaborated is that the economic structure of the capitalist society calls for a multi-party system whereas the economic structure of the socialist society makes the two or more parties an unnecessary luxury. And this has to be the case because under capitalism economic power and political power do not and cannot coalesce. On the other hand, in a socialist society economic power and political power are coterminous, both being vested in the entire people.

In the interest of reality, it must be pointed out that at its early stages a society which sets course for socialism necessarily contains some elements of the capitalist class. Under such conditions, the one-party system is both democratic and dictatorial, just like in the capitalist state. But with one fundamental difference. While under capitalism it is the majority that are oppressed, in socialism the majority are the rulers and the minority are the oppressed. However, as the socialist system develops and grows, the capitalist elements

become smaller and smaller and eventually vanish away. Accordingly the one-party system which embraces the majority of the people at the start gradually approximates more closely to a democracy of the entire people.

The critic of the one-party system therefore has to distinguish most carefully between the one-party system in a socialist state and the same system in a capitalist state. From the above analysis, it is a simple and logical deduction to maintain that the one-party system under capitalism (i.e. a society with economic classes) is unmitigated dictatorship. But it would be wrong and fallacious to generalise a conclusion valid in a capitalist society in a way to include the socialist society which foundations are fundamentally different.

MAJOR CHANGES

We may now come back home. The nation in a few weeks will vote in a national referendum for major changes to our constitution. If the proposals put forward by Government are endorsed by the people, then Ghana becomes a one-party state.

There is however great need to emphasise and underline the point that Ghana is not adopting a one-party system without due reflection. The one-party system is being closely correlated with a socialist society. For one of the proposals being put before the nation at the referendum is that Ghana should be a socialist society and that fact should be enshrined in our fundamental law, namely the constitution.

The one-party system is thus coming to Ghana after three main conditions have been fulfilled. The first condition is that political power is in the hands of the entire people not in groups of the capitalist class. Secondly, the one-party is the vanguard of all the organisations of the people in the march to socialism and to nowhere else. The third condition is that Ghana is a socialist society being made an entrenched clause of our constitution. This means that it will be a gross violation of our constitution to bend the one-party system to the service of any other type of social order.

It is important to spell out and draw attention to these three pre-conditions of the one-party system here in Ghana. For there is no doubt that some African

leaders are being tempted, and more will be tempted in the near future, to resort to a one-party system in a desperate effort to hold together their tottering regimes.

UNWORKABLE SYSTEM

In particular it must be pointed out that just as it is deleterious in a capitalist state, the one-party system is absolutely unworkable in a colonial, a neo-colonial or a national capitalist regime. South Africa, where rival political parties of the people are banned, proves that a one-party system is unworkable in a fascist, capitalist state. Angola and Portuguese Guinea validate the same conclusion as regards colonial territories. And the experience of Sylvanus Olympio in Togo, Hubert Maga in Dahomey prove that the one-party system cannot thrive under a neo-colonialist regime even where such a regime is propped up by force of arms. The one-party system thrives where it serves the people and not where it serves the oppressors of the people.

One more example from

the old world could be cited to illustrate this point. Both Nazi Germany and the U.S.S.R. in the late nineteen thirties were one-party states. Whereas the Nazi party in Germany served the interests of the big monopolies and industrial finance capital, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union served the interest of the Soviet people. The result was that even when huge portions of the U.S.S.R. were over-run by the German army, the people rose not to fight their erstwhile 'oppressors' but to fight the invading Nazis and for the return of their land to the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, when the allied and Soviet armies began to roll into Germany the people took the first available opportunity to welcome and support the liberating armies. This great contrast can be explained only by the fact that while the one-party system in Germany served a capitalist state, it served a socialist state in the U.S.S.R.

It is this difference in economic systems that the intelligent student of modern politics must always look for. For it is the nature of the economic system that will determine the democratic or dictatorial character of the one-party State.

MESSAGES TO KWAME

His Excellency Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Flagstaff House, Accra, Ghana.

many great successes and a future in happiness and prosperity. Please accept the expression of my sincerest esteem.

Gerald Goetting, Vice-President of the German-African Society in the German Democratic Republic. Deputy Chairman of the Council of State of German Democratic Republic.

President Kwame Nkrumah, Flagstaff House, Accra.

EXCELLENCY—I was filled with indignation on being informed of the criminal attempt on Your Excellency, the tested Leader of the people of Ghana the shots by reactionary forces to whom the successful struggle of the Ghanaian people for their liberation and the great successes gained under your wise leadership are a thorn in the side were aimed at the liberty of Ghana and the whole of Africa I deeply condemn and abhor those forces which still believe they can obstruct the victory of freedom and progress by shooting at the most consistent Leaders of the young African nation-states my deep sorrow at the death of your escort caused by the bullets aimed at you mingles with my joy at the preservation of Your Excellency's life for the people of Ghana and for the whole of progressive mankind. May the people of Ghana advance under Your Excellency's leadership along the way to

Oginga Odinga, Nairobi, Kenya.

VOTE YES

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WE ARE AT WAR

by X'RAY

IN 1960 Ghana became a Republic. A new constitution was promulgated after it had been unanimously and overwhelmingly endorsed by the entire people in a nation-wide referendum. The new constitution cut away all vestiges of colonialism and vested political power in the people of this nation. The political fight against colonialism and imperialism had been won decisively and unconditionally by our people.

But as soon as this political problem was solved, a new set of problems arose. These are economic and social. The question posed itself: In what direction must the people's power in our state be exercised? Should it be used to build a new socialist society based on the welfare of all? Or should it be used to build a capitalist and neo-colonialist regime based on the well-being of a few and the misery of the many?

Kwame Nkrumah, the architect of our deliverance from colonial rule, chose the former road. We must utilise our peoples political power to build a socialist state where the welfare of all is the primary consideration.

Of course, in politics, there is a world of difference between verbal declaration and concrete realisation. Many they were and still are who thought they could keep Kwame Nkrumah's call for a socialist society permanently as a talking point—a utopia dangled before the people but never to be realised.

Events have proved these men wrong.

First, the April 1961 Dawn Broadcast showed

clearly that Kwame Nkrumah intends to put a stop to the growth of a new wealthy class of men who misuse their position in the state machinery. Certain concrete measures followed the Broadcast.

Secondly, in July 1962, the Kumasi Congress of the Convention People's Party unanimously adopted our programme for Work and Happiness under which Ghana will settle down to the onerous task of building socialism.

NEW YEAR BROADCAST

Thirdly, the 1963 New Year Eve Broadcast made it clear that the people's political power is to be further reinforced in order to strengthen the hands of the people in the drive towards socialism.

These events, and a few others, have convinced the enemies of socialism in our midst that socialism is being pursued as a practical objective, and not just as a propaganda stunt.

Accordingly, these men have decided to obstruct our efforts, to block our path, if they can, and to put the hand of the clock back. They have also come to the conclusion that they cannot get the support of

the people of this country for their anti-socialist plans. Accordingly, they have decided to eliminate, through violence and unconstitutional action, the architect, the guiding hand, of our socialist revolution.

They struck at Kulungugu. They followed up with more bomb attacks on the people here in Accra. They failed. Now, they strike again. This time at Flagstaff House and through a Second Class Police Constable. This contemptible traitor turned his rifle against the very person it was meant to protect.

STATE OF WAR

As a result we are now in a state of war—a peculiar sort of war but war all the same. The selfish, wealth-amassing, privilege-enjoying few have resorted to bombs and bullets in a desperate effort to halt the people's advance to a full life for all. In this move, these men are assisted by imperialist forces which hope to reconquer their positions inside Ghana. These imperialist forces are also frantic about protecting their positions and interests on the African Continent—positions and interests which are threatened by Africa's march to complete emancipation and political unity. And, as we all know—the imperialists know even better—Kwame Nkrumah has been and still is the prime moving spirit behind this continental awakening and renaissance.

We are therefore in a state of war. It is a class war. A war forced upon the people by the greedy upper class in our society.

A war which the people must fight until unconditional victory is won.

What are the issues?

As has already been indicated earlier, this nation is faced with the problem of how to use its wealth... Should we arrange things in the interest of all or in the interest of a small privileged class? Should the entire people reap the full fruits of their labour? Or should the lion share go to a small privileged class with the masses living a life of hardship and misery?

We have chosen the road that leads to the well-being of the entire people: Our enemies want to force us off this road and back to the anarchy and heartlessness of a capitalist society.

The enemies of the people are making every effort to confuse this vital point... They would like the people to believe that the issues lie somewhere else. Naturally, no one will expect the enemies of the people to tell the people the truth. Let's examine the two main stories they are trying to spread among our people.

THE FACTS

In the first place, they claim that the fight is against dictatorship. But what are the facts? Osagyefo the President has never exercised any power which has not been conferred on him either by the constitution or by Parliament. What is more, he has always sought the mandate of the entire people for whatever major step he wishes to take. This constant concern for the opinion of the people was reflected in his refusal to become life Pre-

sident even when the National Assembly had so resolved. He maintained that the right to choose the President must be reserved to the people and exercised by them from time to time.

ANTI-POPULAR METHODS

On the other hand, it is the enemies of the people who are resorting to anti-popular methods. They want to become President of this Republic through grenades, bullets and imperialist support but without presenting themselves to the people.

The second story the enemy puts out is that Kwame Nkrumah has taken a path of development different from what was agreed on the onset. This of course is a transparent lie. Kwame Nkrumah has never hidden his socialist belief. Standing before an imperialist commission of inquiry some twelve years ago, Kwame Nkrumah courageously announced to the whole world that he is a Marxist socialist.

Furthermore, all his moves before and after independence have been with the conscious support and warm blessing of the people. The presidential system and the present constitution were supported by popular referendum. The socialist programme of Work and Happiness was unanimously adopted at the 1962 Kumasi Congress and endorsed by the National Assembly. The drive for a one-party state was approved by Parliament but Osagyefo has insisted that the whole nation should make its voice heard on the issue in a referendum later this month.

Having seen what the issues of this war are and who has declared it, we must now turn to a consideration of who the enemy is. There is no doubt that the U.P. leaders in voluntary exile, the Adamafo-Ako Adjei-Cofie Crabbe clique, the Gbedemah group are all involved in the plot up to the neck. There is no doubt that the entire resources of the imperialist world are placed at the disposal of these enemies of socialism in Ghana. Nor can there be any doubt that some highly placed public men in our Civil Service, Police, Army, Judiciary and even the Universities are helping in this plot directed against the people.

ENEMIES IN OUR MIDST

However, we must not make the mistake of looking too far afield and thus failing to notice the enemies in our very midst. We are sleeping with vipers under our pillows. The use of a Police Constable on guard duties in Flagstaff House proves conclusively that some principal elements in this diabolical plot are right here with us. They are people who are close to the President and reckon that they or their agents could take over the reigns of power as soon as Kwame Nkrumah is eliminated.

This means that the search-light must focus on the Cabinet, and on the higher echelons of state machinery, particularly the Police, the Army, the Judiciary and the more important Ministries. Even though persons far afield could be used, and in fact are being used, the hub of the plot

lies right here in the nerve centre of state power.

The Flagstaff House incident has helped us all to see more clearly the nature of the enemy of our revolution. We must watch out for his external connections on the continent of Africa and in imperialist circles, but we must never for one moment miss the point that he is right here with us.

NO DELAYANCE

We now know the enemy better. We know his positions and entrenchments. We know his tactics. And therefore we are in the position to fight him now effectively. We have to fight, for the alternative to fighting is the destruction of all our efforts and achievement in the past sixteen years. We must conduct the clean-up now. Delay only helps the enemy; for delay gives him time to regroup his forces and leaves the people confused and hence immobilised.

In this battle the people have their part to play. We must give Osagyefo and the Party all the support they want from us. We must give a massive 'Yes' vote in the referendum. We must be vigilant in our places of work and in our houses, watching for those who sow seeds of confusion and despondency.

Let the enemies do their worst. Let them rig up whatever alliances they may wish with imperialists and neo-colonialists. A solidly united people behind Kwame Nkrumah will win. We will win through to socialism in Ghana, come what may. And by winning in Ghana we will set the stage for the consummation of our efforts in a free Africa with a progressive people, with a contented people, and under a continental union government.



MESSAGES TO KWAME

Your Excellency, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,

LEARNING that your Excellency was shockingly assailed by a ruffian but fortunately remain unscathed, I wish to extend to Your Excellency my sincere sympathy and best wishes.

Liu Shao-Chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

H.E. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, Accra.

UPON receiving the news that you have safely escaped danger in the recent assassination attempt engineered by the imperialists and their lackeys, I express with great pleasure my warm sympathy, to Your Excellency.

I firmly believe that however malignant and tenacious the aggressive machinations of the imperialists and reactionaries at home may be, the people of Ghana will frustrate them valiantly and gain new greater successes in the struggle for safeguarding national independence and for the development of the country's economy, and sincerely wish Your Excellency good health.

Kom Is Sung, Premier of the Cabinet Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, Pyongyang, January 4, 1964. (Turn to page 4 for more messages)

MESSAGES TO KWAME



President Kwame Nkrumah, Accra, Ghana.

ON behalf of the Government and the people of Tanganyika and on my own behalf, I wish to express our horror at the news of the attack on you. We are happy and we thank God that your life has been spared and that you escaped without injury. Allow me also to express our sympathy for the lost life of your staff officer.

Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika.

H.E. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,

I WISH to express to you my deep sympathy that God has saved you from the cowardly attempt on your life. We condemn strongly the inhuman act.

Nicholas Grunitzky, President, Republic of Togo

My dear brother and comrade,

I WAS distressed and confused to hear of the evil attempt on your life.

Surely, this atrociously cruel machination was intended to interrupt the forward march of our peoples and of our beloved continent.

Please accept my personal heartfelt felicitations and congratulations on your triumph over the wicked forces.

Be assured that the people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria are solidly with you.

I most sincerely wish you well and stronger.

Ben Bella.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, Accra.

WE have heard with horror another dastardly attempt on your life and we

are relieved to know that it failed. Leaders of our two friendly countries are dedicated to guide our respective peoples from "the stifling fog of disintegration through serfdom into

Dear Comrade President,

WITH deep indignation I learnt the news about the villainous attempt on your life. That foul assault by the forces of reaction and imperialism who tried to commit a terroristic act against you—a tireless fighter for the consolidation of peace, for freedom and independence of Africa, an outstanding leader of New Ghana which is marching along the road of social and economic progress will be condemned by all friends of Africa, by all people of good will.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you good health and new successes in your relentless struggle for the happiness and prosperity of the people of Ghana.

for an earliest liberation of Africa from the last remnants of colonialism.

Please extend my sincere condolence to the relatives of the officer who died on his duty.

N. KHRUSHCHOV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

His Excellency Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Republic of Ghana, Accra.

MR. President, I have received with indignation the news of the attempt on your life. I sincerely rejoice that you have escaped from the consequences of this criminal act of the enemy of progress of the Ghanaian people at the same time I wish to condemn dark methods of the reactionary forces which chose no means in their efforts to stop the emancipation of Africa and African peoples.

Josip Broz Tito.



For Nkrumah

MAY the cries of all Africa continue to save you from the opponents of our destiny. Capitalist murderers and their followers will not uproot our ideals and ideology. Attempts to kill you are giving Africa courage to unite more solidly.

Milton Obote, Kampala.

the valley of light where purpose endeavour and determination will create the brotherhood which Christ proclaimed two thousand years ago and about which so much is said but so little done".

Am quoting from your motion of destiny when Ghana was at the threshold of independence in 1953.

Fraternally yours, Nnamdi Azikiwe.

His Excellency President Kwame Nkrumah,

Your escape from imperialist assassin is major victory of African nationalism. Neo-colonialist murderers shall not deter our solidarity in achieving total independence.

Binaisa, Attorney-General, Uganda.

His Excellency Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Flagstaff House, Accra.

We are shocked to hear of the dastardly attempt on your life and feel greatly relieved that you are unharmed. Please accept our sincere congratulations and best wishes.

S. Radhakrishnan, President of India.



His Excellency Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, Flagstaff House, Accra, Ghana.

REPORTS that another attempt has been made on your life by a would-be assassin have caused great shock, disgust and regrets to me personally and to the Government and people of Liberia and we are happy and rejoice with you and those of your loyal fellow countrymen for your miraculous deliverance from the hands and will of evil workers of iniquity. May God continue to spread his protecting wings above you and his strong arms around and about you to deliver you always from the hands

of your enemies. With assurance of my highest esteem.

W. V. S. Tubman, Monrovia, Liberia.

H.E. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, Accra.

EXCELLENCY, with indignation and deep resentment I have received the news of the insidious attempt at your life. On behalf of the State Council and the People of the German Democratic Republic as well as in my own name, I convey to Your Excellency the most heartfelt felicitations in connection with the failure of the murderous plan.

The attempt is now proof of the fact that the reactionary imperialist forces do not stop at employing the most criminal means in frustrate the progress of country under Your leadership. I wish you good health and further great successes in the struggle for building your country, consolidating independence and safeguarding peace.

Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.



DEEPLY shocked by the outrageous attempt against your Excellency, we beg you to believe that we sympathise deeply with you. This criminal outrage aimed not only at you as a person, against you who freed Ghana, but also to undermine the action of an African Leader who has always worked for African Unity and for strengthening world peace. We condemn this act, and at the same time, we want to express our complete solidarity with you.

We beg you to believe in our deep esteem and our consideration.

King Hassan of Morocco.

THE REFERENDUM

(Continued from page 1)

against progressive Africa. We may consider at least three points.

First, is it right, is it morally justifiable, for a small group of men in key public offices to resort to grenades and bullets in an attempt to disrupt the peoples advance to socialism? These men held key posts under colonialism and were used by imperialism to fight our movement for political independence. Despite this record, Osagyefo the President has retained these men in positions of trust in the belief that we all must go forward like one family. What moral right have these beneficiaries from Osagyefo's magnanimity to repay kindness with ingratitude?

Secondly, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has not deviated from the course he originally chose to follow. Hence, no one has the moral right to resort to violence in an attempt to obstruct the course of events. Before an imperialist tribunal—the Watson Commission of Inquiry—Kwame Nkrumah announced to the whole world that he is a Marxist socialist. Those who did not like socialism should have parted company with him at that stage. That was the honourable thing to do. But it is the height of immorality to stay on with the Leader after he has unfurled the socialist banner and then turn round to make attempts on his life precisely because he is deter-

mined to make socialism a reality.

Thirdly, the present regime in this country has been set up with the active participation and full consent of the entire people. Even our bitterest enemies admit the fact that our constitution is based on the free will of our people freely expressed. The handing over of political power to the C.P.P. was decided by the people in the 1956 general elections. Again the Presidential system and the republican constitution were massively endorsed by the people at the 1960 referendum. If then our present system is the expression of the free will of all of us freely recorded, what right have a few greedy and ambitious elements in our midst to set out trying to destroy our chosen system through grenades and bullets? Is it not clear—abundantly clear—that these men want to terrorise the entire people by a show of force and by wanton use of violence?

Are they not the persons who wish to establish a dictatorship in this country?

Once more we have the opportunity to make our voices heard. The referendum gives us the chance. Our enemies should come out openly and canvas for a negative vote. We the people will certainly vote YES in grand style. For we are solidly behind the Leader, the Party and the Socialist revolution. Not just those of

us in the factories, the offices and on the farms. But also those of us in the Police, the Army and the other arms of state power.

There is no doubt that even in the civil service, the judiciary, the Police and the Army, a vast majority of the officers and workers are firmly behind Kwame Nkrumah. They are, because they know what their lot was before Kwame came on the scene. They are, because they know what the lot of some of their counterparts is in other parts of Africa. They are, because they know the unfathomable chaos that would be the aftermath of an unconstitutional removal of Kwame Nkrumah. They are, because they take patriotic pride in the achievements of our country in Africa and in the comity of nations.

This is why these public servants should help the people by ruthlessly exposing the few bad eggs in their midst. For these saboteurs in their ranks, by their actions, are bringing discredit and odium on the entire public service. The people have a right to protest at this; and the vast majority in these services who are loyal to our revolution have a duty to smoke out the evil doers in their fold in order to strengthen even further the unity of the people and their public servants in the march toward socialism. We all—public serv-

ants and the people alike—we all shall have an admirable opportunity later this month to demonstrate our loyalty to Osagyefo, the Party and the revolution. We must vote YES in an overwhelming manner. We must confirm the trend we set up in the past. In 1956, the people won 72 out of 104 constituencies. In 1960, we won 101 out of 104 constituencies. Now we must win all the constituencies.

To achieve this, we all have to go out and vote. This, however is not enough. We must, in addition, watch out for the subversive activities of the enemy. For he is definitely around. He is employing two tactics. The first is to spread false rumours in an attempt to sow doubt in the minds of the people. The second is to get the people to abstain from voting. With your support the enemy will fail. He is bound to fail. We know the voters list in every constituency. Therefore we will know all those who abstain from voting. Accordingly it will be easy to know who the enemies of our cause are. The only wise advice is that you must not be numbered among the abstentions.

Let us move forward like one united nation and vote a massive YES at the referendum. This is the best way to defeat our foes here at home and shame our enemies abroad. It is the duty we owe ourselves and mother Africa.

EDITORIAL Continued from page 1 THE PEOPLES POWER

The Convention People's Party has always striven and always will strive for unity of the people. The logic of the present situation demands that its fight for socialism may be carried forward to the final elimination of the enemies of the people.

The vote for YES will ensure that the democracy and freedom we have today will swiftly transform unto socialist democracy and freedom.

YES will only ensure the transformation of existing democratic institutions now limited, distorted and increasingly threatened by the colonialist orientated and privileged class unto socialist institutions expressing the interests and will of the people.

YES will guarantee the power of the people and expose the minority opposed to the people.

