

THE SPARK

A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1963

41

2d.

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

KWAME NKRUMAH

Founder of the State of Ghana

AT THE PRIME AGE OF 54, KWAME NKRUMAH IS A TITANIC CHARACTER ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA AND IN THE WORLD POLITICAL SCENE. HE HAS DESCRIBED THE LATE DU BOIS AS A PHENOMENON BUT HE HIMSELF IS ONE. HE IS A GREAT PHENOMENON OF OUR TIME, A SUPREME POLITICAL GENIUS WHOSE REMARKABLE RISE AND CEASAREAN ACHIEVEMENTS CANNOT BE DENIED EVEN BY HIS BITTEREST ENEMIES WHO BEGRUDGE HIM MERITED PRAISE.

It was Nkrumah's political genius which won independence for Ghana and which sparked the torch of freedom that now burns all over Africa. It is Nkrumah's political genius which sees through the arts and crafts of the imperialists and puts them in discomfiture. He is at once the envy of his contemporaries and the despair of imperialists and their agents.

What do men say of Nkrumah? To the aspiring masses of Ghana and the suffering millions of Africa, he is Osagyefo, the Conquering Redeemer. He is the Man of Destiny, ordained to put an end to the reign of enslavement and exploitation on the continent of Africa. The brochure on the African Summit Conference describes him as "The Giant of Africa, a man of remarkable qualities (who) has won the respect and admiration of the world by his meteoric and dramatic ascent and unwavering strength". The writers describe him further as "the mouth-piece of Mother Africa and a devoted Pan Africanist," and also as "the symbol of a sincere and dedicated African".

To his enemies, Nkrumah is a dilemma and a dangerous man. *The Commonwealth* on May 23, 1963 said he is "as dangerous as an adder". He is described by them as a self-imposed Redeemer, a black dictator; and his consuming passion for African Unity is seen as a bid to rule the continent.

A COLOSSUS

But the malignity of these detractors and the violence and virulence of their acerbity only demonstrate how much of a colossus he is. The French Foreign Office organ, *Le Monde*, describes him as a man "of tremendous stature".

Truly, Kwame has found his niche in the sun and filled it. But who would have thought on that Saturday in September 1909 when a male child was born to Madam Nyaniba that Nkrumah would one day be a shrine and that the whole world would echo with the name of the little baby?

Men in their lives go on different ways, statesmen, saints and those who immortalize their names; but most of them begin as ordinary people. That was how Kwame Nkrumah started, fifty four years ago.

A seer who foresaw his greatness might not have been believed, but the child grew and with growth came vision and ambition. He was educated in a mission school and later went to Achimota where he obtained a teacher's certificate and taught in the school.

Always thirsting after knowledge, he proceeded to America where he studied and later taught Economics and Sociology in Lincoln University. After receiving his master's degree in Philosophy and Education in the University of Pennsylvania, he lectured again in

Political Science in Lincoln University.

Kwame's patriotism began to burn in his youth. He writes in his foreword to "Towards Colonial Freedom": "In 1942—twenty years ago—when I was a student in the United States of America, I was so revolted by the ruthless colonial exploitation and political oppression of the people of Africa that I knew no peace."

In the United Kingdom where he enrolled as a student at the London School of Economics and Political Science, he got the long-sought opportunity to devote himself to this problem of colonialism. He naturally joined hands with the organisers of the Pan-African Congress, an organisation purporting to fight against colonialism. His dynamic personality had a speedy and effective impact on the organisation, providing it with much needed orientation and transforming it into a more active pioneering instrument in the onslaught against colonialism. Nkrumah drew a fighting formula which was adopted at the Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England, from October 15-21, 1945 as a "Declaration to the Colonial peoples of the World."

MAN OF DESTINY

The hour struck for this Man of Destiny when late in 1947, he arrived in the then Gold Coast to translate into action his ambition for a free and united Africa. Nkrumah knew from the start what he wanted and how to get it. He came, he saw, he conquered.

The Gold Coast was to be only a starting point in the struggle to overthrow colonialism from the entire continent of Africa. Here we see from the start his practical political sagacity. He says of his colleagues of the U.G.C.C. in "Ghana," his autobiography: "The

sponsors of the movement (U.G.C.C.) were men whose political philosophy was contrary to the political aspirations of the people of the Gold Coast. This assessment of the situation forced me to the conclusion that it was quite useless to associate myself with a movement backed almost entirely by reactionaries, middle-

youth schooled in Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary organisation. The association was incongruous, but it was a chance which should not be missed. Lesser men might have let it slip, but Kwame Nkrumah took it and won.

INCONGRUOUS ASSOCIATION

He writes: "I was very sure of the policy that I would follow and fully prepared to come to loggerheads with the Executive of the U.G.C.C. if I found that they were following a reactionary course"



"THE GIANT OF AFRICA"

class lawyers and merchants, for my revolutionary background and ideas would make it impossible for me to work with them."

The breach between these leaders and him was inevitable. Here was a body of men steeped in legality and conventionalism, vainly imitating the sophistry of the British aristocracy, an intelligentsia in love with the nebulous idea of British parliamentarism and regarding itself as the rightful heir to the British colonial administration; and there was the inspired

Unlike his colleagues, Kwame saw imperialism as it truly is, a doctrine of exploitation, a "policy which aims at creating, organising and maintaining an empire." He had already written that the colonies were "avenues for capital investment, not for the benefit and development of the colonial peoples, but for the benefit of the investors, whose agents were the governments concerned." He expected no quarter from such a system and was decided to give it none.

He knew that we could never win independence by

lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot." He knew that if the colonial peoples waited for "the shortest possible time" to gain their freedom, it would never be possible! The ramparts of colonialism had to be assaulted with mobilised forces. The first prerequisite in the struggle was the "organisation of the colonial masses, an organisation of labour and youth"

Nowhere was the incongruity of the association between Nkrumah and the leaders of the U.G.C.C. so evident as at the first rally at the Palladium in Accra when he was introduced to the Ghanaian people. Dr. Danquah, the doyen of Ghana politics, in his speech lamented the power of the colonialists over the chiefs which situation he likened to the grabbing of the head of a snake, leaving the remaining body as a mere rope. Unless, he thought, the chiefs were released from the hold of the imperialists, we were lost. Nkrumah stood up and said: "To me the chiefs are no problem. Organise the masses of the people and the chiefs will follow or run and leave their sandals behind"

The events of history have proved him right.

IMPORTANCE TO AFRICA

The importance of Kwame Nkrumah to Ghana and to Africa cannot be over-estimated. Far from being an exaggeration, a dispassionate examination of current history will convince the most reserved cynic of this truth. A reviewer of his autobiography criticized him for titling it "Ghana", stating that without him the Gold Coast would have won her independence any way. It might. But how long would it have taken and what sort of independence? What sort of independence would we have won if the aristocratic intelligentsia, utterly alienated from the proletariat whom they contemptuously described as "verandah boys" had been in power? Neo-colonialism would have been at its worst. And the tragedy would have been that we would not have known that it was neo-colonialism! Africa would have been doomed to a condition infinitely worse than that of Latin America. Such is the worth of Nkrumah to Africa.

He alone among contemporary statesmen sees the incalculable danger that neo-colonialism constitutes to Africa. He alone realizes the irreparable harm we will suffer from economic dependence upon Europe or America. He alone fully

appreciates the great risk we run by political alignment with the imperial powers. In "Africa Must United" he has warned that "neo-colonialism is a phenomenon against which all African freedom fighters must be on their guard and resist to the utmost."

SEER AND ACTIVIST

Nkrumah is both a seer and an activist, a philosopher and a man of action. It is in rare moments of history that we have such a combination of gifts and talents in a single person. That colossal figure, Napoleon Bonaparte, who dictated the course of history in his time was said to have applied military strategems as never before and since, but his genius could not add an iota to the existing military theory. Almost all the great thinkers were dreamers who waited for he-men to put their ideas into action.

Kwame Nkrumah both dreams and acts. He evolved a theory of the African Revolution when on March 6, 1957, on the moment of Ghana's attainment of independence, he declared: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa." It was a natural follow up of his famous dictum: "Seek ye first the political kingdom; and all other things shall be added unto you"

The lesser politicians could not and still cannot see the supreme wisdom and the utmost necessity in that declaration and criticize him of compromising the independence of Ghana. But the plight of independent Ethiopia and Liberia in a colonial Africa was a guide line for those who had eyes to see. Who can deny that there has been tremendous improvements in the conditions of these countries since 1957 when Ghana and other African states have won their freedom? The countries were client states hopelessly caught in the meshes of neo-colonialism.

Nkrumah's answer to neo-colonialism, the more insidious form of domination is Pan-Africanism as embodied in his declaration and in socialism.

Until 1958, Pan-Africanism was a grand idea preached on foreign lands. None dared to plant it on African soil and without Nkrumah the idea might have evaporated as a dream, as all dreams are destined to end. But now only the most inveterate cynics of the Western press who find their interests threatened dare to call it a dream. The Addis Ababa Conference set the seal on its practicality.

AFRICAN UNITY

A columnist of *The Spark*, Julius Sagoes, has said: "To Kwame Nkrumah, African unity is a consuming passion." It must be to a genius of his stature who sees in it the one hope for Africa and even for world peace. As Julius Sagoes says: "Nkrumah sees African unity as the most effective weapon for attaining three principal objectives:—

IN THIS ISSUE

Africa Freedom Day	2
Imperialist and South Africa's Gold	2
Ghana's Workers Brigade	3
A Drowning People	5

MEMORABLE DATES IN KWAME NKRUMAH'S LIFE

- BORN: 21st Sept. 1909.
- 1927: Entered Government Training College, Achimota, Accra.
- 1930: Graduated from Achimota.
- 1935: Left for U.S.A. for further studies.
- 1939: Graduated from Lincoln University with B.A.
- 1942: Graduated from Lincoln University with B.Th.
- Graduated from University of Pennsylvania with M.Sc.
- 1943: Graduated from University of Pennsylvania with M.A.
- 1945: Left New York for London. Enrolled at Gray's Inn and at London School of Economics.
- West African National Secretariat founded and Joint Secretary with George Padmore. Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England.
- 1947: Wrote "Towards Colonial Freedom" but no publisher was willing to handle it. Arrived back in the Gold Coast and took up appointment as Secretary of United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC).
- 1948: The "Big Six" of the U.G.C.C. arrested and detained. Founded Accra Evening News.
- 1949: Convention People's Party founded after crisis in the leadership and strategy of U.G.C.C.
- 1950: Positive Action launched. Arrested and jailed.

Continued on page 6

Continued on page 6

Africa Freedom Day

LAST May's Addis Ababa Conference decided that 25th of May every year should be celebrated as Africa Freedom Day to commemorate the signing of the historic Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. However, the celebration for this year alone took place on September 17.

Coincidentally, the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation also opened in New York on September 17. The two events are inter-connected; for the U.N. is an important theatre in the ferocious battle which the African Revolution is waging against imperialism in the form of apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

A review of the African scene today shows that the problems facing our continent can be grouped under four main headings viz: the fight against apartheid, the fight for an immediate termination of colonialism, the struggle against neo-colonialism and for building a new politico-economic system, and the battle for the maintenance of world peace. We shall consider these problems briefly and in the order in which I have listed them.

DICTATORSHIP

First apartheid. We all know that this inhuman social order has already established itself in South Africa where over ten million blacks live under the iron dictatorship of barely two million whites armed with tanks, planes and guns supplied by Britain and U.S.A. through the common military organisation of the imperialist

countries—NATO. What is not as well known, however, is that this apartheid regime is busy trying to extend its borders to engulf Southern Rhodesia, S.W. Africa, Angola and Mozambique. In short, apartheid wants to reign supreme in that part of the African continent that lies south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Congo river to the mouth of the Zambezi river. This is an area in which less than 4 million whites plan to rule over some 30 million blacks!

A second point generally known but often forgotten is that apartheid has established itself and is trying to extend its frontiers because of the backing given it by the imperialist circles of Britain and U.S.A., who between them hold some 1,400 million pounds worth of investments in South Africa alone. The foundation of apartheid is imperialism.

Africa has pressed the fight against South Africa both in the U.N. and by direct economic and diplomatic action. We have succeeded in getting the U.N. to resolve on economic sanctions on South Africa; but, alas, the U.N. has failed to enforce its own resolutions. Direct economic and diplomatic action by African states has been hampered by innumerable strings linking some African states with the imperialist circles of Britain, France and U.S.A.

AFRICA'S PROBLEMS

Nonetheless, the apartheid problem has got to be solved. The U.N. must be able to enforce its decisions in the southern portion of the African continent. And this, to a great extent, depends on how speedily the structure of the organisation could be recast to overcome obvious and anachronistic anomalies.

The second problem facing Africa is decolonisation. The Addis Ababa Conference decided on setting up a liaison committee in Dar-es-Salaam to aid the liberation movements in all colonial territories. This has now been set up. But one is a little worried about how it seems to be functioning.

Two problems are important in this connection. Firstly, the strategy of the liaison committee seems

not clearly worked out. Is it to help freedom fighters to liberate their countries through supply of economic and military assistance? Or is it to act as a

by
X'ray

negotiating body between the liberation movements and the metropolitan powers concerned? The other point is whether the liaison committee should undertake liberation itself or serve as supply line to the various liberation movements who must themselves do the fighting? We must be realistic and acknowledge the fact that the primary force in any revolution is the fighting movement inside the country concerned. All external stimuli, however important, are secondary. This being the case, the Dar-es-Salaam liaison committee must abandon all attempts at reconciling liberation movements with the imperial power concerned. Instead it should concentrate on supplying equipment of all kinds to those liberation movements actively engaged in fighting the colonial armies being used to maintain colonial rule in the dependent territories of Africa.

Our third problem is that of overthrowing neo-colonialism. A corollary of this struggle is the battle to create a new politico-economic system in Africa based on complete independence from foreign control and social justice for all. This struggle is even more complicated than that against naked colonialism. The visible enemies are our fellow African leaders, but behind them are the real enemies—the imperialist circles of Western Europe and U.S.A.

The two main lines along which Africa is directing the assault against neo-colonialism are the drive for political unity of all Africa and the effort to create socialist systems within each African state. The two drives, it must be pointed out, complement and sustain each other.

IMPERIALISM

It is however not generally realised that the most powerful weapon in the fight against neo-colonialism—the main front along which imperialism is conducting its manoeuvres in Africa to-day—is a people's revolutionary movement of continental dimensions. It is such a movement, imbued with socialist ideals, that can sustain the struggle against neo-colonialist regimes and simultaneously protect and further consolidate the regime in those African states that have taken the road of socialist development. The leaders

of progressive Africa have got to pay much more attention than hitherto, to the building of this people's movement of continental dimensions. For it alone constitutes the stable foundation on which continental union and a continental union government can be built.

WORLD PEACE

Lastly, world peace. The African Revolution has a vested interest in world peace because it sees this as a condition for the rapid attainment of its objectives. It is important though to point out, as Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has repeatedly emphasised, that our strivings for world peace do not mean—and cannot mean—that Africa intends to co-exist with imperialism. We are not prepared for any such tranquility in bondage. We must be prepared to gain our freedom and defend it by force of arms, if need be.

It is not enough therefore merely to shout our desire for world peace. Africa must know precisely what to do in defence of it. Here the decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference have been most useful. Africa presses on towards world peace through two channels. The first is complete and thorough disarmament, an end to all nuclear tests, the recognition of Africa as a nuclear free

zone and the destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The second is the re-organisation of the U.N. Organisation with a view to making it more representative of world forces as they are today and not as they were in 1945 when the organisation was set up. In particular, Africa demands a proportionate voice on the Security Council and a thorough review of the arrangement by which one or two big powers can obstruct the will of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

DEMANDS

These demands are no mere debating points. On them hangs the future of peaceful negotiation as an instrument of international amity. For if the U.N.O. is to serve as a vehicle of peace and justice, then it must respect the wishes of the entire peoples of the world and be able to give effect to its decisions. In short, Africa is demanding that the U.N. cease to be the instrument of Western imperialism and serve the best interests of mankind—viz. elimination of imperialism, the raising of standard of living of all peoples, peace and security among the nations of the world.

These then, are the problems facing Africa today. And the purpose of celebrating Africa Day is that we think on these things.

WESTERN IMPERIALISM AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD

NOWADAYS, it happens sometimes that people are surprised and shocked at the sight of the sharp contrast between the Western official statements condemning the South African Government's apartheid policy and the way the same Western statesmen are acting towards South Africa, increasing steadily their trade relations, going so far as to supply Verwoerd with much-needed (for his racist terror) deadly weapons, helping him to retain his undeserved seat at the U.N.O.

There is, indeed, much to be shocked at, but the very fact, not surprising at all is that the Western ruling class is tied up with the South African Government's way of ruling over 12 million African subjects by ties stronger than any feeling, ethics, or even goodwill or sympathy for the African workers' fate. Such ties are called gold and uranium, and their nature is deeply rooted into the nature of the capitalist system itself.

To be able to express freely and demonstrate actively any sympathy for the African struggle in South Africa, any member of the Western capitalist ruling class or their supporters should first be freed of the capitalist system itself—which, we hope, would happen some day, but has unfortunately still to be achieved. Vice-versa, this means that the liberation struggle in South Africa is at the same time and automatically an anti-capitalist struggle as well as a national one.

GOLD TIES

The true nature of the deep-rooted ties between

the Pretoria regime and the supposed more enlightened Western "democracies" (including, of course, de Gaulle's, Franco's and Salazar's dictatorships!) have recently been openly made clear by one of the prominent South African capitalist, P. H. Anderson, who happens to be the President of the Transvaal and Orange State Mines Chamber.

In his annual report, presented on the 24th June this year, this Anderson comes to the much-discussed (among the capitalists, of course) problem of a rise in the world price of gold. The proposal has been flatly discarded by the first world gold purchaser, that is the U.S.A., speaking through Mr. Kennedy's voice. Mr. Anderson did not agree at all with these "detectors of South Africa", as he put it, without, however, naming any of them. He thinks that the so-called free world has to listen to South African capitalists' claims, because they, the South African capitalists and racists, have done and are doing so much

for the survival of capitalism (otherwise called "free world").

"This benefit", Mr. Anderson continued, (i.e.: the eventual benefit that South African whites would draw from an increased world gold price), "cannot be described as undeserved, in view of the major contribution given in the past and still given now by South Africa to the gold reserves of Western monetary system. If it had not been for the vastly increased South African gold production in the course of the last years, the shortage of gold reserves relatively to the financial commitments would have been much more serious

"Indeed, stability of Western democracies' economic achievements remains their most powerful asset in their resistance to communism and their will to overcome it. South Africa, as the major source of gold is supporting and helping to build this asset; and South Africa is actively anti-communist, while many among her detractors are not (i.e.: I guess, are anti-communists not so actively as the South African white anti-communists!)"

FACTS AND FIGURES

A few figures and facts should, at this juncture, be recalled in order to give its full dreary meaning to Mr. Anderson's cynical confession. In 1962, South African gold mines produced 25 million ounces of gold, leaving to their owners an avowed benefit amounting to £55 million (not including of course a few more millions not pub-

licly acknowledged for). What is even more worth noting is that this peak gold output has constituted two-thirds of the "free" world gold production, and this fact alone shows clearly that Mr. Anderson is not boasting when he stresses crudely the dependence of the great Western powers on South Africa as the main source of gold supply.

On the other hand, it is equally true that neither increased production nor increased apartheid terror could have been achieved, if U.S.A. and U.K.—but mostly the former, had not poured billions of new investments into South Africa since 1953

But, in any case, we should also stress another fact, of which the South African capitalists are fully aware, too: the monetary gold reserves in the various big capitalist countries are, now, inadequate (covering, it is reported, only one-third of the free world trade), at least if one judges by normal capitalist standards. In such circumstances, the South African white ruling class feels with good reason that it has reached a strong position firmly entrenched inside the world capitalist system. At this level, the interests of both partners, South Africa on one hand, U.S.A., U.K., West Germany and France on the other hand have become so entangled that the slightest real difference between the latter and the former has become highly unlikely, not to say impossible.

URANIUM

But all the more, if we give the consideration it deserves to another signifi-

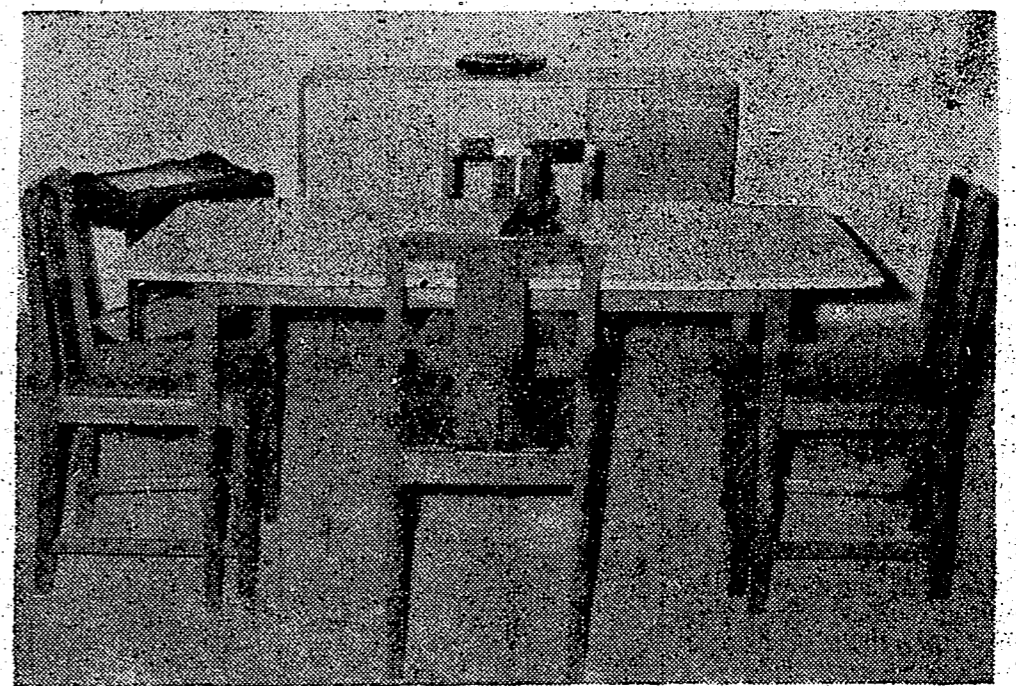
cant fact; the gold mines owners are at the same time the uranium mines owners; in fact both gold and uranium are extracted from the same mines. And, moreover, almost all the uranium output is already

booked for several years to come: for her part, Great Britain has entered into a strange contract, reserving her share from the South African uranium production up to 1973! Since we

have not the slightest evidence that these uranium "atoms" are being used for pacific purposes by the two major nuclear powers, one has to admit that South

Continued on Page 5

High Class FURNITURE



new designs to suit the modern home

FOR

LOUNGE
KITCHEN
SCHOOL

DINING-ROOM
BEDROOM
OFFICE

Contact

STATE FURNITURE & JOINERY CORPORATION

(Brewery Road, near Ghana Graphic Co. Ltd.)

tel.: 66411, p.o. box 1922, Accra

the most modern furniture factory in Ghana

The Ghana Workers Brigade

WHEN Ghana attained complete independence in 1957, one of the major problems inherited from the colonial past was unemployment, which then assumed greater proportions each year. During the transition to independence, efforts had been made to meet the problem in a variety of ways, among others by the provision of a Youth Employment Service and the establishment of Vocational Training Centres by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. Both of these schemes did useful work, but it was clear that on the scale at which they were organised, they could not offer more than a mere palliative to a problem which became more pressing each year. Not only was there the human problem affecting each individual who failed to find work; there was also the waste of education and potential skills at an age when people were ripe for further training, and a consequential grave loss in potential, which an independent Ghana could not afford.

Having been perturbed for sometime at the growing problem of unemployment among members of the community and the social evils to which they were thus exposed, the Government, under the distinguished leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, decided that the problem must be tackled boldly and fundamentally, by the establishment of a new organisation, which would not only provide a new approach to the problem of unemployment, but also, would give constructive activity for unemployed men and women, and train the youth for the development of the country. It was upon this conviction, that the Ghana National Assembly on 29th August, 1957, approved a Government Motion for the "establishment of a Builders Brigade."

CAMPS

Immediately after the publication of the Government White Paper on the "National Workers Brigade" as it was then known, two Camps were established at Kanda in Accra, and Damongo in the Northern Region, with an initial intake of 190 members. Up to the present, the number of Camps has increased to 45, scattered in all Regions of the country, with a membership of some 7,500 men and women, who

OBJECTIVES

With this principle in view, the objectives of the Brigade were formulated for the training of Ghanaian men and women, especially Middle School Leavers as follows:—

- (i) To develop vocational skill through experience, with emphasis on agricultural pursuits;
- (ii) To foster a sense of civic responsibility and to encourage

patriotic service to the nation;

- (iii) To maintain and operate large agricultural settlements and other sound public works and economic projects of public value; and
- (iv) To assist in the building of border settlements which will be devoted to co-operative farming, and to promote new societies populated by Brigaders who accept collective farming, as a basis for building new communities.

Prime emphasis in the Brigade was then placed on training the members to become better Ghanaians and self-reliant citizens, for it was considered, that if the Brigade could serve as an institution to train the skilled labour and disciplined manpower required for the country's development projects, a greater degree of the difficulties of National Reconstruction would be overcome. To this end, apart from the basic training facilities provided in the various Camps for the members, the Workers Brigade Training Centre at Okponglo in Accra, is designed to, and has been running courses in various trades: Auto-Electricity, Vehicle Mechanics, Heavy Machinery and tractor operation, while the camps provide in addition, training in carpentry, masonry, black-smithery, weaving, and other trades and crafts. The training programme of the Leadership Training Wing of the School, includes among its many features:

- (i) The principles of discipline and personal integrity;
- (ii) Good work habits;
- (iii) Citizenship;
- (iv) The principles and practice of Nkrumahism.

Brigaders who develop special inclination to and interest in particular trades or possess the aptitude, are selected to the Training

FOCUS ON SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA (PART THREE)



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

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

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

Our article today is on the Workers Brigade.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the authorities of the Workers Brigade for putting at our disposal all the requisite materials which have made the writing of this article possible. —EDITOR.

Centres for full training in their respective trades and on passing-out successfully from their courses, they are employed as tradesmen in the Brigade's services or resign to accept more lucrative employment on other development projects.

The work of the Brigade is generally in the field of agriculture in the expectation that a large proportion of the members will develop interest in, and take to farming when they at any time decide to leave the Brigade to establish on their own. While in the Brigade, they acquire the knowledge and experience required for farming as individuals or in co-operative groupings.

Every opportunity is afforded the members to train in agricultural techniques while they are employed on the large farms which the Brigade maintains and operates for growing foodcrops to help break the high cost of living. In addition, the Brigade runs plantations for the production of rubber, citrus and pineapples on extensive and modern farming basis.

RADICAL CHANGE

In order that the purpose of the Brigade will be better felt, it is undergoing a radical change in its organisation and structure, in order to weave itself into the economic framework of the country. In this exercise, the Brigade is being re-organised on a productive orientated structure, into two main wings:

- The Agricultural Wing, and
- The Works Division.

Each of these divisions is being planned on the major principle of eventually reaching the stage of self-sufficiency, when the prime objective of the Brigade will have been achieved.

The Agricultural Wing is being re-organised as the productive Agricultural Enterprise of the Brigade and is aimed at eventually standing on its own feet without any subsidy from the Government. This Wing of the Brigade's activity is charged with responsibility of farming the land and ensuring that the proceeds will be adequate to meet wages and salaries of members and other operating expenses of the farms. To achieve this objective, a detailed programme has been formulated on the basis of the National Seven-Year Development Plan. The programme is currently undergoing expert scrutiny by the National Planning Commission, and when approved and incorporated into the National Programme, the Workers



BRIGADERS FEEDING POULTRY AT NUNGUA POULTRY FARM.

Brigade will be accorded the full opportunity to justify its stand as an economic enterprise, and one of the major production units in the National Agricultural Development Drive.

Already, the Agricultural Wing of the Brigade has raised almost 8,000 acres of farms growing a variety of food-crops and perennials and as soon as the programme is approved and put into operation, the Brigade will be in a position to prove itself as an effective economic instrument in the structure of the state.

TYPES OF FORMS

The programme among its many features, provides that the Agricultural Wing of the Brigade will establish three types of farms according to the country's vegetational belts and the types of crops suitable for

the particular areas where the camps are established. The first type of farms which will be sited in areas in the Northern and Upper Regions where farming is limited to only one season per year, will each cultivate 2,000 acres of farms for the growing of rice, guinea-corn, millet, groundnuts, beans, yams, and tobacco. The second type will be sited in the Savannah areas where two seasonal cultivations can be operated each year. These will operate 1,000 acre farms for the growing of rice, maize, groundnuts, beans, yams, vegetables and tobacco. The third type of Brigade farms will be located in areas where the growing of rice, yams and tobacco is not advisable. These will also cultivate 1,000 acre farms of maize, groundnuts, beans, cassava and vegetables.

The effect of this re-organisation provides that

by the close of the first year of the Seven-Year Plan period, the Brigade will have cultivated 14,000 acres of farms and by the end of the period, 69,000 acres of farms will have been established.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The present distribution of Agricultural Camps for the conduct of this major exercise is as follows:—

Northern & Upper Regions	
Camp	Strength
Paragu	131
Navrongo	192
Bole Site I	115
" " II	160
Wa	115
Bimbilla	243
Zuo	175
Damongo "B"	159
" " "A"	162

(Continued on page 4)



BRIGADERS LOADING THEIR HARVEST OF MAIZE INTO BAGS AT DAMONGO CAMP



A BRIGADE TRACTOR DRIVER SENDING GROUNDNUT TO CAMP AT DAMONGO.

THE GHANA WORKERS BRIGADE

Continued from page 3

Brong/Ahafo Region Camps Strength

Attebubu Site I	101
Attebubu Site II	345
Techiman	191
Sunyani	88

Ashanti Region Camp Strength

Ejura	361
Jachie	114

Rice	159
Millet	30
Vegetable	14
Pepper	46
Groundnuts	930
Sugar cane	4
Pineapple	32.5
Banana	20
Plantain	633
Mango	15
Rubber	129
Tobacco	50
Oil Palm	149.5
Beans	244
Cocoyam	253

year, to 67,000 tons in the last year.

ECONOMIC UNIT

The Works Division or Constructional Wing which is also re-organised as an economic unit within the Brigade, will undertake public constructional works and other economic projects of public value such as feeder roads, simple drainage systems, resettle-

Scheme at Tonkor Kaira in the Volta Region, as a result of which another £G12,000 contract has been awarded to the Works Division to construct 188 resettlement houses at Dawyigba in the Volta Region.

In the past, this Division has executed several projects of public value including the Accra City Pavement (Development) Project, construction of Estate Houses at Kumasi and Takoradi for the Ghana Housing Corporation, and construction of dams in the Northern Region.

One of the greatest steps taken by the Brigade is in the field of Industry, by the establishment of a modern Garment Factory in Accra. The purpose of the Factory is to solve the problem of importing uniforms for the members, which involved the Organisation and for that matter the State, in very high expenditure in foreign exchange. The £G86,000 Factory (including machinery etc.) situated in the East Ring Road Industrial Estate, presently employs some 100 tailors and seamstresses of all grades and is capable of producing uniforms for other Government Institutions which have hitherto ordered their supplies from abroad. At present, the Factory has been successfully competing for, and winning several contracts to produce uniforms for the Police, Army, Ministry of Health, etc.

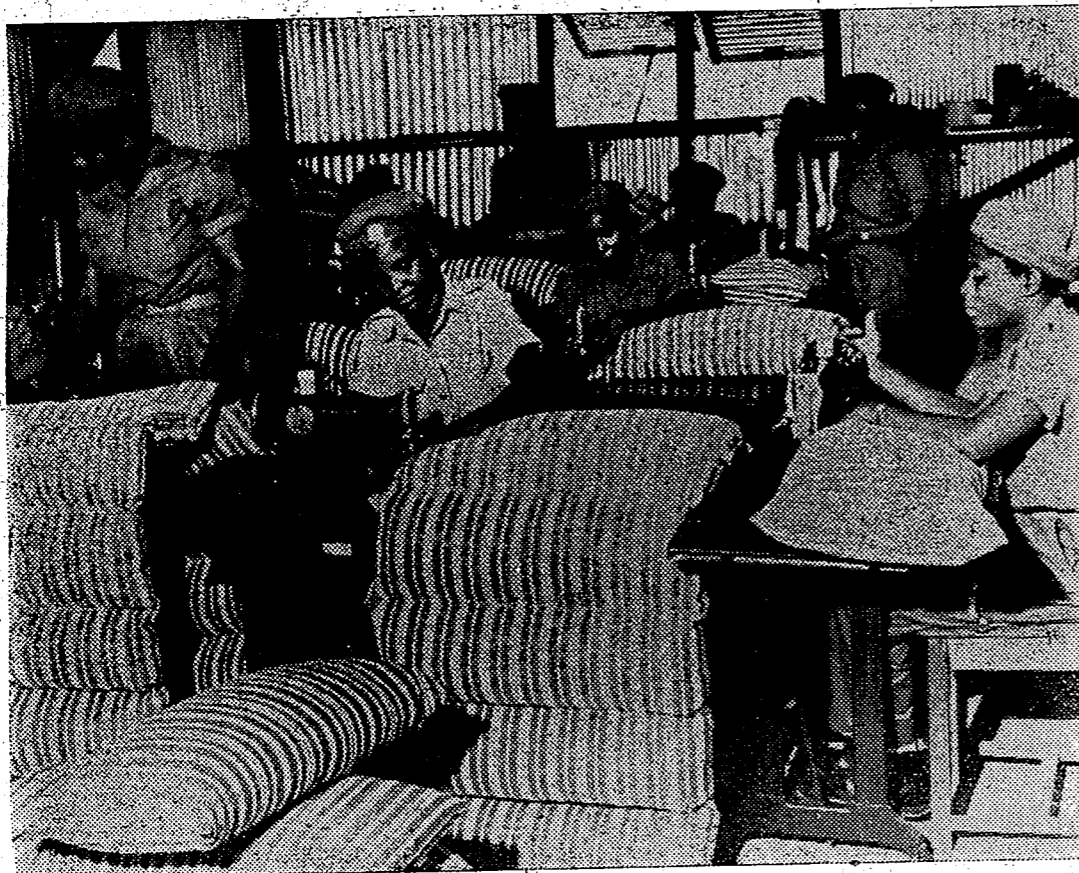
In addition to the Garment Factory, a Mattress Workshop is in operation at Nungua in Accra, on a small scale. The worth of this unit is already well-known to our Educational Institutions and the Ministry of Health, which have been convinced by the quality of our products to offer the Brigade their patronage.

THE ORGANISATION

In Command of the Brigade is the National Organiser who is the Chief Executive Officer. He is assisted at the National Headquarters by Staff Officers in charge of various subjects, i.e. Administration, Manpower, Organisation, Supplies, Transport, Agriculture and Construction. At Camps, the National Organiser is repre-



BRIGADERS ENGAGED ON BUILDING ESTATE HOUSES AT KUMASI.



FEMALE BRIGADES AT GARMENT FACTORY IN ACCRA.

Effiduasi	57
Kwaamang	107
Sekodumase	35

Western Region Camps Strength

Asawinso	162
Mpataba	268
Anyinase	32
Anagye	40
Abosso	125

Volta Region Camp Strength

Klukpo	285
Kpetoe	215
Borae Site I	53
Borae Site II	108

Eastern Region Camp Strength

New Tafo	132
Kwahu Tafo	112
Somanya	183
Koforidua	45
Nungua	159
Omanakorpe	59

Central Region Camp Strength

Essiam	64
Abakrampa	34
Assin/Bereku	82
Appam	62
Winneba	59

These camps are already in various stages of development towards the targets laid-down and every amount of planning and investment of efforts are being directed towards the attainment of their objectives. So far, this Wing has cultivated the following acreages of crops:—

Cassava	947.5
Yam	361
Cashew	30
Maize	2,426
Guinea-corn	816

Coconut	137
Citrus	47
Total:	7,485.5

By the end of the Seven-Year Plan period, the Agricultural Wing will be operating in all 46 well-established farms of the three categories and production risen from nearly 7,900 tons of food-crops in the first

ment and estate houses, in addition to constructional works for Brigade farming communities. Like the Agricultural Wing, this division is also being re-organised to be able to eventually stand on its feet. Much progress has already been achieved in this direction with the successful execution of the £G25,000 contract of the Volta River Authority's Resettlement

sented by Camp Commanders who are responsible for the administration and command of the Camps placed in their charge, and the execution of policies initiated by the National Organiser.

Under the Camp Commanders who are ranked as Pioneer Officers and First Officers, are Second Officers who assist them in their duties. Then come Junior Officers, Senior Group Leaders, Group Leaders, Senior Section Leaders, Section Leaders, Squad Leaders and the rank and file referred to as Pioneers. This chain of Command ensures the disciplined command of the Brigade in its proper bearing as a Semi-Military Institution, for the purpose of which it has been placed under the Ministry of Defence. To achieve this objective, arrangements are well in hand to introduce Military Law into the Brigade. This will enable the Brigade to be in its proper bearing as a Semi-Military Institution in its bid to well-disciplined manpower for the country's development projects.

Apart from all these functions, the Brigade is always ready to assist when called upon in emergency, to provide essential services to the State.

JOMO KENYATTA

writes on

THE SIGNIFICANCE

of the

ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE

in October

LABOUR MONTHLY

marxist commentary and left wing views on the British labour movement, international politics and the fight against imperialism

2s. or 24s. annually post paid

Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London, England.

When ordering please mention 'Spark'

The future looks bright for modern Ghana



Better living standards for the people

Ghana National Trading Corporation continues to bring you, the people of Ghana, quality products, local and imported, at reasonable prices, in an attempt to help you enjoy better living standards. Help yourself and Ghana's economy by shopping at all G.N.T.C. Stores, Branches throughout Ghana. G.N.T.C. knows your needs and serves you well!

GHANA NATIONAL TRADING CORPORATION

Departments: Ghana House People's Shop Technical Department Motors Department Wholesalers and Retailers
National Betting Company: bottlers of Coca-Cola Fanta and Sprite

A Drowning People

THE world is in great confusion, not only from the dislocations of the 2nd World War and the threat of a third, but perhaps even more so from the African Revolution and the rise of all men of colour all over the world. The disruptions caused by the 2nd World War have been in large measure patched up most successful in most places. There is also the hope that realizing the zenithal madness of a nuclear war, the powers that be will return to sanity and disarm before the first irretractable suicidal step is taken.

But with the African Revolution, nothing, absolutely nothing, can be done about it. It is unarguably inevitable as history itself. It is an inseparable part of the process of human evolution. Like the Great Deluge it is engulfing the world, inundating and sweeping down the elevated places and filling up the depressions.

"A drowning man will cling to a straw" so the proverb goes. White racists everywhere are caught in the raging torrents of this deluge which is sweeping

away their privileges and shattering their fond expectations and inflated conceits to smithereens.

Nowhere is the panic of the drowning so evident as in South Africa. Apart from madness, the actions of the protagonists of apartheid can hardly be described in better terms. Observe the recent legislation which forbids the South African Broadcasting Corporation from calling the indigenous population "Africans". They are to be called "Bantus" or "natives". Again, the legislation

(it is repugnant to clothe such mad actions in legal terms) forbids the Corporation from calling any African "Mr."

ISSUES

Two issues proceed from this legislation. First, the prohibition of the term "Africans" as a nomenclature exclusively applicable to the indigenous peoples may have been motivated by the desire of the white settlers to be considered African. It is argued by them that they have as much right to be in South Africa as the Bantus and other groups, since they arrived at the Cape about the same time as the latter in their exodus southwards from the north. If this argument is accepted, then the white settlers of South Africa are also "natives" and the exclusive application of the term to Bantus etc. is quite as untenable as the term "Africans"

by
WUK

There is, however, this second aspect to be considered. Apart from meaning indigenous to a place, the term "native" also has an unwholesome connotation about it. Among the great variety of meanings given by *Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary* to the word "native," one finds this: "belonging to the people originally or at the time of discovery inhabiting the country especially when they are coloured or uncivilized".

Obviously it is because of the derogatory connotation of the word that it has been decreed to be applied

exclusively to the rightful inheritors of the land. The tenability of this contention is substantiated by that part of the legislation which prohibits any person from calling an African "Mr."

It is material to this part of our argument to remember that it gives the lie to the hysterical attempts by exponents of apartheid to give it a different meaning than its own. They try to explain to the world that apartheid means separate development which implies EQUAL development. If all are equal in South Africa, why should an African not be called "Mr."?

But it seems inutile to belabour this point. Who does not know of the jesuitical hypocrisy of the proponents of apartheid and of their bloody iniquities? Before this mad legislation, the Home Minister who is also responsible for education,

the arts and science had ordered the withdrawal from the Transvaal Museum of all exhibits confirming Darwin's theory of human origin because it is contrary to the views held by the protagonists of apartheid.

RECORDS

Obviously only a mad man or an imbecile can hope to suppress truth by this means. One cannot help comparing such action to the ostrich which buries its head under sand and thinks that it has thereby hidden and protected itself from danger. The imbecility of the white South African brain is pathetic. While men like Darlington, Coon and others are trying to contort and distort scientific facts to suit their own prejudices, the nitwits in South Africa are just content to achieve the same end by the mere ex-

pediency of suppressing truth!

Last August, the sadistic government of South Africa parted itself on the back for breaking records in the perpetration of enormities. Government spokesmen announced that in the sphere of suppression 1,100,000 people (about 3,000 a day) were sentenced last year for alleged contravention of racist laws. A second record was broken in the sphere of prohibition of books where it was announced that 8,000 titles had been banned since the National Party came to power fifteen years ago.

No doubt the drowning white populace of South Africa will applaud these diabolical achievements. But like all drowners it seems we should knock them unconscious to save them from killing themselves and us. And that should be done pretty soon!

Western Imperialism and South African Gold

Continued from page 2

African gold mines are at the present time a major purveyor of much needed raw material for atomic bombs, which for obvious reasons Mr Anderson thought more advisable to avoid stressing too much.

Now South Africa seems to symbolise the dreadful basic realities of the "free" world, gold ingots to be piled up into the big banks' safes, uranium to be piled up into more and more atomic bombs. The Bank and the Bomb: South African white capitalist regime is feeding both of them, and therefore, her continued existence under her present slave-regime has become a must for the capitalist system as a whole; this is the meaning of Mr Anderson's warning to the Western Tartuffs.

If the African workers—"unexperienced, unskilled, and illiterate", as Mr Anderson thinks appropriate to qualify them—had to be dealt with in the same way as a white proletarian in the Western countries, then gold and uranium mining would perhaps be much less "profitable" than with the great help of apartheid terror, with the forceful suppression of any African unions, of any African workers political party, of any civil as well political rights. The democratic bourgeois freedoms are denied to African workers in South Africa just because the country happens to be a major stronghold of the Western "democracies."

FORCED LABOUR

As it is well known, the South African gold mines are supplied with very cheap labour through three channels: (a) the Africans segregated in the reserves, from where they cannot get out except when entering into a "contract" with the gold mines (daily rate about 3 shillings!) (b) the 5,000 workers exported yearly, as if they were just raw materials, by the Por-

tuguese from Mozambique; (c) the Africans fleeing Portuguese tyranny in Angola and Mozambique.

Behind this slave recruitment lies an economic motive, clearly stated by the author of a recent book on Portuguese ultra-colonialism: the gold industry in South Africa is entirely irrational, and it would not be possible to run it economically with-

out a terror organisation providing at any time the cheapest labour you could find. (d) the same author reminds us that in similar conditions, American and Australian gold mines had to close down.

Therefore, the big men of the Transvaal and orange mines chamber have no alternative solution; either they should earn their living by doing some other job, or they

have to use forced labour. At this point, they become so closely entangled with Portuguese colonialism that, we might assume, this state of things accounts partly for the stubborn Salazar's resistance to the national movement. And then, the African national movement has no other choice than to organise for a wide scale mass struggle against the gold mines owners and stockholders as representing one of the main apartheid bulwarks.

Gold, uranium, apartheid—and, ultimately, world capitalism—thus turn out to be all bundled together, so that it would be naive to expect any miracle or ready made compromise to alleviate on a sudden the fate of African workers. They have now to win it through their own national liberation, and to win against, not only Verwoerd, his 250,000 strong army, but equally the Western bankers and big capitalists (among whom the Ameri-

can Oppenheimer, is today the best known). At a time when all African Heads of State, through the Addis Ababa resolution, have strongly declared their will to support actively the liberation struggle of the South African people and to fight up to the end the monstrous apartheid regime, it is of paramount importance that all African freedom fighters and militants approach the problems of this vital struggle with a clear awareness of its deep meaning and face the harsh realities it involves.

In such a struggle, which is not an easy one, which is rather going to be a protracted and hard one, this awareness is a necessity to avoid being diverted from the fundamental objectives by honeyed Western speeches or by perhaps more subtle tricks and manoeuvres. It is true that vital world capitalist interests are here at stake; it is no less true that by fighting resolutely against them, Africa is fighting not only for herself, but at the same time for the genuine interests of all mankind.

LONDON

fly there by



Ghana



AIRWAYS

There are so many fascinating and famous things to see in London. They may be familiar sights to you, or things to see and enjoy for the first time. Fly there quickly and comfortably by Ghana Airways Express services. You travel non-stop, by night, arriving refreshed next morning—with an extra day in hand. And you fly in the luxury comfort of a modern, jet-prop aircraft. Ghana Airways—your link with Europe—will be pleased to help you plan your journey exactly as you wish.



The changing of the Guard at Horse Guards Parade in Whitehall, London can be seen at 11.30 a.m. on every weekday 10 a.m. on Sunday.

YOUR TIME-TABLE

ACCRA	Dep.	GH.804	GH.800
		Mon. 2200	Fri. 2200
LONDON	Arr.	Non-Stop	Non-Stop
		Night Express	Night Express
		Tues. 0720	Sat. 0720

GHANA AIRWAYS—YOUR LINK WITH EUROPE

AFRICAN DIARY

3rd SEPTEMBER, TUESDAY:

NIGERIA: Dr. Kalu Ezera, a Nigerian associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, and also a Member of Parliament, suggests that Nigeria should be renamed "the Federal Republic of Songha" on October 1, when the country becomes a republic.

GHANA: Ghana will be represented at a seminar on "Agricultural Education and Training in Africa" which opens in Kampala, Uganda, on 9th September.

The seminar is being organised by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.).

SOUTH AFRICA: An African labourer, Mr. Solomon Kumalo, who lost his left eye after being kicked and punched by a white settler warder while undergoing a prison sentence last year, institutes a claim for £5,000 damages against Mr. Balthazar Vorster, Minister of Justice, in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

4th SEPTEMBER, WEDNESDAY:

NIGERIA: Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Nyasaland Prime Minister, tells a news conference at Ikeja airport on his brief stop in Lagos on his journey to Europe that any African journalist who joins the chorus with the Anglo-American imperialist press against fellow African leaders is wasting his talent.

In a serious mood, Dr. Banda continues that he will not stand for "nonsense" from African journalists who emulate the foreign press.

UGANDA: The Uganda Prime Minister, Mr. Milton Obote, announces that he is considering constitutional proposals for a Uganda Head of State for the country.

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, says his Government intends to re-colonise the three British "protectorates" of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

5th SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the banned Zimbabwe African People's Union, says that it will be disastrous particularly for the whites in Rhodesia, if the white-dominated Southern Rhodesian Government declares its independence. Mr. Nkomo continues to say that such a declaration will mean a clash between Africans and Europeans.

TUNISIA: The Tunisian President, Habib Bourguiba, sends a message to the Head of the new Congo (Brazzaville) Government, Mr. Alphonse Massamba Debat, that Tunisia wishes to continue co-operation with his country according to the principles contained in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.).

GAMBIA: The Prime Minister of Gambia, Mr. David Kweisi Jajawara, confirms that the Order-in-Council granting Gambia full internal self-government will be laid before British Queen Elizabeth II, at the first Privy Council meeting in London later this month or early next month.

TUNISIA: Mr. Chedly Klibi, Secretary of State for Culture and Information, says the Government of Tunisia intends to give building materials and olive oil to Yugoslavia for victims of the Skopje earthquake.

6th SEPTEMBER, FRIDAY:

GHANA: The Ghana Railway and Harbours Administration made a total profit of £64,520 of its master portage and stevedoring operations at the Takoradi Harbour from last July 17, to last August 16.

A spokesman of the administration says that the master portage and stevedoring operations which started eleven months ago are being manned completely by a Ghanaian staff and have made a total profit of £6398,205 up to-date.

SIERRA LEONE: Sir Milton Magai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, arrives in Paris from London for a four-day visit at the invitation of the French Government. The Sierra Leone Premier will have talks with the French President, General de Gaulle, Prime Minister, George Pompidou and Foreign Minister Coura de Murville.

GHANA: An eight member Togolese delegation, led by Mr. Piere Adossama, Acting Minister of Finance, Economy and Planning, arrives in Accra. The delegation will discuss with Ghana Government officials the latest measures aimed at re-opening the Togo-Ghana border.

* The United Nations Information Office announces the offer of 100 scholarships by the Ghana Government to nationals of African countries and territories for the 1963-64 academic year, for secondary schools and Universities.

7th SEPTEMBER, SATURDAY:

NIGERIA: Chief Anthony Enahoro, vice-President of Nigeria's Opposition Action Group, was found guilty of plotting the overthrow of the Nigerian Government and sentenced to a total of 15 years imprisonment.

U.A.R.: Twenty people, including senior government department officials and business chiefs will face trial in Cairo next month accused of causing harm to the state's economic policy. They have all been charged with "accepting or offering bribes" to acquire import permits illegally.

KENYA: Mr. Paul Ngei, Deputy Opposition leader and head of the African Peoples Party, is expected to join the Kenya African National Union (KANU) tomorrow.

TANGANYIKA: The Tanganyika Government has given strong warning that it will not hesitate to take drastic action against persons who use religion as a cover to gain political ambitions.

9th SEPTEMBER, MONDAY:

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Congolese (Leopoldville) Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, requests the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant to retain at least 3,000 U.N. troops in his country for 6 months.

U Thant has recently informed U.N. members of his intention of withdrawing the U.N. troops because of "serious financial situation" for the organisation.

GHANA: A two-man Tanganyikan delegation led by Mr. Sijaona, Minister of National Culture and Youth, arrives in Accra to study Ghana's achievements since independence.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, and chairman of Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa, (PAFMAECSA) declares at a newspaper interview that the organisation should be wound up, because the Addis Ababa Conference is performing the functions of the organisation.

Kwame Nkrumah

Continued from page 1

1. total liberation of Africa from colonial rule;

2. fighting neo-colonialism in the independent African states;

3. creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind."

Nkrumah's concept of African unity comprises "overall economic planning, unified military and defence strategy and unified foreign policy and diplomacy". These call for a unified continental government; for only such a centralised executive body will ensure the total attainment of the three principal objectives of the African people.

A centralized government is an indispensable prerequisite for creating the atmosphere of peace and tranquility which are necessary for the development of a young country like Africa. And an overall economic planning is a sine qua non for Africa to achieve in a matter of decades what other countries took 500 years to accomplish.

SOCIALISM

This is why Nkrumah sees socialism as the only solution for Africa. He has himself congenitally outlined the reasons for this choice in his book, *Africa Must Unite* in which he writes that "colonial rule precluded that accumulation of capital among our citizens which would have assisted thoroughgoing private investment in industrial construction."

Like the true seer he is, he saw the necessity for this choice, from the very beginning, declaring it even in the days of our struggle for independence. Nkrumah is the very embodiment of Pan-Africanism and Socialism. He briefs and moves and has his being in these. He reiterates these prime necessities for African development at every opportunity. In opening the Uni-lever Soap Factory at Tema a few weeks ago, he found occasion to mention these. And at the recent passing out of military cadets he did the same.

For his absolute devotion to these ideals, Nkrumah is hated and maligned by Western imperialists.

Against their malignant accusation that he is a self-imposed Redeemer trying to dominate Africa, R. Palme Duff, a renowned British scholar of international fame and a theoretician on Socialism and National Liberation Movements writes: "Vanity alone can never make history. The battle for All-African liberation and unity is a great political movement of our time, and the courageous and resourceful role of Nkrumah in advancing this battle will always be justly recognised."

Nkrumah's own proposals for a united government of Africa gives Ghana not the slightest chance of dominating other countries. Should he ever become the head of an African government, therefore, he shall be the choice of the people of Africa themselves.

KULUNGUGU

But imperialists have used every means to fell this "Giant of Africa". A columnist in the *New Africa* confessed recently that the outrage at Kulungugu was planned and financed by America.

That was coming from the horse's own mouth!

Yet Kwame Nkrumah still stands, impregnable and unassailable as ever. In fact: he is even more secure now than ever before, and even more dedicated to socialism than ever before. Despite these attempts on his life, the brave Leader could declare in an interview with *Pravda* that "Ghana has chosen the path of scientific socialism." There is no question, therefore of misinterpreting this Son of Africa.

His dedication to Socialism is evidenced in the kinds of developments he has initiated since Ghana attained independence. We see it in the improved standard of living of the people (Ghana has the highest per capita income in black Africa), in the numerous hospitals in all regions of the country, in the improved communication systems, in the rapid growth of industries, in the Tema Harbour and Volta River Project.

by
**Obotan
Awuku**

Having the welfare of the people at heart and knowing that education is the key to progress and development, Kwame Nkrumah from the very beginning launched a programme for educating the Ghanaian people. Today Ghana is the African country with the highest rate of schooled children of school-going age and the only country in Africa where university education is free. Most of

us who are living this great opportunity would never have seen the inside of a university. He does not know what he suffered.

THE MAN

Such is the measure of his achievements, but what of Nkrumah the man? He is a socialist humanist filled to the brim with the milk of human kindness.

A historian in finding excuses for the enormities of Napoleon Bonaparte said that when colossuses bestride the earth, they inadvertently trample on lesser creatures, whose lives they would feign spare.

Kwame Nkrumah bestrides Ghana and Africa like a colossus, but he is a colossus who has the attentive eye and loving hand for the poor creature beneath. Ghana's social reconstruction is progressing at a terrific pace mainly because Kwame has the welfare of the people at heart. In fact Ghana's expenditure on infra-structure and social services has been criticized in certain quarters as being excessive. If this is a mistake, it is a mistake committed in the interest of the people and occasioned by a genuine desire to help them.

His kindness extends even to his own enemies. Who but a magnanimous soul could have received Tawia Adamafo the bitterest critic of Nkrumah into the C.P.P.? Yet Adamafo was not only sponsored on a law course by Nkrumah, he rose to be Minister for Presidential Affairs and the sole liaison between Nkrumah and his people. It is regrettable that he turned out to be an asp which bit the bosom that gave him warmth.

The world was surprised to know that Teiko Tagoe and the other traitors who confessed their own guilt in executing the assassination plan and the reign of terror are still alive. Yet they have been spared till now. In the light of their atrocities, another head of state would not have spared them a day. Is it that Kwame Nkrumah, the man so full with kindness, is averse to signing death warrants? History shall answer.

But it seems I have let myself be carried too far. Have I not shouted too loudly his praises? If so

dear reader, forgive me. This is an opportunity which I could not let go. In fact I cannot shout loudly enough. These are the facts. I have tried to be true to truth and presented it as I see it.

Would to God that all would dream what Nkrumah dreams and see what he sees. Every inch of Africa would have been free by now and we would have built a socialist society here.

On this occasion when we are celebrating Kwame Nkrumah's birthday and remembering his miraculous escape from Kulungugu, I once again charge in the name of Kwame Nkrumah, the masses of Ghana and Africa as I did 13 years ago in the hour of our peril, to **PULL FOR THE SHORE.**

Kwame's Memorable Dates

Continued from page 1

1951: Released from prison to assume post of Leader of Government Business.

1953: "The Motion of Destiny" — Independence Motion tabled in the National Assembly.

1957: Ghana Independence.

1958: First Conference of Independent African States in Accra.

All African Peoples Conference in Accra.

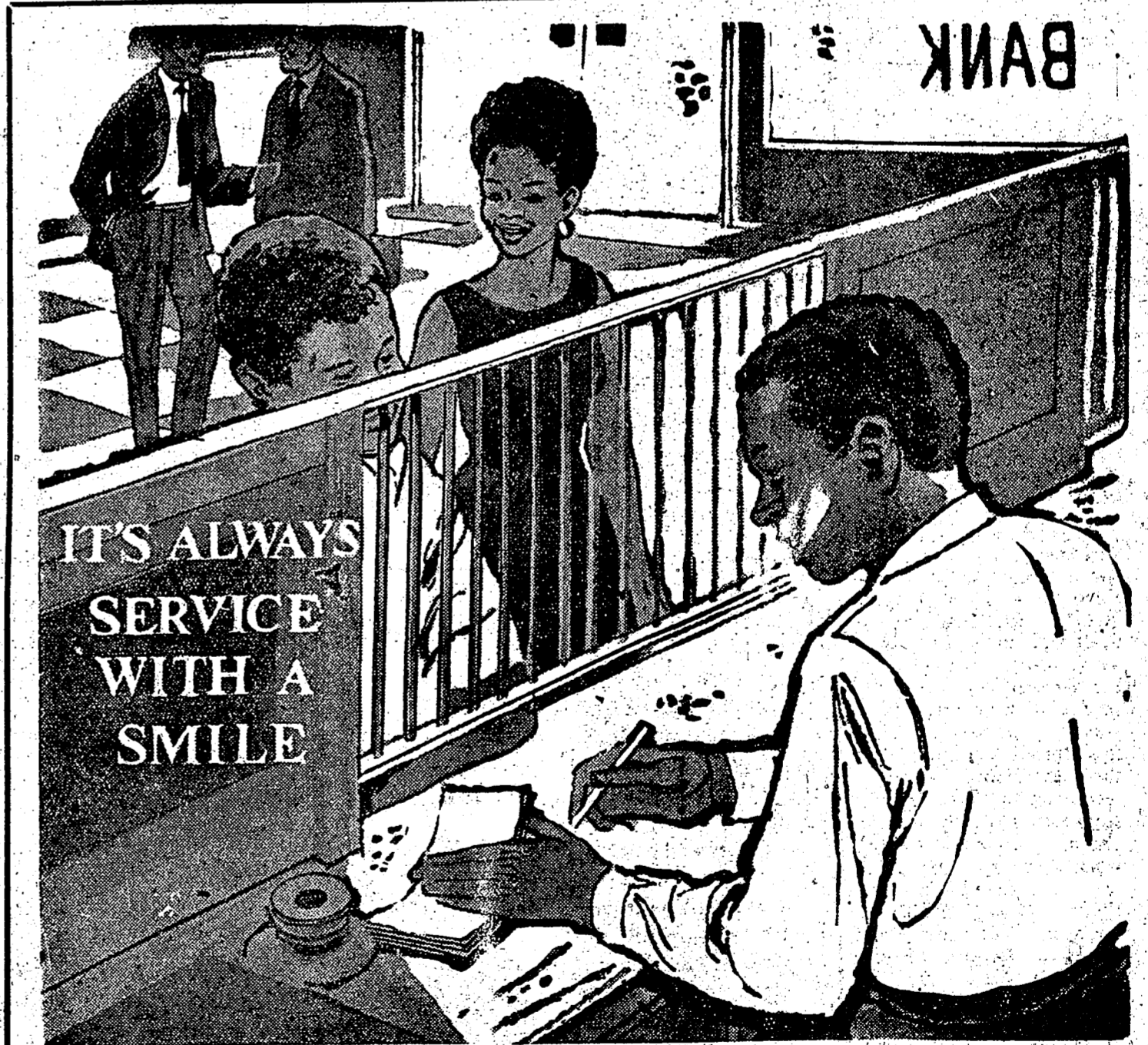
1960: Became President of Ghana Republic.

1961: Casablanca Charter and Ghana - Guinea - Mali Union.

1962: Kulungugu Bomb incident. Published "Towards Colonial Freedom"

1962: World without the Bomb Assembly in Accra. Won the Lenin Peace Prize. African Freedom Fighters Conference in Accra.

1963: Addis Ababa Summit Conference and birth of Charter of Organisation of African Unity. Published his book "Africa Must Unite"



People in all walks of life in Ghana SAVE with the National Bank because they are sure of earning more—3½% interest on their savings.

Services include

- * Savings Accounts
- * Current Accounts
- * Letters of Credit
- * Travellers Cheques
- * Documentary Bill Facilities
- * Foreign Transactions

GHANA COMMERCIAL BANK

Branches throughout Ghana