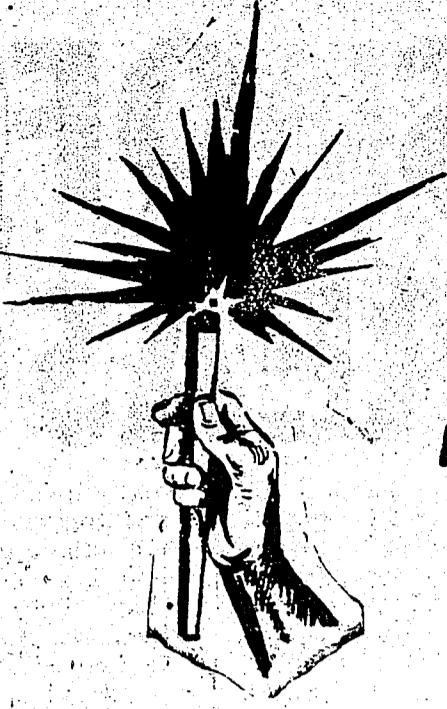


# THE SPARK



A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

53

2d.

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

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1963

## EDITORIAL

### The Issue is Joined

GHANA is living in an intensely socialist revolutionary era. She has to break down the colonial foundations of her immediate past, erect and consolidate the structure of national independence and upon this lay the foundations of a socialist society.

But it is now quite clear that two forces are battling for supremacy. First, the reactionaries inside Ghana are out to set up and sustain a neo-colonialist regime based on a system of national capitalism. Second, the progressives who are eager to build a society basically socialist.

The tussle is crucial. Having failed to face the people's popular revolution, the forces of reaction have through subtle ways, succeeded in insinuating into certain vital organs of the state with the aim of undermining the people's power.

Recent incidents which culminated in the wanton acquittal of Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Cofie-Crabbe by three senior judges of the Special Court of Ghana, have forcibly brought into focus the extent to which we must measure the depth of the conspiracy against the people of Ghana.

Unlike the open confrontation of the assassins of Kulungugu, the present forces of reaction are applying insidious tactics of putting cogs in the wheels of the revolution. They have found their way into all popular organs of state nearest to the heart of the people's power.

THE PRESENT SITUATION HAS ESTABLISHED A FACT. ALL STATE ORGANS MUST BE ORGANISED AND RUN WITH THE SOLE PURPOSE OF SERVING AND SUSTAINING THE PRESENT SOCIAL ORDER. FOLLOWING LOGICALLY FROM THIS, EVERY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE AT PRESENT STAGE MUST BRING NEW PERSONS FASHIONED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER. WE MUST THROW OVERBOARD THE ENERVATING FORMULA THAT ALL MATERIALS ARE SUITABLE FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

It is only people who stand by our revolution who must be used in building socialism. It is generally accepted that independence cannot be consolidated with the old colonial materials. This axiom is of even greater force when we are faced with building socialism.

It is a truism that to build socialism we must rely on the most revolutionary strata of our population. Any socialist state which unites all social forces not withstanding their contradictions, and at the same time fails to leave EFFECTIVE CONTROL in the hands of the revolutionary forces, will not succeed.

Socialism can never be built without socialists, still less against them. It is better for national unity to be consolidated not in the shape of a united front of different class forces, but in the form of one united party with one ideology.

The present situation in Ghana calls for ceaseless vigilance by the entire socialist rank and file. There must be stricter measures to expose all elements obstructing the revolution. Devastatingly, we must attack the very foundation of all their political myths.

From now on we must take it that the issue is joined.

# A MOCKERY OF JUSTICE

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, MR. B. E. KWAW SWANZY, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HERE YESTERDAY VEHEMENTLY DISPELLED ANY IMPRESSION THAT MAY HAVE BEEN CREATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS A PARTY TO THE JUDGEMENT GIVEN TWO DAYS AGO, IN THE TREASON TRIAL.

Addressing a crowded press conference at the press club, he condemned the judgement which he said "savours of discrimination."

"I wish to tell here and now that the judgement is the entire responsibility of the judges who constituted the special court." The Attorney-General added.

The special court, constituted by the Chief Justice Sir Arku Korsah, President, Mr. Justice W. B. Van Lare and Mr. Justice Akufo Addo, two days ago, found Tawiah Adamafo, Ako Adjei and H. H. Cofie Crabbe, not guilty of conspiracy to commit treason and treason and acquitted and discharged them accordingly. Robert Benjamin Otchere and Yaw Manu were found guilty of conspiracy to commit treason and treason and sentenced to death.

The Attorney-General said contrary to the normal procedure, in cases like this

trial but in also seeing that justice was done.

As it turned out, the judgement given two days ago was a "Mockery of Justice."

The Attorney-General said immediately after these callers and inquirers including members of the press was that something had gone wrong. Was the government party to such a thing that has gone wrong?

### GOVERNMENT NOT PARTY

"The impression was that the government was

Justice is appointed by the President of this Republic, it is equally true that the Attorney-General is appointed by the President and that under our constitution it is the entire responsibility of the Attorney-General to decide what cases to take to the criminal courts for prosecution.

### ENTITLEMENT

"In so doing, in appropriate cases, the Attorney-General will be entitled to sound the opinion of the government as to what particular step is right to take a case to court or not. But when a government has decided that it agrees with the Attorney-General in taking a case to court, that is the end of the function of that Government.

"What happens in court, the conduct of the case,

## Cabinet Acts

AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE CABINET WAS HELD IN FLAGSTAFF HOUSE YESTERDAY. MINISTERS WERE RECALLED FROM THEIR HOLIDAY FOR THE PURPOSE. MATTERS ARISING FROM THE JUDGEMENT ON THE TREASON TRIAL WERE DISCUSSED.

IMPORTANT DECISIONS WERE TAKEN WHICH WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN DUE COURSE.

## PDA HOLDS THEM

STATEMENT BY MR. KWAKU BOATENG, MINISTER OF INTERIOR.

THERE is some confusion and uncertainty in people's minds as to whether the decision of the Special Criminal Division of the High Court will affect the detention orders which were made in August last year against Tawiah Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Cofie Crabbe. The Government wishes to make it quite clear that the decision of the Court does not in any way affect these detention orders and will not therefore lead to the release of these three persons from preventive detention.

Under the Preventive Detention Act a person can be detained to prevent him from acting in a manner prejudicial to any one of the following matters:

- the defence of Ghana
- the relations of Ghana with other countries
- the security of the State.

These three matters cover a very wide field and bear no relation to the specific charges of conspiracy to commit treason and treason which were the subject matter of the court's decision. Furthermore, the fundamental law of the land that is to say our Constitution assigns different functions to the Executive and the Judiciary which do not overlap at any point. The decision of the one therefore does not affect the decision of the other in any way.

The decision of the court in acquitting and discharging these three persons was arrived at by the Judiciary acting independently in its own right and was not in any way influenced by the

Government or the Executive. In much the same way the decision of the Government or the Executive to keep these three persons in detention cannot and will not be affected by any decision of the Judiciary acting independently and in its own right in the discharge of the functions assigned to it by the Constitution.

Neither the President nor the Government was aware of the factors that influenced the court in arriving at its decision. This decision was the sole responsibility of the Judiciary, not of the Government which is therefore not bound to take cognizance of it in taking any action which it considers necessary in the security and safety of the State.

The Government therefore wishes to emphasise once more that the decision of the Court will not affect the detention orders made against these persons who will continue in detention until the Orders made against them have expired, according to Law.



The Chief Justice

the Judiciary did not inform the Attorney-General of the judgement before hand and he received copy of the judgement hours after the court had closed and the press had received copies.

### MOCKERY OF JUSTICE

He emphasised that any treason trial by its very nature was political, hence every Government was compelled to be interested in a treason trial. Consequently, the Ghana Government was not only interested in the

party to the judgement which was delivered two days ago. I wish to tell you here and now that the judgement is the entire responsibility of the judges who constituted the special court.

He went on "the judgement had nothing whatsoever to do with the executive of this country. It is true that under our constitution, judges of the supreme court as well as of the high court are appointed by the President of this republic.

"It is true that the Chief



The Attorney-General

and the judgement have nothing whatsoever to do with the executive."

He went on: "I am not unaware of the peculiar situation which has been created by this judgement which was delivered two days ago. It is a judgement

Continued on page 4

imperfect in original

# THE POLITICS OF THE

By Our  
Political  
Correspondent

THE FIRST EVER TREASON-TRIALS IN ACCRA HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE A HISTORIC SHOWDOWN IN GHANA'S DRIVE TO SOCIALISM. THE FULL LESSONS OF THIS EPISODE CAN BE LEARNT ONLY IF WE VIEW THE TREASON TRIALS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF GHANA'S SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

From its inception in 1949, the Convention People's Party has been the instrument of revolution in Ghana. During the colonial era, it led and directed the national revolution whose objective was the complete overthrow of British colonial rule. After the attainment of political independence in 1957 Ghana spent a short three year period in the consolidation of her political independence. Measures were taken to forge national unity; law and order was firmly established. A new Republican constitution based on the will of the people and fashioned in accordance with the wishes of the people was inaugurated and made the foundation of Ghana's march to progress.

The inauguration of a Republican regime in 1960 marks a turning point in the history of the country. It completed the national revolution and ushered in the second revolution—the socialist Revolution. And most significant too, it brought a turning in political methods. The popular support for the new social order was so overwhelming—the CPP won 101 out of 104 constituencies that its enemies came to the fateful conclusion that a reversal of the trend towards socialism could only be attained through a resort to unconstitutional action. Of course, in the period leading up to the 1956 elections, these same political opponents of the CPP had shown this weakness for strong arm politics.

## PRIVILEGED ELEMENTS

What forces have been opposed to the new social order? These are the privi-



Justice Van Lare

leged elements of the old colonial era and some of the new rich created during the struggle for national independence. These internal forces enjoy full backing from some external forces—finance capital of the imperialist countries, particularly those interests which had commercial, banking, mining, industrial and other stakes in pre-independence Gold Coast.

These two sets of forces have a common interest in halting Ghana's drive to socialism. Socialism means an end to foreign economic control and exploitation. At the same time socialism means an end to capitalist interests and privileges here at home. This common factor of a morbid hatred of socialism has given birth to a sinister partnership based on a fight for political power inside Ghana by the Ghanaian bourgeoisie and diplomatic and financial support from foreign capital. These anti-socialist forces operating in Ghana could be categorised as follows:—

1. the imperialists who supply the money, the di-

plomatic contacts and promise attractive business partnerships;

2. the reactionary intellectuals, misguided chiefs, and self-centred businessmen whose political platform is the United Party;

3. the privileged and ambitious groups within the Convention People's Party.

Partly because the growth of political consciousness has rendered the UP elements largely ineffective partly because the UP elements are now working in close collaboration with the backward-looking brake-applying elements within the CPP, and partly because imperialism believes its chances of overthrowing Nkrumah's regime are better if it works with forces inside the CPP, the various interest groups within the CPP have become the key forces to be reckoned with in any study of the mechanics of counter-revolution in Ghana. This analysis is further strengthened by the decision of the people of Ghana to adopt the one party system of government.

## DAWN BROADCAST

The 'Dawn Broadcast' focused the searchlight on a group of highly-placed persons who have used their positions in and control over the state apparatus to amass wealth. This is the class of the bureaucratic or administrative bourgeoisie. The turn of politics has divided this class of the 'new rich' within the C.P.P. into two broad groups. The first group is headed by Gbedemah. Its ideology is capitalism under the guise of fighting communism. It chooses to work openly with the U.P. elements and foreign finance capital in an attempt to overthrow the Nkrumah regime.

The second group prefers to do its fighting against socialism from within the ranks of the C.P.P. It fights a stubborn rearward and delaying action and uses state institutions to oppose and negate the common will for a socialist order. This group merely shouts socialism because it has to; but it is opposed to the new social order. Its ideological manifestations are many. There is the plea for hastening slowly ("Rome was not built in a day") they say forgetting that their newly acquired wealth was achieved literally overnight. There is the plea for having a rest after the first revolution and the need to leave the second revolution for the next generation. At

times they cover up their opposition to socialism under some spurious ideological concoction that goes by all sorts of names the most fashionable being African socialism. This of course, is not saying that all who advocate African socialism are counter-revolutionary in attitude. Rather, it is to say that counter-revolution often finds it convenient to masquerade under the cover of African socialism.

The existence of the privileged group of the new rich within the C.P.P. has helped to create a new stratum of the over-ambitious. These men of inordinate ambition, enemies of socialism, figure that the easiest way to the top is to chastise the 'new rich' within the C.P.P. and to put up the pretence of being the true socialists. These over-zealous socialists plan to overthrow Nkrumah through the technique of the Judas kiss.

## ANTI-SOCIALIST GROUPS

These anti-socialist groups within the C.P.P. wield power through the use of some state institutions. They are constantly scheming to control the party and its integral wings. As a result, the battle for socialism in Ghana today is raging fiercest within the C.P.P. The capitalist-minded ones tend to use state institutions against the ardent socialists who, generally speaking, are in control of the party machinery. It is in a very real sense state power versus party supremacy.

This dichotomy in the power structure within the C.P.P. has not burst into the open with devastating force because of the towering personality of Dr. Nkrumah to whom the masses are bound in loyalty and admiration. The fight for socialism in Ghana will depend on the outcome of the race now going on. Will Dr. Nkrumah, within the next few years bring in enough new blood into the party machinery and into the state organs to ensure the stability and continuity of the drive to socialism? Or will the obstructionists gain the upper hand in their defensive game leaving it to time to bring about a recrudescence of unbridled capitalism?

## COUNTER REVOLUTION

In this tussle, which is vital to the socialist revolution in Ghana and to the African Revolution throughout the African continent, the Accra treason trials are of the greatest significance. For these trials show clearly how the judiciary could be used to place a counter-revolutionary spanner in the socialist works.

Before drawing attention to some important facts revealed by the treason trials, it is useful to point out that Dr. Nkrumah is fully aware that, in its game to set up neo-colonialist regimes in Africa, imperialism pays much attention to corrupting our institutions including the judiciary. Addressing the conference of African Journalists here in

Accra last month, Dr. Nkrumah called on all Africa "to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease".

He continued: "For our continent to develop along these lines we must repel a host of enemies—Enemies whom we call imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists in an attempt to categorise their activities, but enemies whose ends are always the same: the undermining and restriction of our independence. They work laboriously to impede our economic development; they employ all manner of means to prevent our unity as a continent. To destroy our political stability is the obvious method of attacking our independence. Hence they try to corrupt our political institutions, our civil service, our police, our army. Even our universities and judiciary are not exempt from their attempts to capture our constitution for their own ends through bribery and corruption."

Barely one month after these prophetic words were spoken, the Special Criminal Division of the High Court here in Accra has provided dramatic evidence of how the judiciary could be used in the imperialist game of obstructing a peoples march to socialism.

## SIGNIFICANT FACTS

What significant facts have the Accra treason trials brought to light in connection with the counter-revolutionary trend in Ghana?

In summary form, these are as follows:

1. the United Party leaders have been engaged in plots to overthrow the Ghana Government by force of arms;
2. the United Party plotters have used both Togo and Ivory Coast as the base for their operations against Ghana;
3. the Gbedemah group is now working with the U.P. leaders;
4. the U.P. have links with C.P.P. elements within Ghana especially with the Adamafo group led by Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Coffe-Crabbe.
5. funds have reached the Adamafo group from New York and London;
6. the operatives, i.e. bomb throwers, include Teiko Tego, Adotei Addo, Malam Mama Tula and two



Justice Akuffo Addo

others found guilty in the first treason trial and a few others who escaped into Togo;

7. Yaw Manu and Robert Benjamin Otschere were couriers and contact men for the big plotters.

## THE VERDICTS

The most curious thing about the court verdicts is that while the small fry (the operatives and the contact men) have been sentenced to death, the big brains behind the show have either left the country or been allowed to die or have been acquitted by the Courts. The result is that the architects of the counter-revolution are at large (except for those under Preventive detention).

The court judgements reveal one other fact. Imperialism now places more reliance on dissident groups within the C.P.P. than on the open opposition elements of the United Party. And to prove that the link with imperialism is no mere fantasy, a leading British newspaper 'The Economist' of November 23 this year, writing on Ghana, put forward the thesis that "radical-sounding party politicians are balanced by many of the most conservative judges, army officers and civil servants to be found in Africa". In short the paper sees Ghanaian "judges, army officers and civil servants" as the forces of reaction in the country i.e. the anti-socialist elements. The same article touched on Ghana's future and concluded: "But a major riddle remains: is President Nkrumah's leadership an essential part of that day after tomorrow—or the reverse?" Clearly British interests are praying for a future Ghana without Nkrumah's leadership. What other evidence is needed to prove the fact that imperialism has a vested interest in the elimination from Africa of the type of leadership typified by Dr. Nkrumah?

## THE IMPORTANT POINTS

The judgement in the Accra treason trials has brought out forcefully four important points. Firstly, it has shown that reaction will sacrifice any hireling in order to protect itself and its interests. Adotei Addo, Yaw Manu and others must have seen this very clearly by now.

Secondly, Dr. Nkrumah's over abundant kindness to political opponents who change their political allegiance even though cunningly could be a serious threat to him personally and to the socialist revolution. He welcomed Adamafo who was a staunch political opponent only to be let down to the extent that his life was gravely threatened. Justice Akuffo Addo was a determined opponent of the CPP in the 1954 and again in the 1956 general elections. Despite this history of political antagonism to the CPP, Dr. Nkrumah appointed Mr. Akuffo Addo a Supreme Court Judge in 1962. And reliable information has it that this was the man who drafted the judgement. In passing it is

to be noted that the climb of both Adamafo and Akuffo Addo to eminence under the CPP regime have some common features.

Thirdly, the performance of the courts has shown clearly that except in very rare cases the human materials that served a colonial regime do not make very successful pioneers of the socialist revolution. In general terms, it is difficult, if not impossible, to use

effort must be made to discover and train new cadres for the state machinery. For until we have a new administrative corps of socialist cadres the socialist revolution will rest on insecure foundations.

Fourthly, the only thing that has arrested a major political crisis after the judgement is the overwhelming political support enjoyed by Dr. Nkrumah among the Ghanaian mass-



He faces the future resolutely

the state apparatus of colonialism in an effort to build socialism. Dr. Nkrumah has been a great believer in the transforming power of education and ideological orientation.

However, the inability of the old guards effectively to perform the new role demanded by the march to socialism has been demonstrated by the Accra treason trials. The corollary from this is that a bold new

es. And it is on this foundation that future gains of the socialist revolution must be built. It means that the Party and its integral wings must be led and run by persons absolutely loyal to Dr. Nkrumah and wholly dedicated to the socialist revolution. It means further that the Party machine must be kept well beyond the reach of the 'new rich' and the over-ambitious within the party.

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# THE ANATOMY OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

KULUNGUGU is the centre piece in an unfolding process of counter-revolution in Ghana. The actors in this drama include the forces of sectionalism, of reaction and of opportunism.

But, in truth, these are merely the marionettes who are tugged across the stage by the unseen hands of local business interests working in concert with their foreign counterparts. In other words, even though we see on the stage university professors, army officers, cabinet ministers, trade unionists, party functionaries and dead-end kids, the directors of the show are local and foreign capitalists.

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

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

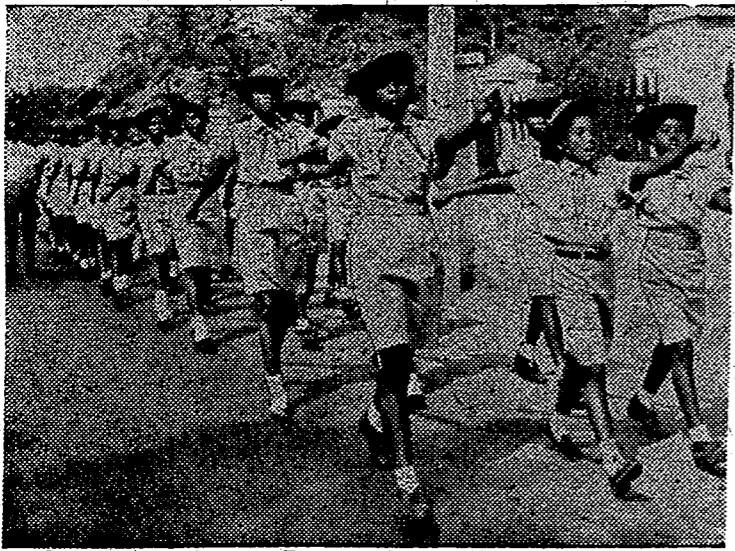
In 1956, the main political battle raged around the constitution for self-governing Ghana (then Gold Coast). It took the form of a struggle between a unitary and a federal constitution. In the end, British imperialism imposed a constitution meant to promote sectionalism and retard the nation's rate of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

## THE POPULAR FORCES

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

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

"As the nationalist struggle deepens in the colonial territories and independence appears on the horizon the imperialist powers, fishing in the muddy waters of communalism, tribalism,



They were victims of the Kulungugu

and sectional interests, endeavour to create fissions in the nationalist front, in order to achieve fragmentation" (p.173).

These 'fissions in the national front' are not haphazard. They are based on the trends within the national liberation movement. "In the dynamics of national revolution there are usually two local elements: the moderates of the professional and 'aristocratic' class and the so-called extremists of the mass movement. The moderates would like some share in their government but are afraid of immediate responsibility because they lack experience and skill.

They are prepared to leave the main areas of sovereignty to the colonial

power, in return for a promise of economic aid.

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

## THE IMPERIALIST DESIGN

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

The imperialist design, when the constitution for independence was being drawn up in 1956-1957, was to create conditions that will hamstring the drive to complete independence and socialism should the C.P.P. remain in power and facilitate the creation of a regime of neo-colonialism should the National Liberation Movement come into power. Once this was done, it was only necessary to insist on a general election before independence.

The C.P.P. won the pre-independence elections after a hard fight in which the imperialists threw in their full weight on the side of

dential elections in 1960.

## BUSINESSMEN AND INTELLECTUALS

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

Hence, counter-revolution.

By mid-1960, with the introduction of a republican constitution, the forces of counter-revolution were drawn from two sources—the reactionary business and intellectual elements grouped around the United Party under the leadership of Dr. K. A. Busia and imperialist circles.

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

It was determined to fight the CPP's drive to limit property acquisition by public men. The Dawn Broadcast was a broadside fired against what is technically known as the 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie' (men who acquire wealth through their connections with state power and the state administrative machinery).

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

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

These three forces struck their first concerted blow against the Ghana State in September 1961.

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

## BUSIA RECEIVES £50,000 FOR SUBVERSION

The Government of Togo at the time gave its backing to this organisation. Dr. Busia explained in a meeting in which Sylvanus Olympio was present that he got the sum of £50,000 "to

fight the Ghanaian Government, which he said had come from commercial interest in Ghana" ("Statement by the Government of Ghana on the Recent Conspiracy p.23).

The second element was the Takoradi-Sekondi workers strike. Although claimed to be a protest against the Budget in general and compulsory savings in particular, these strikes were portrayed to the outside world as a fight for the overthrow of the government. Financial support was sought from the U.S.A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## BUREAUCRATIC BOURGEOISIE

This putsch by the three anti-popular groups—the

imperialist, the unity party and elements of bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the CPP—failed. Its failure revealed the powerful appeal of the person of Dr. Nkrumah to the people of Ghana.

Though the strikes were on when the President was away on his tour of Eastern Europe, the strike remnants returned to work after his broadcast appeal in which he drew attention to the political character of the strikes. This fact is of great significance because it showed that any coup d'etat which does not completely get rid of Dr. Nkrumah is not likely to get the support of the majority of the people.

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

Accordingly, it was necessary to grow a core of men who must pose publicly as the most loyal aides of Nkrumah and the standard bearers of social-

ism. Naturally, this group of men must come from within the CPP and must be closely associated with the President.

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

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

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

## MIRACULOUS ESCAPE

The forces of counter-revolution struck again at

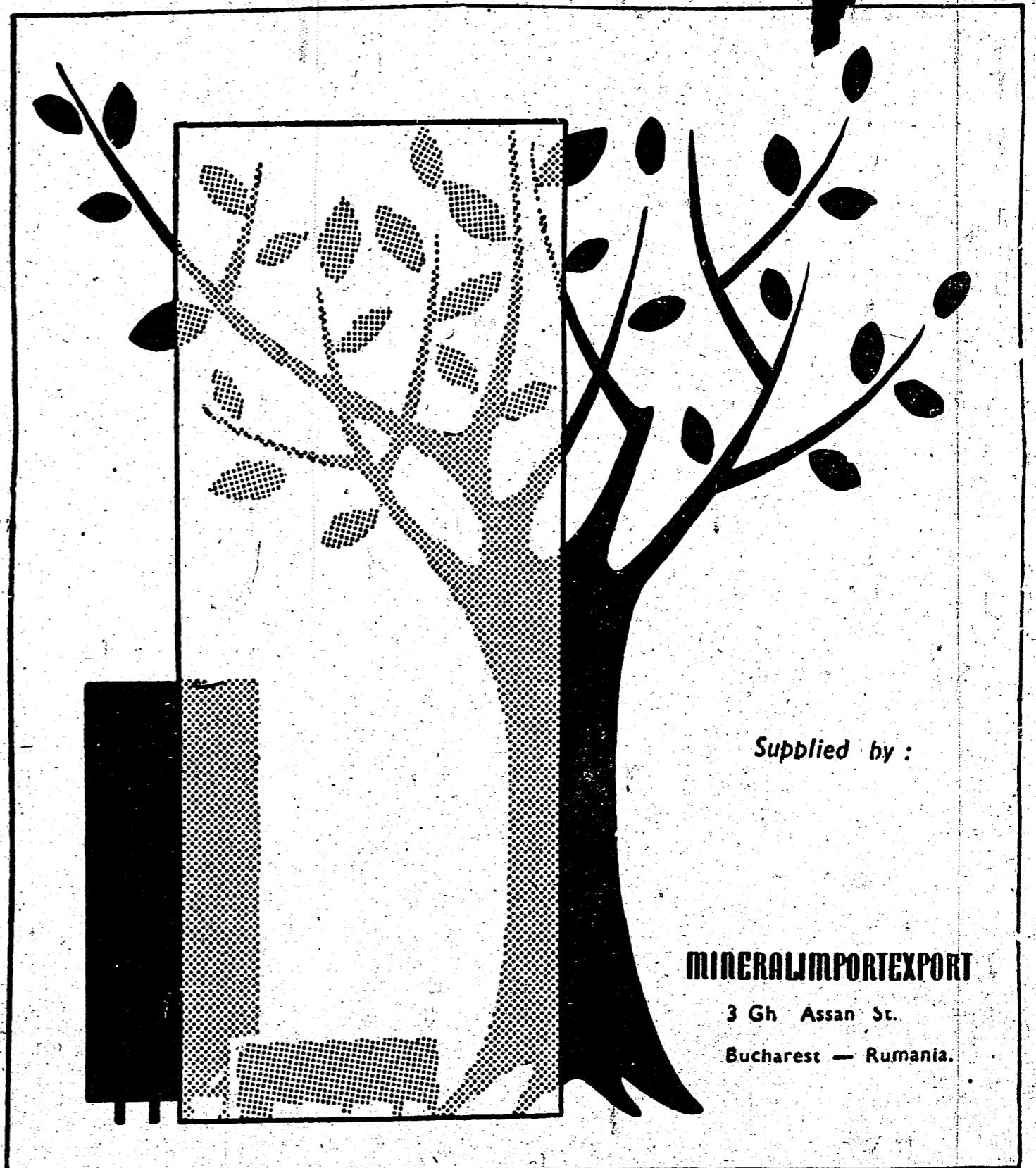
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# Counter-Revolution

(Continued from page 3)

Kulungugu, August 1, 1962. Dr. Nkrumah, in his own words, had a "miraculous escape" from a British Army Mark 36 field grenade which exploded barely six feet away.

This was followed by several bomb attacks in Accra. And even when the President was out of reach, the attack fell on the crowds who turned out in their thousands to demonstrate their support and loyalty to the President and the socialist programme of the CPP.

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

As was the case in the September 1961 attempt, a section of the Western press exposed its contacts with the anti-government groups. They all sang the same tune



## LEST WE FORGET

—the Kulungugu attack as a plot of the left socialists against Nkrumah.

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

## FORCES OF COUNTER REVOLUTION

The common denominator in both efforts is to force a retreat from the socialist path of development formally approved at the July 1962 CPP Party Congress at Kumasi.

To summarise, the forces of counter-revolution in Ghana are made up as follows:

- i. the imperialists who want Ghana to be a neo-colonialist state;
  - ii. the traditional opposition group of reactionary business men and intellectuals who want a capitalist society in Ghana;
  - iii. the bureaucratic bourgeoisie within the CPP who tolerate socialist slogans but want no real advance towards socialism;
  - iv. the opportunists elements within the CPP who are prepared to gamble away the socialist programme of the Party for the satisfaction of personal lust for power;
  - v. Togo elements who want the Volta Region of Ghana incorporated in Togo as a quid pro quo for supporting counter-revolution in Ghana.
- In the pursuit of its objective—a state of neo-colonialism in Ghana—the counter-revolutionaries use elements in the officer corps of the Army, misguided workers' leaders, squads of dead-end kids and hired killers. These

diverse elements are welded together by a combination of tribalism, short-sighted inflammatory agitation against aspects of Government policy, and hypocritical appeal to obstruct notions of justice and parliamentary democracy.

## HOW TO BEAT IT DOWN

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

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

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

by setting up party branches in all work places; by vesting leadership of the party branches in working class elements with a clear understanding of the line of march; by making every new member in the party (especially those who once had other political affiliations) serve a period of supervised apprenticeship and wait their turn in appointments to important offices; by developing self-criticism, sincere comradeship and real democracy within the party; by subjecting all party leaders and Ministers to effective party discipline, and by breaking down the cordon of self-seeking middlemen between the Leader and the people.

## SOCIALIST EXPERIMENT

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

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

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

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

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

in the ideology of socialism and the Party programme.

Secondly, the drive to socialism should be pushed ahead without let of hindrance. This will generate more enthusiasm among the masses and possibly convince the revolutionaries that it is futile to dream of holding up the socialist revolution.

In the third place, party leadership and the government should be insulated against all forms of opportunism. This is best achieved by developing the party's links with the broad masses;

# A mockery of justice

(Continued from page 1)

at one inconsistent and incompatible.

"The criminal law and procedure in this country has been settled. When a person goes to court to give evidence in a case, he puts himself forward to the court to look at him, to hear him, and to decide whether he is a truthful person or he is a liar.

"If he is a truthful person and he gives evidence in the case, it is the court to decide whether to believe him. If the court decides to believe him, whatever he says is believable and that is why in our law it is settled by the use of these terms the credibility of a witness is indivisible. The witness either tells the truth or does not tell the truth.

The Attorney-General continued: "The unfortunate situation created by this judgement is that the first part of the judgement is irreconcilable with the second part. The two parts are incompatible.

"In the first part, the court decided that two witnesses of the prosecution who in the words of the court, were the witnesses given direct evidence in the case were truthful witnesses and therefore these witnesses were relied upon to convict the first two persons in the first part of the

judgement which was delivered two days ago.

"The court having decided that these witnesses were believable; were credible, but could not under any stretch of imagination turn round in the second part of the judgement to say that these people were not credible.

## UNCREDBLE WITNESSES

"I would have been happier if the court, having decided that the witnesses were not credible in the second part of the judgement, had had the courage to acquit the whole lot of the accused persons.

"This judgement savours of discrimination and what is the basis of the discrimination?"

The Attorney-General went on: "In the second part of the judgement, the judges decided that neither Malam Tula nor Adofei Addo was a person to be believed. I wish to think that this decision was taken before the judgement was written.

"Having come to the conclusion that these two persons giving direct evidence were unreliable, liars and untrustworthy, they should not have been called upon to convict the first accused persons by their evidence.

Radio Nigeria was on the air last night and the slant which was put on this judgement was justifiable. The question being put was that was it because the first two accused persons were members of the opposition or was it because they had had no influential or important connections?"

Why should the judgement place the government in such a difficult situation? The Attorney-General asked.

"Treason trials by their own nature are always po-

litical trials every government is always interested in treason trials; but if the government of Ghana is also interested in justice, I consider that the judgement as it was delivered, two days ago makes a mockery of justice.

"It would have been better to acquit the whole lot or convict the whole lot.

This is a controversial judgement and I hope it is not going to be used by other courts as a salutary precedent to be relied upon.

# Who told them that?

We publish below extract of an article on Ghana which appeared in 'The Economist', a British weekly which expresses the point of view of British financial and monopoly circles. This article contains some interesting points that go to reveal imperialist links and machinations.

First, how did a British weekly come to know the approximate date of judgement in the Accra treason cases whereas the Ghana Government knew of the date only in press and radio reports a few days to judgement?

Secondly, why is this British paper urging the Ghana judiciary to assert its independence and claiming that the Adomako case will be the "supreme test" of this independence?

Thirdly, the British weekly refers to our judges, army officers and civil servants as "the most conservative to be found in Africa". Why?

Fourthly, the British weekly considers Adofei Addo and Malam Tula's evidence "the most incriminating" and it is precisely these two prosecution witnesses that the judges went all out to condemn.

Fifthly, why is the British weekly worried about Nkrumah's leadership continuing an "essential part" of the Ghana of tomorrow?

— Editor.

## Articles 44 and 45 of the Constitution of Ghana dealing with the Appointment and Removal of Judges

### Judges of the Superior Courts

#### CHIEF JUSTICE

44. (1) The President shall by instrument under the Presidential Seal appoint one of the Judges of the Supreme Court to be Chief Justice of Ghana.

(2) The Chief Justice shall be President of the Supreme Court and Head of the Judicial Service.

(3) The appointment of a Judge as Chief Justice may at any time be revoked by the President by instrument under the Presidential Seal.

#### JUDGES

45. (1) The Judges of the superior courts shall be appointed by the President by instrument under the Public Seal.

(2) Provision shall be made by law for the form and administration of the judicial oath, which shall be taken by every person appointed as Judge of a superior court before the exercise by him of any judicial function.

(3) Subject to the following provisions of this article, no person shall be removed from office as a Judge of the Supreme Court or a Judge of the High Court except by the President in pursuance of a resolution of the National Assembly supported by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the Members of Parliament and passed on the grounds of stated misbehaviour or infirmity of body or mind.

(4) Unless the President by instrument under his hand extends the tenure of office of the Judge for a definite period specified in the instrument, a Judge of the Supreme Court shall retire from office on attaining the age of sixty-five years and a Judge of the High Court shall retire from office on attaining the age of sixty-two years.

(5) A Judge of a superior court may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President.

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